Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves

Volume 2:
Seven Commentaries on Walter Map's "Dissuasio Valerii"

Edited by Traugott Lawler and Ralph Hanna
Collected by Karl Young and Robert A. Pratt

VISIT…

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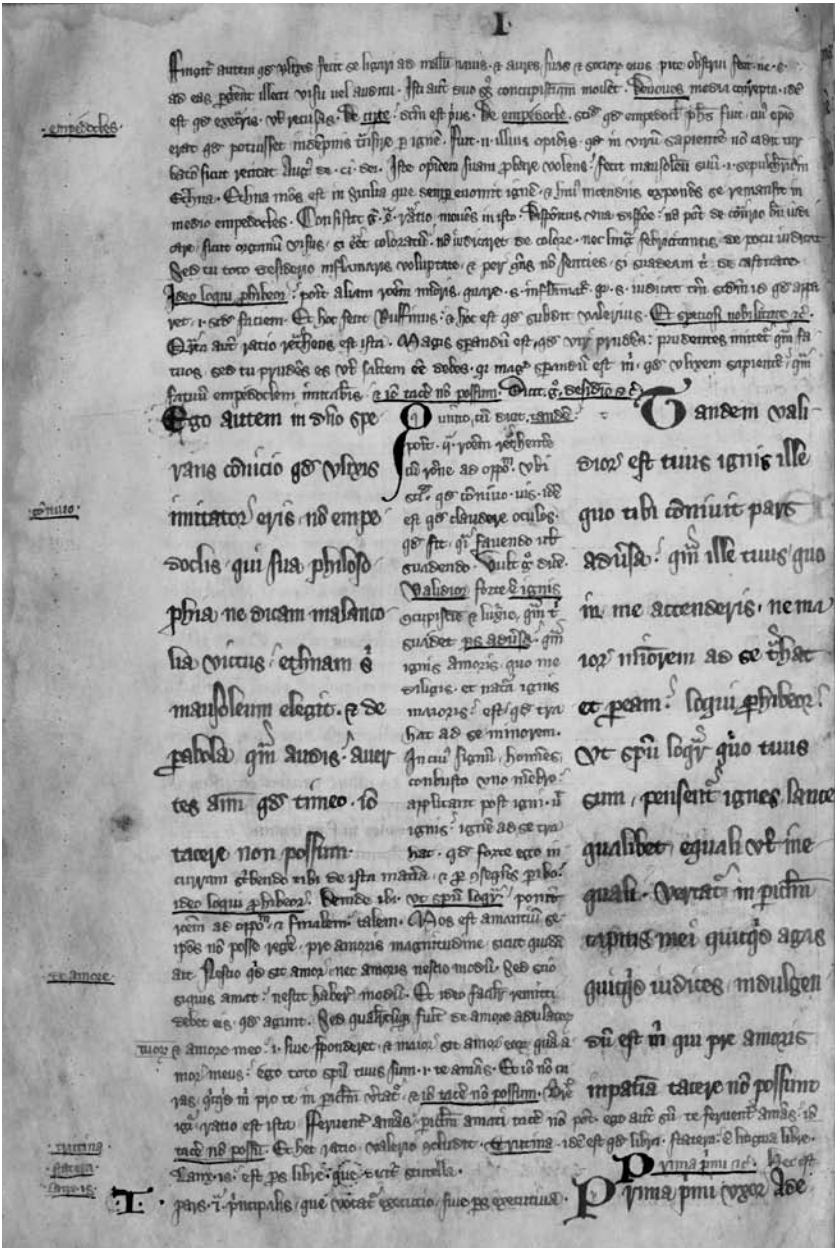
SEVEN COMMENTARIES ON WALTER MAP'S "DISSUASIO VALERII"



Nicholas Trivet's Commentary on "Dissuasio Valerii," lines 34–46 (lines 456–504 of the commentary). Clare College, Cambridge, MS N.2.5, f. 65v. With kind permission of the Master, Fellows and Scholars of Clare College, Cambridge.

JANKYN'S BOOK OF WIKKED WYVES

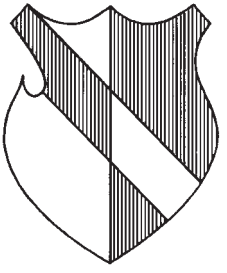
EDITED BY

TRAUGOTT LAWLER & RALPH HANNA

USING MATERIALS COLLECTED BY
KARL YOUNG & ROBERT A. PRATT

VOLUME 2: SEVEN COMMENTARIES
ON WALTER MAP'S "DISSUASIO VALERII"

BY
JOHN RIDEWALL
NICHOLAS TRIVET
ENEAS OF SIENA
AND FOUR ANONYMOUS AUTHORS



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In memory of Robert Armstrong Pratt, 1907–1987

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CONTENTS

Foreword ix
Acknowledgments xi
Introduction 1
Jankyn's "Book of Wikked Wyves" Commentaries 2
Appendix: A Note on the Later English Transmission of "Dissuasio Valerii" 11
Commentary One: "Grues, ut dicit Ysodorus" 15
Text and Translation 18
Commentary Two: John Ridewall 51
Text and Translation 56
Commentary Three: Nicholas Trivet 121
Text and Translation 134
Commentary Four: "Valerius qui dicitur parvus" 269
Text and Translation 272
Commentary Five: "Hoc contra malos religiosos" 297
Text and Translation 300
Commentary Six: Lambeth 330 (selections) 377
Text and Translation
Selection One: ff. 10v–11v 388
Selection Two: ff. 35v–39v 396
Selection Three: ff. 70v–72v 414
Selection Four: ff. 102v–106v 426
Commentary Seven: Eneas of Siena 451
Text 462
Notes 495
Grues 496
Ridewall 501
Trivet 508
Parvus 530
Religiosos 535
Lambeth
Selection One 553
Selection Two 555
Selection Three 558
Selection Four 559
Eneas 564
Bibliography and Abbreviations 577
Index of Sources 599

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FOREWORD

The purpose of the Chaucer Library, from its beginnings in 1946, has been to present the classical and medieval works that the English poet Geoffrey Chaucer knew, translated, or made use of in his writings in versions that were as close as possible to those that were in existence, circulating, and being read by him and his contemporaries. These versions were, of course, not critical editions—they were filled with readings that the original authors did not write, with additions and omissions, and sometimes with glosses and commentaries—and only by reproducing such non-original material can one have a true understanding of the ways in which classical and medieval texts were read and understood by medieval readers. The original intention of the Chaucer Library Committee was to follow this editorial policy throughout the series, as it appears in the first volume published (in 1978), *De Miseria Condicionis Humane* by Lotario dei Segni (later Pope Innocent III).

As the years passed, however, it became clear that this editorial policy was not appropriate for many of the works known to and read by Chaucer, especially those that Chaucer had only used portions of, dipped into, or knew in general, and the Chaucer Library Committee widened its range of editorial possibilities to include critical editions, prepared according to whatever editorial method would best suit both the text in question and the way Chaucer was influenced by it. The next six volumes—*The Kalendarium of Nicholas of Lynn* (1980), the *Summa virtutum de remediis anime* (1984), *Le Jugement du roy de Behaigne* and *Remede de Fortune* of Guillaume de Machaut (1988), *Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves, Volume 1: The Primary Texts* (1997), and *The Kalendarium of John Somer* (1998)—were critical editions of various kinds, as the editors explained in their introductions. All of them, nevertheless, incorporated the traditional Chaucer Library characteristics of modernized punctuation and capitalization, expanded abbreviations and regularized letters, and an accompanying English translation on facing pages.

The following volume, *Sources of the Boece* (2005), called for a different kind of presentation. "[T]he source of the *Boece* was in fact a composite that Chaucer himself in a sense created in the act of translation" by drawing from primarily two sources, a Vulgate Latin version of Boëthius's original *De Consolatio Philosophiae* and Jean de Meun's French translation "Li Livres de confort," and it made most sense to present those sources on facing pages, with the other, less pervasive sources relegated to the notes. Otherwise, *Sources of the Boece* has the traditional characteristics of Chaucer Library volumes, except for the modern

English translation, for which Chaucer's own translation in the *Boece* may be considered a substitute.

The present volume, *Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves*, *Volume 2: Seven Commentaries on Walter Map's "Dissuasio Valerii,"* returns to the editorial policies of the volumes from the 1980s and 1990s. For the first five commentaries and the four excerpts comprising the sixth, which appear in manuscripts of English origin, Traugott Lawler and Ralph Hanna "follow the same eclectic procedure as [they] did for [their] text of the 'Dissuasio' [in Volume 1], aiming always to deduce what the author wrote," by reconstructing critical texts based on the manuscript evidence (in four cases multiple witnesses, in two cases single manuscripts) and emending when the evidence seemed to call for it, either from other manuscripts or conjecturally. The seventh commentary, by the Italian Dominican Eneas de Tolomeis of Siena, is given for completeness, but because it appears only as lecture notes on Eneas's work by Paul of Guastaferris, and only in manuscripts of continental origin from the fifteenth century, it is presented in a somewhat abbreviated form, from two manuscripts primarily and, unlike the other six, without an English translation on facing pages.

Based on all of the connections adduced by Lawler and Hanna between Map's text, the fraternal orders, and Chaucer—the special interest of the friars in Map's text as shown by the fact that three out of seven commentaries were written by Franciscans or Dominicans (and a fourth shows signs of fraternal authorship), the frequency with which the "Dissuasio" is accompanied by a commentary in manuscripts of English origin, and Chaucer's choice of the Friar on the Canterbury pilgrimage to interrupt the Wife of Bath and her rejoinder about friars at the start of her tale—it may be that Chaucer "knew, or at least knew about," the commentaries on Map. But whether he did or not, at the very least these commentaries "extend significantly our understanding of medieval attitudes toward women and marriage" and therefore of Chaucer's attitudes in the Wife's prologue and tale and elsewhere in his works. It is with great pleasure that the Committee now welcomes the second volume of *Jankyn's Book of Wikked Wyves* as an essential supplement to the primary texts in the first volume.

Robert E. Lewis, General Editor

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Ralph Hanna
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INTRODUCTION

JANKYN'S "BOOK OF WIKKED WYVES" COMMENTARIES

In this our second volume we present the seven commentaries on Walter Map's "Dissuasio Valerii" that we mention on pp. 7–8 and list on p. 261 of our Volume One. They fall into distinct classes, and we present them accordingly. (For fuller accounts of each commentary, see the individual headnotes. The short names we use here for each are used throughout this volume. The sigla in parentheses, C1 to C7, are those assigned in Volume One, p. 261, and are not used further in this volume.) The first class is humanist or classicizing commentaries, probably intended for school use, focusing on Map's allusive Latin and paying little or no attention to the issues of marriage and women. They are, in ascending order of scope and complexity:

Grues: the anonymous commentary beginning "Grues, ut dicit Ysodorus," in five manuscripts. (C5)

Ridewall: the commentary ascribed to the English Franciscan John Ridewall (d. in or after 1340), in fifteen manuscripts. (C3)

Trivet: the commentary by the English Dominican Nicholas Trivet (c. 1260–c. 1334), in ten manuscripts. (C1)

The second class is Catholic/moral commentaries, intended directly or indirectly for preachers; these do confront Map's anti-feminism, each in its way; again we present them in ascending order of scope and complexity:

Parvus: the anonymous commentary beginning "Valerius qui dicitur parvus," in one manuscript. (C6)

Religiosos: the anonymous commentary beginning "Hoc contra malos religiosos," in two manuscripts. (C2)

Lambeth: the anonymous, very long commentary in Lambeth 330; we present excerpts only. (C4)

Finally there is "Eneas" (C7), the commentary of the Italian Dominican Eneas of Siena (c. 1285–1348), as reported from his lectures by Paul of Guastaferris (c. 1290–c. 1345), and extant mostly in the form of glosses. This too is a humanist commentary for use in schools, but we present it last because of its different status—with no English witnesses, and not quite amounting to a commentary—and form of survival, and because we present it only cursorily, from just two

manuscripts and without a translation.[1]

For the first five commentaries, we give a critical text edited from all the manuscript evidence with a report of variants (or, in the two cases where there is a single manuscript, a report of corrections to the text), translation, notes, and a headnote.[2] We give the same for the four excerpts from Lambeth. For the less complete treatment of Eneas, see its headnote. The first five are essentially the work of Lawler, the last two of Hanna, though each of us has given a full review to the work of the other, so that the entire book is the result of our joint efforts.[3] We admit to not feeling fully at ease with the reflection that what we offer here is scholarship feeding on itself, annotation of annotations; Lawler in particular confesses to being debilitated by that reflection for many years, as well as by the bewildering job of hunting down references. He is grateful for all the online search tools that enabled him to overcome his bewilderment; and he simply conquered his distaste for annotating annotation by remembering that in fact the project is full of cultural as well as literary interest. Meanwhile, he takes the blame for the long lapse of time since the first volume appeared (and the still longer lapse since Pratt passed the project on to us in 1981); he subscribes readily to Samuel Johnson's indulgent explanation of Pope's slow progress on his *Iliad*, "He that runs against Time has an antagonist not subject to casualties." We offer our work to Chaucerians as giving the fullest possible account of the contents of "books of wicked wives,"[4] but we hope too for a larger audience, since the classicizing commentaries by their silence, and the moralizing commentaries by their defenses of women (some tentative, some vigorous), extend significantly

1. Lawler has twice offered general accounts of the commentaries, in 1985 and 1991; see the bibliography. In Lawler 1985 (originally a report on our research given at the Chaucer Society meeting at York in 1984), he counts as a commentary a text, "Lucinia avis est," in Harley 3724 that we now regard as a mere collection of glosses and have dropped from consideration. Lawler 1991, p. 98 speaks of a total of nine commentaries, a number reached by including not only Harley 3724 but the reworking of Trivet in University 61 (for which see the Trivet headnote below).

2. Our procedure where there are multiple witnesses (*Grues* 5, Ridewall 8 + 2 fragments, Trivet 9, *Religiosos* 2) has been in each case to study all, then choose one complete and apparently correct manuscript as a convenient base, but weighing all variations from it and emending it when the standard considerations – sense, attestation, scribal usage, fidelity to sources, likely confusion between similar abbreviated forms, etc. – seemed to call for emendation. That is, we follow the same eclectic procedure as we did for our text of the "Dissuasio" (Vol. 1, pp. 108-9), aiming always to deduce what the author wrote. Conjectural emendations are rare in Ridewall and Trivet, more frequent in *Religiosos*, with only two witnesses, and *Grues*, with five witnesses but just two families, both often clearly in error. We have also occasionally had to emend the single witness we have of *Parvus* and Lambeth to produce good sense.

3. Lawler has deposited his transcriptions and photostats, and some other materials, in the archives of the Yale University Library, Hanna his in the English Faculty Library at Oxford University.

4. As we note on page 7 of Volume One, the "Dissuasio" is accompanied by at least one commentary in about forty manuscripts, of which about sixty percent are of English origin.

our understanding of medieval attitudes toward women and marriage.

It was surely the multi-leveled literacy of Map's witty Latin that made the text so attractive to schools and to commentators. Of course the message of celibacy was attractive to the authorities, no doubt, and never too early, either: it is evident from the elementary nature of many of the glosses in the humanist commentaries that the "Dissuasio" was put in the hands of very young boys. In her "Letter from the God of Love," Christine de Pisan says that clerks compose works denigrating women, and give them as texts for study to beginners, to their raw young pupils (Si les baillent en matiere aux premiers,/A leurs nouveaulx et jeunes escolliers), indoctrinating them for life (En maniere d'exemple et de doctrine,/Pour retenir en age tel dottrine).[5] The humanist commentaries surprise one at first by not harping at all on the subjects of marriage and women; rather, they concentrate on spelling out the allusions, as if the primary use this text was put to in the schools was for teaching elegant Latin. But that is merely to say that they used it as effectively as they could, because subtly: if a boy learned elegant Latin, he was captured for the clerical life. Less cynically, one might merely say that these humanist commentaries show the same devotion to the literary and intellectual life that Valerius does.[6]

In Volume One, pp. 7 and 65-67, we spoke about the interest of the fraternal orders in Map's text. Of our three named commentators, one was a Franciscan and two were Dominicans; and we consider that *Religiosos* shows signs of Dominican authorship as well. Two general points can be made here in explanation of this interest. The first is that as confessors and preachers the friars took their mission to women seriously; they had many female adherents, as wills show, and as anti-fraternal satire shows, and as their too-stringent rules on interactions with women suggest.[7] It in fact seems to us, from reading rules such as the Franciscan stipulation that one may not be in conversation with a woman, or hear her confession, without being able to see and be seen by one's companion,[8] that the major reason why friars always traveled in pairs was to avoid the scandal of spending private time with women. Chaucer's friar, and the various friars in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, are sprightly people, and we think the Franciscans especially cultivated sprightliness in imitation of St Francis. Thomas

5. Lines 263-66, ed. Roy, 1891. We have added the comma at the end of line 263, following Fenster and Erler 1990, because like them we take "escolliers" in 264 to be in apposition with "premiers" 263.

6. For further general discussion of the humanistic commentaries, see Lawler 1991.

7. There are good general remarks, as well as much specific information, on the subject in Coakley 1991.

8. Statutes 1260, *AFH* 34 (1941), p. 70: "Nullus frater pro confessione audienda seu quacumque alia de causa iuxta mulierem stet aut sedeat nisi ubi ipse et eius socius libere possint mutuo se videre." The original rule says more generally, "no one should speak to them [women] alone" (*Franciscan Omnibus*, p. 42).

of Celano in his Second Life of Francis, chapter 91, says, "So much did he love a man who was full of spiritual joy that he had these words written down as an admonition to all at a certain general chapter: 'Let the brothers beware lest they show themselves outwardly gloomy and sad hypocrites; but let them rather show themselves joyful in the Lord, cheerful and suitably gracious'" (*Franciscan Omnibus*, p. 468). Presumably, though, they had to moderate their joy a little in the company of women. Making novices study the "Dissuasio Valerii" closely was perhaps meant to prepare them to do pastoral work with women safely. The second thing to remark is how closely Chaucer connects the Friar on the pilgrimage with the Wife. It is he who breaks in on her at the end of her prologue with the remark, "This is a long preamble of a tale," prompting the witty rejoinder at the start of her tale to the effect that women don't have to fear incubuses any more in the modern world—only friars: "In every bussh or under every tree/Ther is noon other incubus but he,/And he ne wol doon hem but dishonour." Any clerk would do, of course, but, as we suggested in Volume One (p. 7), her little skirmish with the friar may be Chaucer's oblique way of recognizing the special affinity the friars seem to have had for Map's text.

In the remainder of this brief introduction, we want to call attention to the matter of broadest general interest in this book, namely the objections to Map's satire on women voiced by the authors of our three moral commentaries. Here is the author of *Religiosos* confronting, tentatively but thoughtfully, Map's attitude to women:

> But the question arises over which many men exercise themselves, whether it is all right to malign women on account of Eve. It seems not. For whatever evil was handed on by Eve was wiped clean by Mary's benediction. Therefore out of reverence for Mary who is the flower of women this should not be done. This author [that is, Map] takes the opposite stance. With all due respect to Mary, I say that it is with women as with angels and religious. An angel, if he is good, is very, very good; if he is bad he is a devil. So too with religious: witness Augustine who said, "Just as I have not found better men than those who have made progress in the religious life, I have not found worse men than those who have fallen away from the religious life." Women too: commonly, what they turn to, they turn to totally. And just as Michael is no worse, nor merits shame, because Lucifer was so bad, neither is one religious or one woman worse though another is as bad as can be. But on this topic one must always speak reverently for Mary's sake. And so to the basic question I say that it is all right to malign what Eve did because it was bad in itself, but Mary not only took the bad away but did it in such a way that it will not ultimately harm those who desire to live a good life. And yet what Eve did still does us certain harm. For clearly we must die, and clearly we suffer much bodily pain, but the bad was so taken away by Mary, and by Christ the fruit of her womb, that what remains of it will not ultimately harm

> those who desire to follow them … John Chrysostom, who of all the doctors of the Church blames bad women most ... nevertheless praises good women very much and says that many women are good. Where woman is condemned in sacred scripture, the word is to be taken as standing for sensuality, which is always prone to evil unless it is held in check by the man, that is, the reason. On this point there is very much to be said; but what is left out here may be found in the book of Melibeus.

In 1997, the same year that we published our first volume, Alcuin Blamires published *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture*, in which he shows that there is a long-standing medieval tradition in defense of women, framed in reply to the anti-feminist literature.[9] (He did not know of our commentaries.) He lists (p. 9) the characteristics of the standard defense, as follows:

1. "It questions the motives and morality of misogynists";
2. "It denounces antagonistic generalization" (i.e., going from "one bad woman" to "all women are bad");
3. "It asserts that God showed signs of special favour to women at creation and subsequently";
4. "It revises the culpability of Eve";
5. "It witnesses women's powerful interventions throughout history (from the Virgin Mary and scriptural heroines to Amazons and modern notables)";
6. "It argues that women's moral capacities expose the relative tawdriness of men's"—that is, that women are actually better than men.

The author of *Religiosos* seems to belong at least in part to this tradition: he revises the culpability of Eve, he insists on the goodness of Mary, he resists generalization: "Just as Michael is no worse because Lucifer was so bad, neither is one religious or one woman worse though another is as bad as can be." And the generalization he does make about women—women commonly, what they turn to, they turn to totally—seems carefully worded to allow for a positive spin: they don't do things by halves. Granting that Chrysostom takes a harsh view of women and yet has a positive side is perhaps typical of his balance. The allegorical interpretation—where woman is condemned in scripture, the word stands for sensuality—is not an argument that Blamires cites. What perhaps puts the author most in the tradition Blamires outlines, though, and what tips his discussion finally in the direction of accepting women, is his closing it by reference to the book of Melibeus, that is, Albertano of Brescia's *Book of Consolation*, which

9. See also McKinley 2001: 57-61; she argues that commentators on Ovid show a complex interest in female psychology, rejecting a simple Eve/Mary dichotomy; and she surveys recent work by scholars such as Barbara Newman, Ralph Hexter, Sharon Farmer, and others giving evidence that medieval clerical thought was not as hidebound in its approach to women as is often thought.

Chaucer translated as "The Tale of Melibee," and which Blamires treats (22-26) as one of the most powerful and articulate of the medieval defenses of women. Our author is by no means perfect, though, as one can see, and on the very next page we find him quoting approvingly an infamous pseudo-Augustinian tract as follows: "In woman there is nothing except what will afflict those around her. Female beauty was made as a goad to sin." And yet he can recover from that winningly. A little farther on, he is talking about advice and brings up the case "when something cannot remain a secret for long, and unless the revelation is prepared for with good counsel, ruin threatens. For example, a woman knows she is pregnant from an adulterous union, of which she will eventually be convicted …. In such a case, since it cannot stay secret long, a safe counselor should be chosen to whom it can be laid bare before the time. For a good counselor knows what to advise in such cases, and how to solve the problem, although it might seem impossible to an unschooled person." The issue here is not women at all, it's advice; he is focused on that, and looking for a good common-sense example—and the example he gives of an illicit pregnancy is totally non-judgmental, and looks at a woman's problem completely from her point of view—he treats her as subject, as we say.

The author of the next commentary, in Lambeth Palace 330, is a most conscientious pedant, and yet can take his place as a defender of women. This too is a moral commentary, not humanist at all, ignoring mythology and the tracing of allusions in order to force moral material out of every nook and cranny of the text. The author's method was apparently in each new portion of text to search the key terms in a bible concordance, and then search for the most apt comments in *Manipulus florum*. He regularly seems to accept what Valerius says at face value. So it comes as quite a surprise when one has waded through all this to find that at the very end of his treatise, he faces the anti-feminism openly (see our Selection 4 below). First he seems to excuse Valerius: of course he has to condemn women, because he's trying the best he can to get his friend not to marry—if he were exhorting a woman not to marry, he'd speak of the vices of men. And then, he gives us paragraph after paragraph on the vices of men: they are suspicious, they seek discord, they get angry and give rebukes, they are impatient, cruel, and unrestrained in violence, they turn their own defects back on their wives, they are adulterous. There are more evil men than good, he says, and he aptly cites Jesus's remark to the Pharisees, "Let him who is without sin among you cast the first stone." "Many men who disparage women are not free of sins themselves, and they write much about the wickedness of women; in a similar vein women might write of the wickedness of men, whose number is as it were infinite." A good man is born maybe once in five hundred years. They are worse than animals. Therefore an instructor of women might write that it is better to abstain from marriage because of the wickedness of men, so that one might be a free woman, outstanding in virtue and devoted to God.

Then he writes, "To complete Valerius's work we may declare two things: first that marriage is good, and second that among the number of women many are good"—and he ends with a long and rather stirring survey of the role of women in the New Testament and the early history of the church. Mary, of course, the new Eve, gets four long paragraphs of praise. Then he starts listing the women in Jesus's life: those Luke mentions who followed Jesus on the path to Calvary, and those who followed his body to the grave; and Mary Magdalene and the other Mary who Matthew says stayed behind after the tomb was closed. And Martha had served him earlier. And women first saw the resurrected Jesus, and first announced the resurrection. Only the virgin Mary and these women kept the faith without doubt, and strengthened the apostles and other male disciples who had begun to hesitate in their faith. Finally Mary Magdalene leads him back to Mary the mother of Jesus, and he quotes St Bernard, who asserts, astutely, that she had to be the source of the early chapters of Luke on the Annunciation and Nativity: she is therefore "the apostle of apostles and evangelist of evangelists: through her the chief doctrine shone to these princes of the faith." That is, the princes of the faith are the apostles and evangelists, all men—but Mary was their teacher. Finally, "many good and most holy women have gone ahead [that is, in the long history of the church], and there are still a great many in the church … so that the whole sex ought not to be reproached. Rather, the church of God is gathered together of diverse sorts." Noah gathered male and female, and "from such the church militant is gathered."

It is hard not to like this ending; the rhetoric is impressive, and the author's resourcefulness in finding apt quotations, exhibited throughout his commentary, does not fail him here. Actually, everything he says (except his insistence that marriage is good) is in line with the case for women as Blamires outlines it: the argument that men are even worse; the resistance to generalization; the argument that Mary more than makes up for Eve; and finally the instancing of scriptural heroines—though Blamires has not presented any one text that argues quite so fully as this one the importance of the women around Jesus, particularly Mary Magdalene.[10] Still one would have to say that for all its surprise and vehemence, this departure from the implicit principles of the commentary, welcome though it is, does not finally break new ground, that is, does not transcend the conventions of the case for women as Blamires outlines them.

Parvus is a different story. We have it in only one manuscript, nearly illegible and with the end torn out, but it is a treasure. It is almost wholly taken up with casting scorn on the "Dissuasio." It begins by saying that the "Dissuasio" was written by "Valerius qui dicitur parvus," that is, "Little Valerius," to distin-

10. There is a truly eloquent celebration of Mary Magdalene, and of women in general, in the thirteenth-century Middle English poem "The Southern Passion" (mentioned by Blamires, p. 111 as "an indignant defense of women's moral reliability"). See our note to Lambeth 330, Selection 4.232–33.

guish him from Valerius Maximus. That sounds like a schoolboy nickname, and is surely a derisive one—the Valerius with the small mind, the Valerius of little (or no) account. The author says right away that Valerius's chief conclusion is that no man ought to get married, and our first and most important task is to destroy that conclusion. He cites Christ going to the wedding in Cana, he cites St Paul, Bede, Augustine, and Jerome on the goodness of marriage; he quotes Seneca on good, bad, and indifferent, and says that marriage is in the class of indifferent things—that is, it is what you make of it. He grants that it may not be as good as virginity, but he also says, ever so sensibly, that it can be better; "for a married man can be so deeply loving that he can outstrip the merits of a less loving virgin."

He makes fun of Valerius's bad logic, as if he said, "This man is running, that man is running, therefore every man is running." It only takes one negative example to destroy such an argument, he says, "and certainly there is not just one negative example but many." Granted that Ruffinus's fiancé is a Circe: it doesn't mean that all women are. So Eve sinned: she is trumped by Mary, and besides men are sons of Eve too, and equally guilty of original sin. Valerius singles out Lucretia and Penelope, but plenty of chaste wives nowadays are better than both. After all, Penelope would have married Alcinous if Odysseus hadn't finally turned up; lots of women nowadays know their husbands are dead but still stay unmarried. He instances Anna, Sara, and the eleven thousand virgins who died with St Ursula. He says that the male gods Valerius brings forth as victimized were simply adulterers, and he basically says he doesn't care about all the unhappy Roman husbands. "Cicero thought that a woman is an obstacle to intense study, because one must be interrupted from time to time on her account. But it doesn't make a woman bad, just because one must leave off studying for meals."

Clearly, his defense too is in the line of argument that Blamires describes: he attacks men, he attacks false generalization, he instances Mary and other good women. But he is much less churchy than the Lambeth 330 author, relying far more on common sense than on quoting the bible and other authorities. He is original in not idolizing Penelope or Lucretia, in standing up to Cicero and Cato, in the sharp remark that a deeply loving husband outstrips the merits of a less loving virgin. And he is utterly refreshing, utterly different from all the other commentators, in keeping the issues of marriage and women at the center of his focus, and giving no quarter to Map's position. His text deserves to be widely known, and we hope it will become so.

Meantime the humanist commentaries are full of interest for medievalists. The struggle the scribes of both Map's text and these commentaries had with proper names shows clearly how much need there was for the sort of acculturation they offer. A comparative overview of the three (excluding Eneas) can be found in Lawler 1991. *Grues* is the simplest, offering students illustrative facts and stories, and occasional verses; the unit annotated is always a single word, usually

a noun. Ridewall goes much deeper, elucidating Valerius's arguments, annotating sentences and paragraphs in addition to single words; we argued that he is teaching his students a method of very close reading, of accounting in interpretation for every detail; his commentary illustrates the devotion to the life of the mind that the "Dissuasio" fosters. Trivet makes a brief nod towards a moral reading, in which man is reason and woman is sensuality, but goes on to offer an extremely careful literal reading that is still of great value for any student of Map's text. He displays both far wider learning and a far finer perception than the other humanist commentators; we argued that he is so in tune with Map as to be a kind of rival for equal status. The authors of both *Parvus* and *Religiosos* show signs of acquaintance with Trivet's commentary; indeed the latter in both its manuscripts follows a text that has Trivet's commentary interspersed, and we do not discount the possibility that Trivet wrote it.[11]

Would Chaucer have known a book of wicked wives with a commentary on Map? We have already mentioned the many "books of wikked wyves" of English origin in which the "Dissuasio" is accompanied by a commentary, and suggested that Chaucer's choice of the Friar to cross swords with the Wife may imply that he knew, or at least knew about, the fraternal commentaries. And presumably not only Map and Jerome but the writers of most of the commentaries, e.g., Ridewall who swallows Valerius on women whole, are in Chaucer's mind when the Wife complains of clerks in their dotage who write that women cannot keep their marriage. Should we then think of Jankyn as owning a commented text, and imposing all its pedantry on his wife along with Map's stories? That is probably to go too far: nothing indicates that he does (the Wife's two citations come from the text, not the commentaries; see Volume One, pp. 69-70), and he perhaps would have thought their fussy scholarship an impertinent distraction from his pure devotion to vilifying wives. Jerome and Theophrastus, who were never commented on, were clearly his favorites anyway.[12]

11. See also the retractation at the end of ms. U of Trivet, quoted in our note to Trivet 1856-59. If it is indeed by Trivet, as we doubt, it is at least a gesture toward honoring women.

12. See further our discussion in *Sources and Analogues* 2.353 and n3. One should keep in mind that there were plenty of "books of wikked wyves" without any of the Valerius commentaries. In our list of 196 mss, there are actually just 8 with all three primary texts: Theophrastus, the Jerome selections, and the "Dissuasio." Of these, just three have commentaries (two are English: Bodley Add. A.44 has Trivet, Bodley Douce 147 has Ridewall and *Grues*). 24 more mss. have two of our three texts; of these only five have commentaries, and only two of those are English. Thus there are just four English manuscripts with at least two of our texts plus a commentary, and so, though we posit that Chaucer knew of the fraternal commentaries, he may well also have seen a "book of wikked wyves" with no commentary and no glosses. The gloss tradition, incidentally, stemming as it does from Eneas of Siena, survives entirely on the continent. Only one English ms., Harley 3724, has glosses (not from Eneas).

We take for granted throughout that anyone using this volume will also have immediate access to our Volume One, and in particular to our text and translation of the "Dissuasio." In our Latin texts, we italicize all verbatim quotations of Map's text, and have tried as far as possible in translating them to use the wording of our translation in Volume One, so that it will be easy for a reader who is using the English to find his place in Map's text. Occasionally that has not been possible. For example, in line 5 we translated the word *augur* as "prophet," but the comment in *Grues*, with its reference to birds, requires "augurer." Also, our usual practice is to identify the commentators' citations of other texts not in the notes but right in the text, in parentheses, at the end of the citation. When a commentator gives a partial identification, we complete it in parentheses. E.g.. *Religiosos* 152 cites Paralipomenon 20; we give "(2) Paralipomenon 20(.12)." Readers following the translation only can look across the page to identify citations.

Other matters of format are the same as described in Vol. 1, p. 118, except that here we do not use slant lines or crosses, and we have signaled conjectural emendations by attaching an asterisk to the lemma in the corpus of variants. For the use of braces in the text of *Grues* and *Parvus*, see their headnotes. Textual notes to Lambeth and *Parvus*, since both are in unique manuscripts, merely list places where we have corrected the text, without asterisks. For Eneas we give variants from just one manuscript, with occasional citations of a few others. For the other four commentaries we report variants from all other manuscripts (though for *Religiosos* there is only one other). For these, we cite all variations from the text printed except the following: variations in spelling, or in word order without change of sense; unique variants unless they seem significant, except that if one variant is cited for a reading, all, even unique variants, are cited; variation in the length of the lemma quoted from the "Dissuasio"; omission of pronouns where sense is not affected; variation between *ergo/igitur/*omission; *iste/ille/ipse/is*; *quia/quod*; *nota quod/nota*; *ut/sicut*; *idest/scilicet/*omission; *etiam/autem/enim/et/-que/*omission; *ad/in*; *hic/ibi/*omission before or after a lemma. But whenever we emend our base text, we report what the other manuscripts have fully. *Om.* X*=X omits as part of a longer omission.

APPENDIX

A Note on the Later English Transmission of the Text of "Dissuasio Valerii"

One can get some taste of what the later English transmission of the "Dissuasio" is like by looking at a single sample variant. This we have cited at Vol. 1, p. 91 as the second "disjunctive error" ("quod semper est ad malum prompta" [and variants] for Map's "quod semper est," 248–49) to indicate manuscripts

which could not have been Chaucer's source for Wife of Bath's Prologue D 756. At that time, we provided a rather antiseptic text, merely noting that "numerous second generation variants" were recorded in the corpus. We now display a full collation; we place those older manuscripts we have used to edit the "Dissuasio" first and separate their readings from those of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English copies by a space (sigla are those we assigned at vol. 1, pp. 89–90):

quod] et BG ChDg^{3}DoDu^{2}FfMm; quia H Co^{3}Dg^{1}Du^{1}. **semper est]** *trs* N; superest Co^{2}Re. **est]** *om.* BGH ChDrDu^{2}Mm; vult Ar; *add* ad malum prompta BGHT ChCo^{2}Co^{3}Dg^{1}DrDu^{1}Du^{2}MmReT (et *add* T), *a blank (five or six letters only) with erasure* R; *add* prompta ad malum Dg^{3}DoFf (prompta *precedes* est Dg^{3}); *add* quia semper est ad malum prompta C1Co^{1}JLo (est *om.* Co^{1}Lo).

Many copies we used in editing the "Dissuasio" do not include this heavy-handed addition. It occurs in none of the beta copies (AA^{1}ArMNS; R may have begun to write the addition but was speedily corrected), and three of the more neutral alpha copies (CDRy) also ignore it. (The absence of D indicates why this variant has no continental manifestations: it was not in the archetype from which all those copies were drawn.)

Two matters about the later manuscripts are of interest. First, a very substantial number does not transmit the addition. We cite above sixteen fourteenth- and fifteenth-century copies with some version of "ad malum prompta"; in contrast, eight copies, AdBuDg^{4}HmL^{1}RdUW, lack it. The situation offers one more instance of the fallaciousness of the old saw, "recentiores, deteriores." Here nine copies (Ch+) happily and faithfully transmit, without degeneration, an error already part of the tradition in the twelfth century, and the eight just mentioned, with apparently equal fidelity, if in a better cause, offer a correct text presumably reflecting the authorial holograph of the 1170s. Only a third of the copies, the seven that embroider upon the addition (through transposition and dittography), are legitimately "deteriores."

The transmissional origin of the eight copies faithful to Map is worth pondering. The evidence does not seem to point to any very direct access to a form of beta archetype (although AdRdU may repay more detailed examination). On those six occasions (see Vol. 1, pp. 107–8) when beta errs, a substantial number of these copies usually agrees—but so, erratically, do a wide range of other manuscripts. And only in isolated instances do the texts carry over any of the eight hard readings virtually restricted to beta copies in early stages of transmission (see Vol. 1, p. 107, n. 184). Moreover, all these copies at other loci in the text (HmUW are perhaps most restrained) offer their own scribal renditions of Map.

Most probably, these copies originate from somewhere in the range of "neutral" alpha and beta manuscripts, books like A^{1}DRyS. As we suggested in vol. 1

(p. 104), these texts are apt to have been the product of spot conflation, which neutralized any definitive ancestral connections; similar conflation of readings from various sources is apt to have continued in the later tradition, to the somewhat unpredictable improvement in individual lemmata of the copies affected.

A second important point about the collation above involves certain ironies. For we expect expositors to go to some pains to comment on a genuinely authorial version. But the variants in fact indicate the power of commentaries at recording—and then perpetuating—deviant forms of the text. The two readings we have identified as "deteriores" are of this type. Dg^{3}DoFf share a commentary, a unique fusion of Ridewall with *Grues*. C1JLo (to which may be added the continental Erfurt fol. 71, in which the addition includes the conjunctive variant of Co^{1}Lo) offer versions of Trivet, and C1J (with a different conjunctive variant) also provide the unique *Religiosos*. (Co^{1} is a late fifteenth-century loose copy that seems to have come on this textual version by accident—and then to have reproduced it scrupulously.) In its more neutral form, "ad malum prompta," the variant is primarily attested from texts of English manufacture appended to Trivet (ChDrMm) and Ridewall ($Co^{2}Co^{3}Du^{1}$). And AdRd are worth citing here as well; they have preserved their beta readings along with *Grues*—and a host of scribalisms definitively their own.

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COMMENTARY ONE:
"GRUES, UT DICIT YSODORUS"

Grues appears independently in two manuscripts and combined with Ridewall's commentary in three others. The two independent manuscripts are:

> Oxford, Bodley Additional A. 365 (Ad), first quarter of the fifteenth century. The *Dissuasio* is on ff. 1-3v, the commentary follows on ff. 3v-6v.
>
> London, British Library Royal 12 D.iii (Rd), also first quarter of the fifteenth century. The *Dissuasio* is on ff. 145-49, and the commentary follows on ff. 149-152v. Similar in age and format, these two manuscripts are also quite close textually; we call them group α.

The three Ridewall manuscripts that combine it with *Grues* (see the Ridewall headnote) also form a closely related group, which we call β. They are:

> Oxford, Digby 147 (Dg^3), first quarter of the fifteenth century, ff. l83-204v. As in the other two members of this group, the commentary is interspersed with the text.
>
> Oxford, Douce 147 (Do), fifteenth century, ff. 13-25.
>
> Cambridge, University Library Ff.vi.12 (Ff), fourteenth/fifteenth century, ff. 130-59.

The combiner's usual procedure is to give Ridewall's commentary first, then add *Grues*, usually with the phrase "Item alius expositor." He tries, however, not to repeat what is already in Ridewall, so that when *Grues* has substantially the same material as Ridewall, as in the account of the geese whose honking saved Rome, he gives Ridewall only. At other times he includes a sentence or two from *Grues* that is not redundant with Ridewall, and omits all else.

The commentator wrote for an audience of schoolboys, glossing words, quoting verse, and filling in mythological stories; he avoids moral comment, although most of his remarks and explanations have at least an implicit moral dimension. Several English glosses imply that he was English. The only allegorical interpretation comes when the three goddesses Juno, Pallas, and Venus are associated with the active, contemplative, and voluptuous lives—and that passage may well be an addition. For a full analysis of the author's assumptions about annotation, and a comparison with those of Ridewall and Trivet, see Lawler 1991. There is no indication of date, but its very simplicity suggests that it is the earliest of our commentaries, perhaps even from late in the thirteenth century, though the manuscripts are all 14/15c. The author cites no writer more recent than Martin of Troppau, who died in 1278; he also draws without attribution

on the Dominican Thomas of Cantimpré, who died in 1272 (see 131-43n).

We present Ad, frequently emended and/or extended from the Ridewall group (β), given in the spelling of Dg^3. Such extensions are bracketed in the usual way; emendations within them are enclosed in braces ({}). Although locally inferior—witness such scribal readings as *suggestu* for *suo gestu* 42 or *quo genere* for *que specie* 162—β represents a fuller version of the text than AdRd (α). It has enabled us to recover several omissions by scribal eyeskip (e.g. at 217-19) and to achieve full sense where α is garbled in many places, as well as to recover whole passages omitted in α. It is possible, of course, that such passages are not omissions in α but additions in β by the combiner of Ridewall and *Grues*, who may have had access to yet a third commentary, or may have added them on his own. Nevertheless, these passages, with the possible exception of the allegory of the goddesses (239-61), seem to us wholly in keeping with the style and intentions of the author. They include lines 22-23, 42-45, 62-64, 65-68, 89-91, 126-30, 217-19, 232, 233-61, 280-81, and 306-7, as well as a number of fuller quotations of verse: for example, when the author cites the *Ecloga Theoduli*, β always gives the full stanza, α only the incipit.

RULES FOR "GRUES" VARIANTS:

1. Where α is the only witness, Rd is cited wherever it varies.
2. The word *Item* at the start of entries in β, which the combiner commonly uses to pass from Ridewall to *Grues*, is not reported.
3. Ad is cited as A, Dg^3 as Dg, Ff as F.
4. Where β omits a passage because Ridewall has given its gist, reference is made to the relevant lines in Ridewall.

Here the Letter of Valerius to Rufinus ends, and the commentary on it begins.

Cranes (grues), as Isidore says, "took their name from their call, which is a cooing sound. They fly in a line behind one leader, and high in order to get a better view of the places they are heading for. They divide the night into watches, taking turns on watch, and holding stones in their feet with which they reprove dozing. Their color shows their age, for they blacken in old age."

The *screech-owl* (ulula), as Isidore says, "is a bird that was named for grief and complaint (p*la*nctu et *lu*ctu), for its call sounds like weeping or groaning."

The *owl* (bubo), as Isidore says, "has its name from its call. It is a bird that tokens death, loaded with feathers, to be sure, but always slowed down by the weight of its fat. Ovid says of it:

> He (Ascalaphus) is turned into a repulsive bird, the harbinger of grief,
> the lazy screech-owl, a dark reminder to men that they are mortal."

An *augurer* is one who predicts the future from the chattering of birds.

The *lark* (luscinia), as Isidore says, "is a bird that gets its name from 'singing the light' (lucem canens), because it sings at dawn. It is also called *acredula*: Cicero says, 'and the acredula busies itself with its morning song.'" It is thought that the name *alauda* was given it because it praises the day (a laude diei), since, as Neckham says, "The rising of the dawn never deceives it, but it rises like a joyful precentor to proclaim the day." *Acredula* is from *acer, aceris*, in English, "maple."

The *nightingale*, as Neckham says, is a small bird that spends the whole night awake, indulging itself in sweet song. It shuns places exposed to the cold. There is a well-known river in Wales on whose bank nearer Great Britain this bird sings, but if it flies across to the other side it immediately stops singing. An overly jealous knight

1 **Explicit . . . eiusdem** α *only*. 3 **Hee** hec β. **properant** appropiant DgDo, appropriant F. 4. **autem** enim α. 8 **Ulula . . . Ysidorus** Et est β. 9 **nuncupata est** nominata α. **aut . . . gemitum** fletu α. 10 **Bubo . . . Ysidorus** et β. 12 **semper** quidem α. **pinguedine** pigricie β. 12-14 **de . . . omen** *as Ridewall* 31-35 β. 12 **dicit** *om.* Rd. 13 **fit** sit α. 16-17 **Lucinia . . . canens** *as Ridewall* 69-72 β. 18 **unde** de qua β. **Cicero** Cicero in Pronosticis β. 20 **sit** *om.* α. **diei** dei β. **nomen** nominee DoF. 22 **surgit** exurgit β. 22-23 **Acredula . . . mapel** *om.* α. 23 **mapel** mappl Do. 25-26 **insompnem . . . pervigil** *om.* F. 25 **insompnem** insompnend' A. **Delicioso** dilectio β. **garritui** garritu α. 26 **frigori** frigora β. 27 **maiori** maior DgF. 29 **quidam** enim

Explicit epistola Valerii ad Rufynum. Incipit commentum eiusdem.

Grues, ut dicit Ysodorus (12.7.14), "nomen de propria voce sumpserunt, tali enim sono susurrant. Hee autem dum properant unam sequuntur. Excelsa [autem] petunt, quo facilius videant quas petunt terras. Nocte excubias dividunt, et ordinem vigiliarum faciunt per vices, tenentes lapides suspensos digitis quibus sompnos arguunt. Etatem in illis color prodit, nam in senectute nigrescunt."

Ulula, ut dicit Ysidorus (12.7.38), "avis a planctu et luctu nuncupata est; cum clamat enim [aut fletum aut gemitum] imitatur."

Bubo, ut dicit Ysidorus (12.7.39), "a sono vocis nomen compositum habet, avis feralis, onusta quidem plumis, sed gravi [semper] detenta pinguedine, de qua Ovidius dicit:

> Fedaque [fit] volucris, venturi nuncia luctus,
> Ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen." (*Met*. 5.549–50)

Augur est ille qui ex garritu avium futura prenoscit.

Lucinia, ut dicit Ysidorus (12.7.37), "avis est unde et nomen sumpsit quasi lucem canens, quia cantu suo signare solet diei surgentis exortum. Eadem dicitur acredula, unde Cicero, 'Et matutinos exercet acredula cantus' (*Div*. 1.8.14)." Creditur enim quod [sit] ei alauda a laude diei nomen sortita, quia, ut dicit Alexander (*De nat. rer.* 1.68), numquam eam fallit ortus aurore, sed in preconia diei surgit letabunda precentrix. [Acredula dicitur de acer, aceris, Anglice mapel.]

Philomena, ut dicit Alexander (*De nat. rer.* 1.51), avis est exigua que totam noctem ducit [insompnem]. Delicioso [garritui] pervigil indulget; loca frigori obnoxia reformidat. Est enim fluvius notissimus in Cambria in cuius ripa Britannie maiori viciniore avis ista cantat; si vero ultra ripam se transferat, a cantu prorsus desistit.

had a nightingale pulled apart by four horses because by lulling his wife too much it had driven her into the allurements of illicit love.

The *blackbird* is a black bird with a reddish beak that sings sweetly.

Gnatones are poseurs; they take their name from a character named Gnato who says in Terence's *Eunuch*:

> There is a class of men who want to be first in everything, but aren't: I make them my target, but I don't try to get them to laugh at me; instead I laugh at them.... Whatever they say, I praise it, and if they turn around and say the opposite, I praise that too. If one of them says No, I say No; if he says Yes, I say Yes.

These Gnato-types are also called parasites. A parasite goes about as it were "making situations" (parans situs) by mimicking the gestures of this or that person. A wise man says, "What difference does it make whether these gnatos make noise above or below? They stink just as much in the mouth as in the rear end, and so their words are to be disdained as if they were turds."

Comedians, as Isidore says, are poets whose plots were about seductions of virgins or about men who chase whores. The word has a long middle syllable, as this hexameter shows:

> May god provide me, a comedian, an hour while I eat!

Circe. Note that when Ulysses was trying to get back home after the Trojan war, he was carried off course into Italy, where Circe lived, a most famous witch who used to change those who came to her into wild animals. She burned so with love for Ulysses that she used her witchcraft to make a love potion, which she offered to him in the hope of enjoying his love; but he recognized her wicked intent and refused to taste it. His companions, however, drank from the accursed cup and were turned into animals. Horace says of Ulysses:

α. **Philomenam** pro philomena β. 30 **illam** eam β. **ad** ab β. 32-33 **Merula . . . canit** *as Ridewall* 72-75 β, *adding* in aliis partibus invenitur tota nigra habens rostrum subrufum. 35 **Eunucho** Enucho α. 37 **consector** confectorum α. **hisce** dis. de i. β. **paro** pro β. 38 **ultro** ut Rd; α *adds* arrideant sed hiis ultro. 39 **rursum** et rursum β. **id** *om.* β. **quoque*** quidquid αβ. 41 **Parasiti iidem** per astutidem β (astitudem F). **vocantur** vocantur a talibus β. **Et** *om.* β. 42 **scit** sit ADgF (*perhaps merely a variant spelling*). **suo gestu** suggestu β. 42-45 **Dicit . . . sunt** *om.* α. 43 **refert*** prefert β. **vel** an DoF. 46 **Ysidorus** idem Ysidorus β. 48 **habet** habent RdDgF. 49 **Prestet** presto β. 50 **Nota . . . Troianum** *as Ridewall* 102-3 β. **in** et in DoF. **patriam** patria sua DgF. 51 **Circe** sirtes Dg, cirte F. **maga** magna et α magna DgF. 56 **de Ulixe** loquens de

Miles [quidam] nimis zelotes Philomenam quatuor equis distrahi precepit, eo quod animum uxoris sue nimis demulcens illam ad illiciti amoris compulisset illicebras.

Merula avis est nigra habens rostrum subrufum, [f. 4] et dulciter canit.

Gnatones dicuntur histriones, trahentes nomen a quodam viro qui vocabatur Gnato. Unde Terencius in [*Eunucho*]:

> Est hominum genus qui primos omnium rerum se esse volunt, nec sunt; hos [consector], hisce ego non paro me ut rideant sed hiis ultro arrideo.... Quicquid dicunt, laudo; rursum id si negant, laudo [quoque]; negat quis, nego; ait, aio. (2.2.16–20)

Parasiti iidem Gnatonici vocantur. Et dicitur parasitus quasi parans situs, qui [scit] representare gestus singulorum suo gestu. [Dicit philosophus: "Quid {refert} an gnatones isti superius vel inferius intonant? Sicut in posteriore parte, sic fetent et in ore, et ideo verba eorum ut stercora contempnenda sunt."]

Comedi, ut dicit Ysidorus (18.46), sunt poete qui "stupra virginum et amatores meretricum in suis fabulis exprimebant," et habet mediam longam, unde versus:

> Prestet dum comedo michi cómédo deus horam.

Circen. Nota quod Ulixes, post bellum Troianum in patriam volens redire, delatus est in Ytaliam ubi erat Circe [maga] famosissima, que accedentes ad se in ferinas convertebat qualitates. Unde illa accensa amore Ulixis maleficiis suis confecit amoris poculum, quod propinavit Ulixi, ut sic amore illius frueretur; sed ipse comperta malicia gustare noluit. Socii vero ipsius bibentes de nephando poculo mutati sunt in bestias. Unde Oracius de Ulixe:

> He knows about the voices of the Sirens and Circe's potion. If he had drunk it foolishly and greedily like his companions, he'd have lost his human form and lived brainlessly under the dominion of that whore.

Honeyed poison is poison coated with honey.

Babel means confusion. Babel was a tower that the giants built after the flood; it is now called Babylon. Since it means confusion, *ministers of Babel* are ministers of confusion.

Tiriaca in English is treacle. As Isidore says, the tirus is a snake from which is made an antidote to all poisons, which is called tiriac.

Coluber is a kind of serpent, in English, "snake."

Tongueless. There is a difference between tongueless, silent, and mute. The tongueless man speaks seldom; the silent man sometimes speaks, sometimes doesn't; the mute man does not speak at all. The *eloquent* man pours out his words quickly and unimpeded.

The *goose*, as Isidore says, is a domestic bird whose honking makes an awful kind of noise. "It marks the watches of the night by the regularity of its honking. No other animal catches the scent of a man as the goose does. And so with its honking it surprised the attack of the Gauls on the Capitol," and the Romans rose to arms and battled down the enemy manfully. Martin says in his *Chronicle*: It happened once that the Romans were conquered by an army of Gauls, "and the whole city of Rome was taken except the Capitol, which they would have lost too if the ever-watchful goose had not awakened the Romans, who were sleeping exhausted from the fight, with its loud noise."

The *swan* (olor, oloris), as Isidore says, "is the bird that the Greeks call *cygnus*," and the inflected forms have a long middle syllable. The cygnus, as Isidore says, "is so

vlixe dicit β. 57 **novit** novit vlixem β. 59 **excors** β *adds* vix esset canis immundus (Do inmudus) amica luctosus (*a garbled version of Horace's line 26*: Vixisset canis immundus vel amica luto sus). 60 **circumlitum** cerui limitum β. 61-63 **Babel . . . confusionis** *om.* α. 64 **Anglice treacle** *om.* β. 64-67 **tirus . . . snake** *om.* α. 64 **tirus*** tiriaca β. 65 **antidotum*** antitodum β. 66 **tiriaca*** tarrace DgDo tarnica F. 68 **est** *om.* α. 69 **tacitus** tacitus est β. **qui** ille qui α. 72-81 **Ancer . . . excitasset** *as Ridewall* 161-85 β. 80 **si** nisi Rd. 81 **non** *om.* Rd. 82-83 **Olor . . . longam** *as Ridewall* 185-87 β. 82 **ut . . . Ysidorus** *om.* β. 85 **modulatis** modulantis α. **Inde** Indi α. **autem**

Sirenum voces et Circes pocula novit,
Que si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
Sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors. (*Ep.* 1.2.23–25)

Mellitum toxicon, id est venenum circumlitum melle.

Babel interpretatur confusio. [Babel erat turris quam edificabant gigantes post diliuvum que modo vocatur Babilonia, et interpretatur confusio, unde et *ministri Babel* dicuntur ministri confusionis.]

Tiriaca, Anglice treacle: [{tirus}, ut dicit Ysidorus (cf.4.9.8), est quidam vermis de quo conficitur {antidotum} quod delet omne venenum et illud vocatur {tiriaca}.

Coluber est genus serpentis, Anglice snake.]

Elinguem. Differencia [est] inter elinguem, tacitum, et mutum. Elinguis est qui rarissime loquitur; tacitus qui aliquando loquitur, aliquando non; mutus qui omnino non loquitur. *Facundus* est qui velociter et expedite profert sua verba.

Ancer, ut dicit Ysidorus (12.7.52), avis domestica que, cum clangere ceperit, terribilem quodammodo sonum reddit; "vigilias noctis clangoris assiduitate testatur; nullum enim animal ita odorem hominis sentit ut ancer; unde in clangore eius Gallorum ascensus in Capitolium deprehendit," et sic Romani consurgentes ad arma viriliter hostes debellarunt. Unde Martinus in Cronica sua (p. 403, ll. 29–31): Accidit quodam tempore quod Romani victi fuerant ab exercitu Gallorum, "et capta est tota civitas Romana preter Capitolium, quod et perdidissent si pervigil ancer Romanos ex lassitudine pugne dormientes clamore valido non excitasset."

Olor, ut dicit Ysidorus (12.7.18), "avis est quam Greci cignum vocant," et habet mediam longam. Cignus, ut dicit Ysidorus (12.7.18–19), "a canendo dicitur eo quod carminis dulcedinem

called from singing (canendo), because it pours out sweet song in modulated sounds. They say that it sings sweetly because it has a long, stiff neck, and a voice that winds and struggles long will inevitably emit varied melodies. They say, too, that in the far northern parts when people play the harp many swans fly up and sing along skillfully, on key," and that they sing especially when they are dying.

The *chimera* is a beast that has the face of a lion, the belly of a goat, and the tail of a serpent, and is compared to a whore in this couplet:

> It is with all truth that a whore is called a chimera: a lion in the face, a goat in the belly, a snake in the tail.

For a whore lifts her face like a lion, stinks in the belly like a she-goat, and stings at the end like a serpent, because she prepares the torments of hell for her lovers.

Sirens, as Isidore says, are sea monsters, "partly beasts, partly young women," who deceive many with their singing. They are said to lull sailors to sleep with the sweetness of their song: "they made sweet music, one on the flute, another with her voice, a third on a lyre." But Ulysses, crossing the sea and desiring to hear their songs, had his companions' ears plugged with wax and frankincense, and had himself bound to the mast with ropes, and thus he heard their song yet crossed unscathed.
Empedocles the philosopher, seeking to make a name for himself, leapt into the flames of Mount Aetna and willingly allowed himself to burn. He thought he would thus seem to have escaped the limits of earth and be counted, as a lover of celestial things, in the number of the immortals. Whence Horace:

> I shall relate a death: When Empedocles desired to be thought an immortal god, he coolly leapt into burning Aetna.

om. β. **eum** est DoF. 86 **eo** *om.* β. 87 **eluctantem . . . iter** per longum eluctuantem vocem et flexuosam suaviter α. 88-90 **Ferunt . . . ipsorum** *om.* α. 91-92 **Chimera . . . meretrici** *as Ridewall* 194-97 β. 92 **unde quidam** iuxta illud (versus F) β. 98-104 **Sirenes . . . illesus** *as Ridewall* 207-32 β. 99 **virgines** virgiens Rd. 102 **transitum** transititum A. 105 **Epodocles philosophus** *as Ridewall* 233-34 β. 105-106 **in . . . permisit** *om.* β. 106 **sic** sibi β. 107 **evasor** contemptor DgDo, contemptorum F. 110 **ardentem** *om.* β. 112-113 *om.* α. 114-120 **Phebus. . .**

[modulatis] vocibus fundit. [Inde] autem suaviter eum canere dicunt eo quod longum collum et inflexum habet, et necesse est [eluctantem vocem per longum et fluxuosum iter] varias reddere modulaciones. [Ferunt etiam in Yporboreis partibus precinentibus citharedis olores plurimos advolare apteque ad modum concinere," et maxime contra mortem ipsorum.]

Chimera bestia est habens faciem leonis, ventrem capre, caudamque serpentis, et comparatur meretrici, unde quidam:

Omni re vera meretrix est dicta chimera:
Parte leo prima, media caper, anguis in yma.

Extollit enim meretrix faciem quasi leo, fetet in ventre quasi capra, pungit extremo quasi serpens, quia inferni tormenta suis amatoribus parat.

Sirenes, ut dicit Ysidorus (11.3.30–31), sunt monstra marina "partim fere, partim virgines," que cantibus suis multos decipiunt, et dicuntur navigantibus soporem immittere dulcedine sui cantus, "qua una tibia, altera voce, tercia lira canebat." Ulixes vero [transitum] per mare faciens et audire cupiens cantus earum, fecit obturare aures sociorum cum cera et thure, et seipsum ligari fecit ad malum navis cum funibus, et sic audito cantu transibat illesus.

Epodocles philosophus, volens sibi famam adquirere, in Ethnam montem ardentem prosilivit et sponte se ardere permisit, ut sic visus terrenorum evasor, et celestium amator in numero immortalium esse putaretur. Unde Oracius:

Narrabo [f. 4v] interitum: deus immortalis haberi
Dum cupit Epodocles, ardentem frigidus Ethnam
[Insiluit]. (*Ars poetica*, 464-66)

[*Dalida*. Nota est historia qualiter Sampson adamavit Dalidam

Delilah. The story is well known of how Sampson loved Delilah and was blinded and assigned to the mill because of a trick of hers.

Phoebus, who was also called Apollo, was Jupiter's son. He had a son himself, named Phaethon or Paeon. When Phaethon was out walking one day he was struck by lightning and died. His father, Apollo, was enraged and wanted to kill the smiths who made lightning, but Jupiter was unwilling to allow the smiths to be killed, and so revived Apollo's son. Apollo went to King Admetus and became his shepherd. Whence Theodulus:

> Apollo sentenced the Cyclopes, who made lightning at Jove's bidding,
> to death for striking down Paeon. Soon after, deprived of his godhead
> by the wrath of the gods, he took over Admetus's herd.

Fascinno, -as, as Hugutio says, means "to enchant, as it were to attack with flattery, to deceive by praising"; from it comes the masculine noun *fascinus, -i*, enchantment. Some people's eyes are said to burn what they look at, and such action is called fascination; it may well be that demons are behind this sin.

The *phoenix*, as Isidore says, is a bird that is said to live to five hundred years, and is then reborn by cremating itself, and there is always just one, never more. It is as big as an eagle, with a crested head, shiny gold about the neck, and a purple rump, though the tail (books say) has a rosy and cerulean sheen. When it starts to grow heavy with age, it foresightedly constructs a nest from incense and myrrh and precious spices in a most beautiful tree situated above a most pleasant fountain in the highest parts of the East. Then by beating its wings it attracts the hot rays of the sun to itself and falls on the nest; the spices are kindled by the heat of the sun, and it too takes fire and burns up. Then, a few days after it has burnt to death, a worm

ipsius *as Ridewall* 282-318 β. 119 **relevavit** relegavit A. 122-24 et cetera α. 123 **deitate** divinitate Dg. 125-29 *om.* α. 134 **roseus ac** *om.* α. **ceruleus*** acceruleus α serulonis Dg, serulonius Do, cerulonus F. 134-42 **Cumque . . . reformatur** *om.* β. 135 **ceperit** perceperit Rd. 142 **mat-**

et dolo ipsius excecatus est et mole deputatus.]

Phebus, qui alio nomine dicebatur Appollo, fuit filius Iovis. Iste Phebus habuit quendam filium qui dicebatur Pheton sive Peon. Iste Pheton dum quadam die iret spaciatum percussus fulmine mortuus est. Quamobrem iratus est Appollo pater suus; voluit occidere fabros qui fulmina fabricabant; sed Iupiter nolens permittere fabros occidi filium suum [relevavit]. At ille pergens ad regem Athmetum factus est pastor ipsius. Unde Theodolus:

> Fulmina Ciclopes Iovis imperio fabricantes
> [Peone percusso morti decrevit Appollo.
> Mox {deitate} sua superum spoliatus in ira,
> Admeti curam pecoris suscepit agendam.] (93-96)

[*Fascinno*,-nas, ut dicit Hugucio (F.1.32), id est "incantare quasi adulando impetere, laudando decipere," unde hic facinus, -ni, id est, incantatio. Dicuntur enim quorundam oculi visu urentes, et talis actus dicitur fascinus sive fascinacio, et potest fieri quod huic peccato inserviant demones.]

Fenix, ut dicit Ysidorus (12.7.22), avis est que ad quingentos annos vivere dicitur, et post seipsam cremando renascitur, et semper unica est et non plures. Est autem ad modum aquile magna, cristato capite, circa collum fulgore aureo, postera parte purpurea preter caudam, cuius nitor [roseus ac] [ceruleus] scribitur. Cumque etate provida gravescere ceperit, in altissimis orientis partibus in arbore pulcherrima super amenissimum fontem posita nidum struit ex thure et mirra et aromatibus preciosis: tunc fervidos solis orbes alarum agitacione in se concitans super struem ruit, et solis ardore accensis aromatibus, ipsa pariter accensa comburitur. Inde post paucos combustionis sue dies, vermis ex ipso fenicis cinere

is born from the ashes of the phoenix; soon it is clothed with the oarage of wings, and then is reformed perfectly into the pristine mature bird.

Martin says in his Chronicle that when Tarquin, nicknamed the proud, king of the Romans, was besieging a certain city, Tarence his son and Terpicinus the husband of *Lucretia*, who in beauty and virtue was the noblest matron in all Rome, were arguing with each other about the chastity of their wives. Tarquin's son wanted to find out the truth of the matter, so he returned to Rome—and found his wife sporting in adultery. But when he came to Lucretia's house, he found her inside grieving over the absence of her husband. He handed her a letter as if from her husband, urging her to take him in as a guest, which she did, not wanting to seem to take her husband's orders lightly. She prepared him a meal and a place to sleep, then withdrew with her maids to their private quarters. But during the night Tarquin's son went to the house where Lucretia was sleeping, taking an Ethiopian with him, and tried to seduce her. When she resisted, he threatened to kill her and the Ethiopian, and say the next day that he had found them together. So she reluctantly consented in order to avoid dishonor after death. But in the morning she reported it to her uncle Brutus, went back home, and, unable to bear the pain of slander, killed herself—for which Brutus and the whole Roman Senate threw Tarquin and his son out of Rome. This same story is told in the *Scholastic History*, on the Book of Daniel.

Penelope was the wife of Ulysses. When he was kept at the Trojan war for ten years, she was sought by many lovers, but permitted herself to be violated by none.

uram* matrem α (β *out*). 143 **Ait** narrat β. 144 **Tarquinius*** Tarquinus αβ. 145 **suus** eius β. **cum** cum alias vocat eum collatinum DoF (*a gloss, made after the two commentaries were joined, taken into the text*). **Terpicino** Tripiciano β. 146 **que specie** quo genere β. 149 **in . . . ioculantem** epulantem et iocantem cum adulteriis β. 150 **pervenisset** venisset β. 151 **ei** *om.* β. 152 **eum** eum ipsa nocte β. **reciperet** susciperet β. 154 **parasset** preparasset β. **vero** *om.* β. 155 **filius** filio β. **dormiebat** dormierat β. 158 **dicturus** ducturus β. 160 **hoc retulit** hec omnia indicavit β. 160-61 **et . . . sustinens** *om.* β. 161 **quod** hoc β. 162 **Rome** *om.* β. **Tarquinium** Tarquinum β. 163 **dicitur in** dicit β. **Scolastica** ecclesiastica α. 165-66 **Penelope . . . annos** *as Ridewall* 361-63 β. 166 **a**[1] licet a β. 168 **Sabine** nota quod sabine (sabini DoF) β. 168-70 **quarum . . .**

procreatur, infra breve tempus induitur alarum remigio et tunc in avem pristinam [maturam] perfectissime reformatur.

Ait Martinus in Cronica sua (cf. p. 403, 8-11) quod, cum [Tarquinius] cognomento Superbus, unus rex Romanorum, quandam civitatatem obsideret, Tarencius filius suus cum Terpicino marito *Lucrecie*, que specie et virtute fuit nobilissima matrona Romanorum, contenderunt inter se de castitate uxorum suarum. Deinde filius Tarquinii volens hoc probare Romam rediit et invenit uxorem suam in adulterio ioculantem. Cum vero ad domum Lucrecie pervenisset, invenit eam in domo sua luctuosam propter absenciam mariti sui. Tunc ille attulit ei litteras quasi ex parte mariti sui ut eum hospicio reciperet, quod illa, ne videretur preceptum mariti sui contempnere, fecit. Cumque convivium et lectum parasset, semetipsam cum puellis in secreto collocavit. Nocte vero veniente, filius Tarquinii domum in qua Lucrecia dormiebat adiit, Ethiopem secum ducens, et interpellavit eam de stupro; sed, cum ipsa consentire nollet, minatus est eam interficere cum illo Ethiope, dicturus in crastinum se illos pariter invenisse. Tunc illa, ne post mortem diffameretur, licet nolens, consensit. Mane autem facto, Bruto avunculo suo hoc retulit, atque domum rediens et vituperii dolorem non sustinens semetipsam interfecit; propter quod Brutus et omnis Senatus Rome Tarquinium cum filio suo de Roma eiecit. Hoc idem dicitur in Historia [Scolastica] super Danielem (*PL* 198.1474).

Penelope fuit uxor Ulixis que, cum ille moraretur ad bellum Troianum per decem annos, a multis amatoribus petebatur, sed a nullo se permisit violari.

Sabine fuerunt mulieres castissime quarum amore stimulati

The *Sabines* were very chaste women. Pricked with desire for them, the Romans gathered an army, invaded their country, and carried off wives for themselves from them, which was the start of a very serious war.

Scylla was the daughter of King Nisus, who had a lock of purple hair, and could not be conquered by anyone as long as he kept that lock. But it happened that King Minos of Crete had besieged the castle where King Nisus was staying, and Scylla, too much taken with Minos's beauty, sent to him to say that she would betray the castle to him if he would marry her, and Minos promised to do so. Then by a trick she cut the lock from her father's head, and immediately he was conquered. Minos, however, fearing that a woman who had deceived her own father might play some similar trick on him, refused to marry her. In her grief she ran down to the sea to throw herself in, but the gods pitied her and changed her into the bird called the lark, and changed her father into the bird that still carries his name. And so today the sparrow hawk (accipiter nisus) still preys on the lark, as if it hoped to avenge the injury Scylla did to her father. Whence Theodulus:

> Scylla burns for sex, Minos has stirred her passions; she stripped her old father of his purple lock; but, spurned by the man, she gains feathers and grows a beak; her father pursues her everywhere, the air sings with his curved talons.

There was a king named *Cinyras* who had a daughter named *Myrrha*, who burned for the love of her father, and with the conniving of an old woman entered his bed and was debauched by her own father. When he found out, he wanted to kill her, but by the will of the gods she was changed into the tree that still carries her name. Whence Ovid, in the *Remedy of Love*:

gravissimum} *as Ridewall* 393-96 β. 171 **Scilla** Item alius expositor dicit scilla (illa Do, alla F) β. 173 **Crete** grecie β. 176 **spopondit** spospondit AdF. **Minos** *om.* β. **Tunc illa** illa vero β. 177 **sui** *om.* β. 178 **Nisus** *om.* β. **enim** vero β. 179 **que . . . decepit** *om.* β. 181 **mutaverunt** mutaverint β. 182 **prosequitur** sequitur β. 183 **vindicari** vindicare α. 183-84 **Scilla patri suo** sibi filia sua β. 185 **torquebat** commovit α. 186-88 et cetera α. 186 **veterem*** ventem Dg, ventrem DoF. 188 **Vexat ubique*** Rex Nisi que β. **curvis*** crinis β. 190 **consilium** consilium et cautelis et fraudibus β (cauteles et fraudes Dg, *corrected in margin*) (*cf. Ridewall* 385-86). 191 **vetule** vetule proprie nutricis (*cf. Ridewall* 386) (F *adds* et) in tenebris β. **eius** suum β. 192 **volebat** voluit β. **occidere** interficere que tamen fugit et per fugam mortem evasit β (*cf. Ridewall* 389). 193 **mutata est*** mutatur A, conversa est Rd, mutata erat β. 195 **sensisses** sensisset β. 197 *om.* β. 199

Romani collecto exercitu ingressi sunt fines earum et ex illis rapuerunt sibi uxores, pro qua re ortum est bellum gravissimum.

Scilla fuit filia Nisi regis, qui habuit crinem purpureum in capite suo, et a nullo potuit superari quamdiu crinem illum habuit. Contigit autem quod Minos, rex Crete, castrum obsiderat in quo dictus rex Nisus morabatur, ex cuius pulcritudine Scilla nimis delectata mandavit ei quod castrum sibi traderet si eam vellet ducere in uxorem: et [spopondit] Minos. Tunc illa fraudulenter crinem purpureum de capite patris sui abstulit, et continuo devictus est Nisus. Minos [f. 5] enim metuens ne forte ipsa sibi fraudem faceret que patrem proprium decepit, noluit eam ducere. At illa dolens cucurrit ad mare ut se precipitaret in eo, sed dii miserti ipsius [mutaverunt] eam in avem que vocatur alauda. Patrem vero ipsius mutaverunt in avem sui nominis. Unde adhuc Nisus prosequitur alaudam quasi cupiens [vindicari] de iniuria quam fecerat Scilla patri suo. Unde Theodolus:

> Ardet Scilla thoros, [torquebat] viscera Minos,
> [Purpureo {veterem} spoliavit crine parentem;
> Sed contempta viro plumas capit insita rostro;
> {Vexat ubique} pater, {curvis} sonat unguibus aer.] (277-80)

Erat quidam rex nomine *Cinaras*, qui habuit filiam nomine *Mirram*, que ardebat in amorem patris sui, et per consilium cuiusdam vetule intravit lectum eius, et corrupta est a patre suo. Quod cum percepisset pater, volebat eam occidere, sed deorum voluntate [mutata est] in arborem sui nominis. Unde Ovidius *De remedio amoris*:

> Si cito sensisses quantum peccare parasses,
> Non tegeres vultus cortice, Mirra, tuos. (99-100)

> If you had known clearly how far you were prepared to sin, Myrrha,
> you would not have covered your face with bark.

And someone else:

> Admire a new miracle: Myrrha changed by love into myrrh; that is
> what bitter love brings.

Europa was a very beautiful young woman, the daughter of King Agenor. Jupiter fell in love with her as she was walking in a meadow among the cattle, and changed himself into a gorgeous bull in order to seduce her. Europa saw how lovely the bull was, went to see its loveliness up close, reached flowers to its mouth for it to eat, and did so more and more often, until at last she felt so at ease that she dared to climb on its back—and Jupiter the bull then rose from the ground and abducted her, carried her across the sea, and took her virginity. Whence Theodulus:

> The great beauty of Europa moved Jupiter's warm pith, and he changed
> the mantle of his deity into a bull; he debauched the virgin without
> facing the arms of Agenor; he gives her the name that the third part
> of the world now has.

Leucothoe was a woman of elegance and beauty whom Phoebus lusted for, but she threw herself into the sea in order to avoid dishonor. Phoebus went down into the sea after her to bring her back, but the sea-gods plucked her into their midst. Phoebus still regularly goes down into the sea hoping to find her, and that is what makes an eclipse of the sun.

Mars lay with Venus, Jupiter's sister; when Vulcan, Jupiter's smith, found out, he did not dare spread rumors about them, so he put nets around their bed and caught them in their shame. Vulcan made such subtle nets that nobody could touch them or

amarus amor avarus humor β. 200 **Europa** Item alius expositor dicit europa β. 201 **mutavit** et mutavit β. 202 **eam** europam β. 203 **tam speciosum** pulcherimum β. **et** *om.* α. ipsius *om.* β. 204 **os** ora DoF. 205 **sic** ita β. 207 **abstulit** rapuit β. 211-13 et cetera α. 213 **Leucothoe** Leucotoen α; Item secundum alium expositorem Leucothoe que (F *adds* ea) alio nomine dicitur Yon β. 215 **Phebus post eam** postea β. 215-18 **in . . . descendit** *om.* α. 218 **solis** solis et cetera β. 219 **Mars** Alius expositor dicit Mars β. **concubuit** concubivit α. **cum**^{2} *om.* β. 220 **faber** qui erat faber β. **non** sed non β. **ponebat** tandem ponebat β. 222 **ea** *om.* β. 223 **ab** *om.* β.

Unde quidam ait:

Rem miram mirare novam: Mirram per amorem
In mirram versam, quod dat amarus amor.

Europa fuit virgo pulcherrima, filia Agenoris regis, quam ut Iupiter spaciantem in quodam prato inter armenta dilexit, mutavit se in formam tauri pulcherrimi ut eam deciperet. Vidit autem Europa taurum tam speciosum, [et] accessit propius ut ipsius pulcritudinem videret, et flores ad os eius porrigebat ut taurus comederet, et sic sepius faciebat; tandem pre nimia familiaritate ausa est tergum tauri ascendere, quam Iupiter tunc taurus surgens a terra assumpsit et ultra mare divexit et eius virginitatem abstulit. Unde Theodolus:

Summa Iovis calidas Europe forma medullas
Movit, et in taurum deitatis vertit amictum;
[Virgine stuprata non passus Agenoris arma
Nomen donat ei, quod habet pars tercia mundi.] (141-44)

[*Leucothoe*] mulier fuit elegantis forme, quam Phebus concupivit, sed illa stuprum recusans in mare se precipitavit. Ille vero Phebus post eam descendit [in aquis ut eriperet eam, sed dii maris rapuerunt eam in consorcium suum; unde Phebus adhuc frequenter descendit] in mare sperans invenire illam, et propterea factus est eclipsis solis.

Mars [concubuit] cum Venere, sorore Iovis, quod cum percipiebat Vulcanus, faber Iovis, non erat ausus eos diffamare; ponebat laqueos circa lectum eorum in quibus deprehensi sunt ambo cum grandi ignominia. Vulcanus fecit recia adeo subtilia quod nullus posset ea tangere vel trahere quin ab illis caperetur. Hoc testatur [Ovidius] in quarto (*Met.* 4. 171- 89).

pull them without getting caught in them. Ovid mentions this in his fourth book.

Satyrs, as Isidore says, "are manikins, that is, imperfect humans, with a horn on their forehead. St. Anthony saw one in his solitude. When asked who he was, he told the servant of God, 'I am a mortal, one of the dwellers in the desert.'" Satyrs are also called fauns. "Satyr" comes from "saturatedness," because they are lustful and lecherous.

Vulcan. One day Jupiter and Juno were having an argument; Jupiter hit himself on the head in his anger, and there sprang from his brain a most beautiful goddess, named Pallas, who is called the goddess of wisdom. Then Juno hit herself, and Vulcan fell from her womb, and on account of that fall he was always *lame and vile and unworthy of the society of the gods*, etc.

These three *goddesses* stand for the three lives, the active life, the contemplative life, and the life of pleasure. Pallas stands for the contemplative life, Juno for the active life, and Venus for the life of pleasure, as the gifts they promise Paris show. Pallas promises wisdom, for through contemplation one becomes wise. Juno promises wealth because through the active life one acquires wealth. Venus promises a woman, because in woman above all lies pleasure. These three goddesses fight over the golden apple, that is, over which is most blessed, but the goddess who threw the apple down refuses to judge: that is, God refuses to force our free will in any direction. And so a decision is required from Paris: that is, every man has to choose. But Paris settles on Venus, for most men settle on pleasure. Virgil mentions the story of the apple in the first book of the *Aeneid*. Cicero speaks very nicely of these examples of the lives of action, contemplation, and pleasure near the beginning of the fifth book of the

caperetur raperetur β. **Ovidius*** Lucanus αβ. 225 **id est** *om.* β. 226 **qualem** qualam A. 227 **solitudine** similitudine α. 229 **vauni** fauni β (famii Dg). 230 **Satirus . . . sunt** *om.* α. 231-59 *om.* α. 231 **Vulcanus** Item alius expositor vulcanus β. 233-34 **dea* sapiencie** sapiencie DgF, sapiencia Do. 236 **etc.** *om.* DoF. 239 **voluptativa** voluptaria DoF. 247 **Sed*** Si β. 249 **Eneydos** enoydes Dg. 250 **quinto** primo Dg. 253 **aliqui** aliqui veniebant DoF. 254 **illic*** illis β. 258

Satiri, ut dicit Ysidorus (11.3.21), "sunt homunciones (id est, homines imperfecti) cornu in frontibus habentes; [qualem] Sanctus Antonius vidit in [solitudine]. Qui interrogatus quis esset, servo Dei respondit: 'Mortalis ego sum, unus ex accolis heremi'" (Jerome, *Vita Pauli primi eremitae* 8, *PL* 23.23). Ipsi etiam dicuntur vauni. [Satirus dicitur a saturitate quia lascivi et luxuriosi sunt.]

[*Vulcanus*. Nota Iupiter et Iuno uxor eius quadam die litagabant ad invicem, pre nimia ira excussit Iupiter caput suum, et a cerebro suo nata quedam dea pulcherima nomine Pallas, que dicitur [dea] sapiencie. Excussit autem se Iuno, et ex vulva sua cecidit Vulcanus, et propter casum illum semper fuit *claudus et turpis, nec dignus societate deorum*, etc.]

[Nota quod iste tres *dee* significant tres vitas, videlicet activam, contemplativam, et voluptativam; ponitur Pallas pro contemplativa, Iuno pro activa, Venus pro voluptativa. Istud potest probari per premia que promittuntur Paridi. Pallas namque promittit sapienciam quia ex contemplacione fit aliquis sapiens. Iuno promittit divicias quia per activam vitam adquiruntur divicie. Venus promittit feminam quia ibi est maxime voluptas. Iste tres dee pro pomo aureo, scilicet pro beatitudine, certant, sed ista dea proiciens istud pomum non vult diffinire: hoc est, ipse deus non vult cogere libertatem arbitrii nec pro una parte nec pro alia; et ideo requiritur iudicium Paridis; hoc est, quilibet homo habet eligere. [Sed] Paris adquiescet Veneri, quia maior pars hominum adquiescit voluptati. Fabulam de pomo ponit Virgilius primo [Eneydos] (27). Pro istis exemplis de vita activa et contemplativa et voluptaria, ponit pulcre Tullius [quinto] *Tusculanarum questionum* in primo (5.3.8), ubi ponit similitudinem quod sicut in mercatu celebrato apud Greciam, sic et in vita nostra.

Tusculan Disputations, where he compares this life of ours to a famous fair in Greece. Some go there to seek glory, that is, for pleasure; others for money; but others, a very few, hold these purposes in contempt but go purely to observe how things are. So too in human life: some are after prestige, some money, and some knowledge. Thus when Alexander was asked what he was born for, he answered, "In order to contemplate these," and looked toward the heavenly bodies.

Figures. A figure is a graceful form of speech made not by altering the literal meanings of words but by arranging them in patterns.

Purpurissum means any rhetorical figure, from "purple."

Cerusa is an ointment with which women whiten their faces to make them shinier; in English, "blaunchet."

When *Julius Caesar* was on his way to the Capitol, he was given a letter warning him that he was about to die; if he had read it right away he would have been on his guard. But when his corpse was being carried away the letter was found in his hand, still unopened.

The *Capitol* was the head of the world, where consuls and senators gathered to govern the world. Its facade had been built with high walls covered all around with glass and gold so that it would be a mirror to all who gazed on it.

There are said to be three fatal sisters: Clotho, Lachesis, and *Atropos*. They make a man's life as long or short as they please. Whence the verse:

> Three fatal sisters handle the threads: Clotho holds the distaff, Lachesis spins, Atropos cuts.

Occare (harrow, cut) is to break clods of earth with sledge hammers or hoes;

et* *om.* β. 260-61 *om.* β; *follows line 313* poeta *in* α. 260 **Scemata Scema** scemata A, scema Rd. **orationis*** originis α. 262-64 *om.* β; *follows line 420* promisit *in* α. 265-67 *as Ridewall* 485-500 β. 267 **efferretur*** efferetur α. 268 **capud mundi** mundi DgF, locus Do. 270 **cunctis** omnibus β. 272 **Nota quod tres** Item alius expositor seva attropos enim (Do *om.* enim) β. **dicuntur** dicuntur esse β. 273 **Hee** hee sorores β. **homini** hominum β. **longam** vel longam β. 278-79 *om.* α. 280-82 *as Ridewall* 504-13 β. 283 **Aper** Item secundum alium expositorem aper β. 284

Illic enim aliqui causa glorie, hoc est propter voluptatem; aliqui causa pecunie; aliqui vero rari [illic] ista pro nichilo habentes venerunt ad contemplandum naturas rerum. Sic et in vita humana aliqui veniunt propter nobilitatem, aliqui propter lucrum, aliqui propter studium. Unde cum fuit quesitum ab Alexandro propter quid natus fuisset, respondit: "Ad horum consideracionem," [et] respexit corpora celestia.]

Scemata. [Scema] dicitur venusta [orationis] forma secundum intellectum per iuncturas diccionum.

Purpurissum est quidam color rethoricus, et dicitur a purpura.

Cerusa est quoddam unguentum quo mulieres dealbant facies suas, ut nitidiores appareant; Anglice blaunchet.

Iulius Cesar cum ad Capitolium iret, date sunt ei littere indices mortis iminentis, quas si statim legisset, de morte cavisset. Sed cum mortuus [efferetur], invente erant litere in manu eius adhuc clause.

Capitolium erat capud mundi ubi consules et senatores morabantur ad gubernandum orbem, cuius facies erecta erat muris altis vitro et auro undique coopertis ut esset speculum cunctis cernentibus.

Nota quod tres dicuntur sorores fatales, videlicet Cloto, Lacesis, et *Attropos*. Hee disponunt vitam homini pro libito suo longam vel brevem. Unde versus:

> Tres sunt fatales que ducunt fila sorores:
> Cloto colum baiulat, Lacesis trahit, Attropos occat. (*Graecismus* 7.45–46)

[Occare est glebas malleis aut ligonibus frangere; runcare est a terra glebas evellere.]

Aspis est genus serpentis, ut dicit Ysidorus (12.4.12), "que

runcare (weed) is to pull clods out of the earth.

The *asp*, as Isidore says, is a kind of snake "that blocks one ear with its tail and puts the other to the ground, in order not to hear the voice of the snake-charmer."

The *boar*, as Isidore says, is an animal that hears extremely well. It hears dogs barking a long way off, and yet it will go on hunting for food all the more eagerly and wait for the dogs to come to take it—and then it defends itself with its tusks.

The *dipsas*, as Isidore says, is a snake that is so hot that it sheds the hot skin from its body even in wintertime. Its poison kills before it is felt, and so causes no distress in the victim.

Medea was Jason's wife. One day Jason lay with a girl and Medea was so angry that she killed and ate two of Jason's sons to avenge herself on their father. Whence Juvenal:

> You poisoned two at one meal, O cruelest of vipers?

And Theodulus:

> The vigorous male mind falls victim to female whims: they cook up love-potions, taste them, then soak their limbs in blood. The cruel house of Tereus knows what a woman is capable of, and Medea knows, who killed her own sons in a brutal massacre.

The sea is said to *have pity on the shipwrecked* because it takes them to its bosom when it kills them.

King Phoroneus took more pleasure in distributing his treasure than in hoarding it. Hence Hugutio says that his name is the source of the word *forum*, a place where goods are displayed for sale.

After Cicero had divorced, etc. Jerome tells this story in the last chapter of the first

avidius nichilominus α. **escam** escas β. 286 **quod** *om.* β. **defendit** defendat β. 288 **etiam** et A, in Rd. **exuvias** eximias A. 291 **Medea** Alius expositor (Do *adds* dicit) Medea (Medam F) β. **fuit** fuisse Do. **die** vice DgF, *om.* Do. 292 **irata** contristata est β. **filios** filios suos β. **genuerat** generavit DgF. 293 **patris** sui β. 296 **Et** Item β. 298-300 **gustu . . . peremptis** et cetera α. 300 **peremptis*** penitis Dg, parentis DoF (α *out*). 301 **naufragis** naufragiis Rdβ. **in** infra β. **recipit** recepit α. 301-302 **cum eos** nichilominus tamen β. 303-304 **Phoroneus . . . retentis** *follows line 263* diccionum *in* α. 303 **distributis** sibi tributis β. 304-305 **Unde . . . exponuntur** *om.* α. 306-307 *om.* α. 307 **primo capitulo*** *om.* β; *taken from Chetham's 8003; cf. Ridewall 564 variants*. 308 **Nota** *rubric* Gadibus Herculis β. **quod** *om.* β. **Hercules** hercules gigas β. **totum**

obturat aurem unam cum cauda, aliam vero apponit terre, ut non audiat vocem incantantis."

Aper, ut dicit Ysidorus, animal est precellentissimum auditu, et cum de longe latratus canum audiat, [avidius] tamen escam querit et expectat quousque canes ad eum veniant et apprehendant, nisi quod se dentibus defendit.

Dipsas, ut dicit Ysidorus (12.4.32), serpens est tanti fervoris ut [etiam] yemis tempore [exuvias] corporis [f. 5v] ferventes exponat, "cuius venenum extinguit antequam senciatur, nec tristiciam inducit morituro."

Medea fuit uxor Iasonis. Ipse vero quadam die concubuit cum quadam iuvencula. Unde Medea irata duos filios quos genuerat Iason in ulcionem patris trucidavit et ambos comedit. Unde Iuvenalis:

> Tune duos una sevissima vipera sena? (6.641)

Et Theodulus:

> Mens robusta viri levitate cadit muliebri:
> Ipomones tractant, [gustu sua membra cruentant.
> Femina quid possit, Terei domus aspera novit,
> Scit Medea suis infesta clade {peremptis}.] (269–72)

Mare dicitur *misereri naufragis* eo quod eos in se [recipit] cum eos occidit.

Phoroneus rex magis gaudebat de thesauris distributis quam retentis. [Unde dicit Hugucio ab eius nomine dirivatur hoc forum, -ri, scilicet locus ubi res venales exponuntur.]

[*Cithero post repudium etc.* Istud idem recitat Ieronimus contra Iovinianum libro {primo, capitulo} ultimo (1.48).]

Nota quod Hercules, cum totum mundum peragrasset, pervenit

book *Against Jovinian*.

Note that after Hercules had traveled across the whole world he came to the city of *Cadiz*, at the extreme western tip of Africa, and erected pillars there because he thought it was the edge of the world. The poet *Canius* was born there.

Tityus was one of the giants, creatures of amazing size. He tried to seduce Juno, Jupiter's wife, but Apollo, her son, killed him on account of the insult to his mother. Because the seat of lust is the liver, Tityus is condemned to hell where a vulture next to him forever eats his liver: it is eaten up in one week, and grows whole again in the next. Whence Ovid says:

> Thus Tityus's body, not quite consumed, does not perish but comes to birth again so that his liver can perish often.

And Claudian says of the same giant:

> And Tityus at last straightens out his enormous limbs and uncovers nine acres of filthy ground (he was so big), and the lazy plowman of his dark side, the vulture, is dragged against its will from his prostrate body, grieving that the chewed entrails will grow again no more for it.

Isidore says that "there are four principal winds: the first, Subsolanus, blows from the east; Auster blows from the south, Favonius from the west, and Septentrio from the north." In Greek Auster is called Nothus or Libenothus or Lips; and it is called Lips because it blows out of Libya. It is the same wind as Africus, in English "southeast." Also Nothus is "south" in English, Eurus "east," Zephyrus "west," and Boreas blows from the "north." *Lips* is called *lightning-like* because it is cold, and burns

universum β. 309 **urbs** *om.* α urbis F. 310 **ibique** ubi β. **posuit** posuit ipse β. **putavit** putaverat β. 311 **est** *om.* β. **Canius** captivus DgF, cadunes Do. 312 **Ticius** ticius amat nota DgF, nota Do. **gigantum** gigas tamen β. 313 **uxorem Iovis** *om.* β. **eius** iunonis β. 315 **sic** ita β. **quidam** qui β. 317 **Ovidius** Oracius α. 318 **sic ait** *om.* β. 319 **corpusque** semperque β. 321-26 *om.* α. 322 **artus*** arcus β. 324 **Tantus** cantus DoF. 326 **Abraptasque** abreptasque DoF. 328-37 *as Ridewall* 626-50 β. 330 **Auster*** Austro α. 331 **Libenothus** bibenothus Rd. 334 **Borias**

in extremis partibus Affrice versus occidentem, ubi erat [urbs] *Gades* nomine, ibique posuit columpnas quia ibi putavit finem esse mundi. Illic natus est *Canius* poeta.

Ticius fuit unus gigantum mire magnitudinis qui interpellavit Iunonem, uxorem Iovis, de stupro, sed Appollo, filius eius, interfecit eum ob iniuriam matris sue. Et quia libido dominatur in iecore, idem Ticius sic dampnatur apud inferos ut quidam vultur ei appositus iecur illius semper comedat, et cum in una septimana consumptum fuerit, in alia totum redintegratur. Unde [Ovidius] sic ait:

> Sic inconsumptum Ticii corpusque renascens
> Non perit, ut possit sepe perire iecur. (*Ex Ponto* 1.2.39-40)

[De eodem gigante dicit Claudianus:

> Et Ticius tandem spaciosos erigit {artus}
> Squalentisque novem detexit iugera campi
> (Tantus erat) laterisque piger sulcator opaci
> Invitus trahitur lapso de corpore vultur
> Abraptasque dolet sibi iam non crescere fibras.] (*De raptu Pros.*, 2.338-42)

Ysodorus (13.11.2) dicit quod "quatuor sunt principales ventorum, quorum primus ab oriente Subsolanus, a meridie [Auster], ab occidente Favonius, a septentrione euisdem nominis ventus aspirat." Auster dicitur Grece Nothus vel Libenothus quod sit Lips, et idem Lips est nomen venti eo quod flat ex Libia terra, et est idem quod ventus Affricus, Anglice southest; unde south Nothus, est Eurus, Zepherus west; flat Borias north. *Fulmineus Lips* dicitur quia ventus ille frigidus est, et ad modum fulminis flores urit. *Zepherus* appellatur eo quod flores et germina eius afflatu

flowers the way lightning does. *Zephyrus* is so called because it gives life to flowers and seeds with its blowing. *Nothus* makes the air thick and brings on fog.

Amphion was the founder of the city of Thebes. When he was building the wall to go around it and saw that the job would take a very long time, he took his lyre and played so sweetly that stone climbed on stone until the job was done. Horace mentions this:

> They say Amphion, the founder of the city of Thebes, moved rocks by the sound of his lute and brought them to where he wanted them by asking them sweetly.

Seneca: "Lust is a shameful and base thing, coming from the working of the shameful and vile parts of the body, and disgusting when it is over; you must of necessity *repent* of it immediately." Thus a poet writes:

> In coitus I suffer six losses: I pay money, I release vital fluid from my body, I offend God, and each of these brings a further loss:
> I shorten my life, I forfeit my course of study, I lose the light of heaven.

Amfractus means a winding road or where roads that go in quite different directions form a series.

Deianira was the daughter of King Eous. Hercules married her, with the giant Nessus as his attendant. It happened that they came to a river and Hercules went off on his own; Nessus stayed with the girl, and forced himself on her. Hercules heard her scream, and shot Nessus to death with an arrow. But when Nessus saw that his wound was fatal, he gave Deianira a poisoned shirt to give to Hercules to make him burn with love for her ever after. Later, Hercules took on a concubine and Deianira gave him the shirt—and as soon as he put it on he was on fire with poison. Also, one day the giants were fighting against the gods; when the gods all gathered in one

north borialis Rd. 337 **facit*** *om.* α. **nebulas*** nebula α. 338 **Amphion** alius expositor amphion β. **fuit** *om.* β. **et** *om.* β. 339 **opus** opus universum β. 346-53 *om.* β. 354 **Dianira** nota quod dianira β. 354-63 **Nesso . . . humeris** *as Ridewall* 742-819 β. 355 **digessit** degessit A. 359 **ut sic** sic ut Rd. 361 **die** die dum A. 362 **deos pugnarunt*** eos pugnarent α. 363 **sustinuit** et sustinuit β. 364 **celum** *om.* β. **unum** unam β. **Et** *om.* β. **Claudianus** claudius dicens β. 365

vivificantur. *Nothus* crassum aerem [facit] et [nebulas] nutrit.

Amphion conditor fuit Thebane urbis, et dum muros in circuitu edificaret et videret opus esse longissimum, assumpsit citharam suam, et ita dulciter modulabatur quod lapis super lapidem ascendebat donec opus consummaretur. Hoc testatur Oracius dicens:

> Dicitur Amphion Thebane conditor urbis,
> Saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda
> Ducere quo vellet. (*Ars poetica* 394-96)

Seneca (cf. *De beneficiis* 7.2.2): "Libido est res turpis et humilis, ex turpium viliumque membrorum operacione veniens, exitu feda, cuius necesse est subinde ut *peniteas*." Unde quidam:

> In coitu sex dampna luo, quia denarium do,
> Humoremque bonum proprio de corpore fundo,
> Offendoque Deum. Sic in tria dampna redundo:
> Apocopo vitam, studium cum lumine perdo. (Cf. Walther, *Vers*. 8864)

Amfractus est via tortuosa sive locus ubi diverse vie concurrunt.

Dianira fuit filia Eoi regis, quam duxit Hercules, Nesso gigante comitante. Forte ad fluvium venientes [digessit], et Nessus cum puella remansit, qui eam vi opprimebat. Hercules clamorem Dianire audivit, et Nessum sagittavit ad mortem. Videns vero Nessus se vulnere moriturum, camisiam toxicatam dedit Dianire, quam Herculi dare posset ut sic in amore illius estuaret postea. Superducta quadam pellice, camisiam donavit Herculi quam statim ut induerat igne veneni crematus est. Quodam eciam [die] gigantes contra [deos pugnarunt] et diis in unam partem celi venientibus [f. 6] celum ruere volunt, ac Hercules superpositum *humeris sustinuit celum* per unum diem et noctem. Et hoc testatur Claudianus:

part of the sky, the giants wanted to throw down the sky—but Hercules *held up the sky on his shoulders* for a day and a night. Claudian mentions this:

> On Hercules' neck the world hung more firmly.

And Theodolus:

> The club of Hercules robbed the watchful dragon, stole Geryon's herd, and destroyed the Hydra; Cacus yielded to him, the gatekeeper of hell succumbed; finally his girlfriend Deianira burnt this splendid man down.

Hercules, Alcides, and Tirinthius are all the same person.

Her response smacks of favor. Note that in a whore's face there are two things, beauty and elegance, that is, beauty of countenance and elegance of speech. A woman's beauty inflames the flesh with the fire of lust, and by the flattery of her inviting speech she subverts the mind.

Danae was the daughter of King *Acrisius*. Acrisius knew that he was fated to be killed by her son, and so he locked her in a tower of bronze. But Jupiter fell in her lap in the likeness of gold and conceived Perseus on her. Whence Theodulus:

> Acrisius, fearing lest the beauty of his excellent daughter be violated, barred the door of the tower; but the seducer dripped down rain over the roof into the virgin's lap; gold corrupted Danae.

You once betrothed yourself. "The wife he plows a man first pledges with earnest-money."

A grape vine that grows wild in the woods is called *labrusca*.

Fescennines are songs that women sing as they rock the cradle to lull the baby to sleep.

Stilbon, that is, Mercury, married Philology at Apollo's urging, and all the gods and goddesses were at the wedding except one goddess, who was in India. Angry that

Herculea* hercula A, hercule Rd, hercules β. 367 **Et** de eius fortitudine dicit β. 368–71 **spoliavit . . . superbum** et cetera α. 369 **Gerionis*** genonis β. 370 **Cacus*** cato β. 372 *om.* β. 373–76 *om.* β; *follows* 381 egregii et cetera *in* α. 373 **Favorem sapit*** *om.* α. **duo*** *om.* α. 375 **vero*** modo α. 377–81 **Dane . . . Persium** *as Ridewall* 823–30 β. 380 **Theodolus** theodolus versus β. 381–84 **speciem . . . aurum** et cetera α. 383 **pluviam** pluvia DgF. 387–433 *om.* β. 385–88 *follows* 401 differenter *in* α. 385 **Subarrasti*** *om.* α. **subarat** *id est* violat *above line in* A. **subarrat** id est arras dat *above line in* A. 385–88 **Sponsam . . . sopiat** *follows* 401 *in* A. 388 **sopiant puerum*** sopiat puer α. 389 **Philologiam*** philogiam α. 396 **Troie** troge Rd. 398 **iudicio** *om.*

Firmior [Herculea] mundus cervice pependit. (*De raptu Pros.* 2 praef. 47)

Et Theodolus:

Alcide vigilem [spoliavit clava draconem;
{Gerionis} pompam rapit et consumpserat Ydram;
{Cacus} cessit ei, succumbit ianitor Orci;
Incendit demum pelex Deianira superbum.] (173-76)

Hercules, Alcides, Tirinthius idem.

[*Favorem sapit*]. Nota quod in facie meretricis [duo], scilicet decor et gratia, hec est pulcritudo oris et decor sermonis; pulcritudo mulieris igne libidinis inflammat carnem, blandimento [vero] lenocinantis sermonis subvertit mentem.

Dane fuit filia regis *Acrisii*. Unde idem rex noverat in fatis quod per filium Danes filie sue interiturus esset, et ideo illam in turrim eneam inclusit. Sed Iupiter in specie auri cecidit in gremium suum et ex illa genuit Persium. Unde Theodolus:

Pignoris egregii [speciem metuens violari
Acrisius seris obstruxit limina turris;
Et iam tecta super [pluviam] stillavit adulter
Virginis in gremium: Danem corruperat aurum]. (253-56)

[*Subarrasti*]. Sponsam quam subarat prius arrabone subarrat.

Vitis silvestris non culta *labrusca* vocatur.

Fecennine dicuntur cantus que mulieres cantant movendo cunas ut [sopiant puerum].

Stilbon, id est Mercurius, consilio Appollinis [Philologiam] duxit in uxorem, ad quorum nupcias omnes dii et dee convenerunt preter unam que fuit in India. Unde illa irata quod non erat vocata cum ceteris in medio trium dearum, scilicet Iunonis, Palladis, et Veneris,

she was not invited with the rest, she threw into the midst of three goddesses—Juno, Pallas, and Venus—a golden apple inscribed "for the fairest." They argued over who that was, then decided to submit to Jupiter's judgment. But Jupiter realized that if he singled out one he would offend two, and sent them for judgment to Paris, the son of King Priam of Troy. Juno promised him kingship, Pallas promised him virtue, and Venus promised him Helen, and so he gave the prize to Venus, though for a base reason. Later Paris abducted Helen, the queen of Greece, starting a very serious war that went on for ten years. Venus is the goddess of lust, Pallas the goddess of wisdom, Juno, differently, the goddess of the sky.

Ciclas had a ram that every year grew a *golden fleece*. Seven *fire-breathing bulls* guarded it and an enormous snake always took over while the bulls were sleeping. *Jason* heard of these wonders and gave some thought to how he might get the fleece, but he could not reach the island because the sea surrounded it. Thus he became the first man since the flood to build a ship. When the ship was ready, he took the giant Hercules with him and reached the island by sea. Now Ciclas had a daughter named Medea, who went to Jason as soon as she heard of his arrival and offered to arrange for him to get the fleece if he would marry her, and Jason agreed. She gave him an ointment she had concocted by magic whose aroma would scare off the bulls as soon as they smelled it. And when he came to the watchful snake, with Hercules' help he smote him and killed him. And so he took the golden fleece and brought it back to his own country, and he took Medea with him too, as he had promised her.

R.d. 404 **custodiebat** custodiebant A. 406 **cogitat** cogitatat A. 410 **quandam** quendam A. **habuit** *om.* R.d. 411 **occurrit** occurit A. 412 **vellus** aureum vellus R.d. 422 **Augustinus** Augus

proiecit pomum aureum sic inscriptum: Pulcherrime donum. Ille vero de forme excellencia contendentes Iovis iudicium elegerunt. Videns autem Iupiter se duas offensurum si unam preferret, misit illas iudicandas ad Paridem filium Priami, regis Troie, cui Iuno regnum, Pallas virtutem, Venus Elenam repromisit, et ideo Venerem licet falso iudicio pretulit. Postmodum vero Paris Elenam reginam Grecie rapuit, pro cuius raptu ortum est bellum gravissimum per decem annos continuatum. Venus dicitur dea luxurie, Pallas dea sapiencie, Iuno dea celi differenter.

Nota quod Ciclas habuit quendam multonem qui singulis annis ferebat *aureum vellus*, et septem *tauri sulphurei* custodiebant multonem, et serpens quidam immanissimus semper [custodiebat] vigilias dum tauri dormirent. Audiens vero *Iason* huiusmodi mirabilia, [cogitat] qualiter posset habere dictum vellus, sed non potuit adire insulam, quia undique mare circumcingebat eam. Unde ipse fuit primus qui composuit navem post dilivium. Qua facta assumpsit secum Herculem gigantem, et per mare adivit insulam. Idem vero Ciclas [quandam] filiam habuit nomine Medeam, que audiens adventum Iasonis [occurrit] ei continuo et pepigit cum eo quod faceret eum habere vellus supradictum si eam vellet ducere in uxorem; et consensit Iason. Illa vero dedit quoddam unguentum magice confectum cuius odorem dum sensissent tauri protinus in fugam conversi sunt. Cum autem venisset Iason ad serpentem vigilantem, fultus auxilio Herculis percussit eum, et occidit. Et sic abstulit vellus aureum et asportavit in terram suam, ducens secum Medeam sicut illi promisit.

Horestes fuit miles egregius qui interfecit matrem suam in ulcionem patris, quia ipsa illum occidit, et sic fuit pius et ferus.

Orestes was a great soldier who killed his mother to avenge his father, whom she had killed. Thus he was at once dutiful and lawless. He was haunted by his mother's shade, and was driven mad by the Furies so that he was always sorrowful. Augustine says in the fourth book of the *Confessions* that the faithful friendship between Orestes and Pylades was so great that "not to be alive together was worse than death to them."

Teiresias was a hermaphrodite, that is, of both sexes. And when Jupiter and Juno were arguing over which sex was more passionate and amorous, they called in Teiresias, since he had been both a man and a woman. He said the female sex was better by six-twelfths: the man has three-twelfths of the pleasure, the woman nine-twelfths.

Here ends the commentary on the Letter of Valerius to Rufinus.

A. 424 **peius*** prior α. 431 Valerii valeriani Rd.

Infestatus est enim umbra matris sue, et furiis agitatus insanuit, unde semper fuit tristis. Item Augus[tinus] in quarto libro Confessionum: Tanta erat inter Horesten et Pellidem amicicie fides "quod morte illis [peius] erat non simul vivere" (4.11).

Thresias fuit ermifrodita, videlicet habens utrumque sexum. Cumque Iupiter et Iuno contenderunt inter se quis sexus maioris ardoris et amoris esset, vocaverunt Theresium, qui utriusque sexus peritus erat. Et ille dixit femininum sexum sex unciis [f. 6v] superare, nam virilis sexus tres unceas habet, femineus vero uncias novem.

Explicit commentum epistole Valerii ad Rufinum.

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COMMENTARY TWO: JOHN RIDEWALL

The commentary attributed to John Ridewall appears separately in ten manuscripts, of which two are incomplete; combined with *Grues* in three manuscripts; combined with Trivet in one, and in one what was a Trivet commentary suddenly becomes a Ridewall commentary halfway through the text.

The eight complete separate manuscripts are these (for further details, see Vol. 1, pp. 262–73):

> Co³ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 414, pp. 349–66, following the "Dissuasio Valerii" on pp. 343–49; our copy-text.
>
> Mo⁸ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 23474, ff. 3vb–7vb, followed by the text on 8ra–9va.
>
> Du¹ Dublin, Trinity College 115, ff. 165–75, following the text on ff. 161–65.
>
> Co² Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 177, ff. 188ra–194rb, separated from the text on ff. 83vb–84rb.
>
> Mo³ Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 3536, ff. 182ra–92ra, following the text on ff. 178vb–82ra.
>
> Ca Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale 939, ff. 127v–35, preceding the glossed text on ff. 140–41.
>
> P³ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 6387, ff. 64rb–69va, following the text on ff. 60vb–64rb.
>
> Q Cambridge, Queen's College 10, ff. 57–62, following the text (fragmentary) on ff. 27v–28v.

The two incomplete separate manuscripts are these:

> Hm Huntington Library, HM 30319, f. 1–3v, text with commentary interspersed.
> Begins at 569 et [ms. postea] facit mencionem and goes to the end.
>
> Pe Peterborough Cathedral 9, ff. ii–iv (flyleaves). The commentary only, not the text. Begins on f. ii, probably at Ysidorum 69—it is hard to read; f. ii recto ends at *desti-* 155. F. ii verso goes from *–tuti* 155 to *regis* 289. Then there is apparently a missing leaf. F. iii recto begins at *Rufini*

(ms. *ruffini*) 502 and ends at *ducere* 659, though the tops of some letters in a next line can be seen where the page was cut off. Perhaps two lines were cut off, however, since the reverse of the page begins at *bellancium* 663. Similarly this verso side ends at *vicit* 795 and f. iii recto begins at *apposuit* 798. The treatise ends with the explicit four lines from the bottom of that page, and is succeeded without a line break by a passage from a commentary on Matthew 9.1. This ms. is not listed in *JBWW1*; see Ker and Piper 1992, 4.167.

The Ridewall commentary is combined with *Grues* in Dg^3, Ff, and Do; for descriptions, see the *Grues* headnote. It is combined with Trivet in J, and replaces Trivet starting at 549 *Phoroneus* in Ch; for both, see the Trivet headnote. Except for J and Ch, the manuscripts fall into two groups; see the "rules for variants" below for details. The α group offers a number of alternative readings such as 772 "quantas vires vel quantos viros"; the original of the group must have been a manuscript with two exemplars, or one smudged or ambiguous exemplar, whose scribe offered both alternatives. The η sub-group within group β is a clear-headed abridgement, cutting out verbosity without much altering meaning.

In *English Friars and Antiquity*, Beryl Smalley has treated John Ridewall (Franciscan, d. c. 1340), as one of the "classicizing friars." She mentions that he wrote a commentary on the "Dissuasio," but says it is lost (p. 109). Of the fifteen manuscripts that have this commentary in whole or in part, he is named as its author in just one, Cambridge Ff.vi.12. In fact it is hard to recognize here the writer Smalley describes: a "forger of fancies" in his *Fulgentius metaforalis*, and "a scholar of sound sense and critical ability" in his commentary on *De civitate Dei* (p. 131). The present commentary is sensible enough, to be sure, but shows little fancy, and little of the range and intellectual daring Smalley identifies (pp. 126–31) in the commentary on Augustine. Nor is the reliance on the Third Vatican Mythographer that characterizes the Fulgentius book (Smalley, p. 111) at all evident here. Thus we remain a little skeptical about the attribution, even though the differences might come merely from addressing different audiences, and though further what Jeremy Catto in his *DNB* article on Ridewall regards as the mark of his work, that "he was scholarly in comparing texts and probing the intentions of the authors on whom he commented," is certainly true of this commentary. Since the one manuscript (Ff, f. 154v, "Explicit exposicio Ridewas") that bears Ridewall's name (if "Ridewas" can be taken as a form of it) is one of the three that combine the commentary with *Grues*, it is possible that Ridewall's work on Map consisted merely of joining two prior commentaries, though he may occasionally have added something of his own, in particular the suddenly philosophical and theological interpretation of the judgment of Paris, which does indeed rely on the Third Vatican Mythographer, that we have printed

as *Grues* 239-61. Nevertheless we have continued for convenience to refer to this commentary as by Ridewall.

Ridewall's analysis of Map's text is sharply different from Trivet's division into ten chapters. He announces it clearly at the beginning: Valerius offers his excuse for writing, correction of Rufinus, and—the bulk of the letter—instruction to support the correction. Ridewall last uses the verb *corripere*, correct, at line 189. The instruction (*eruditio, informatio, consilium*) apparently begins with "The voice of the goose," and continues throughout, though in the latter part of the commentary Ridewall tends to speak less of the instruction of Rufinus and more of how Valerius proves his thesis that wise men should not marry. Ridewall's own purpose is dual; to call constant attention to how each part fits the author's purpose, and secondly to offer illustrative information. His seriousness about the text is particularly evident in his discussion of Phaeton (292-315), where he reports that different manuscripts have different readings. He reads very specifically, for example reading *mellitum toxicon* as a reference to the public shaming of King Zedekiah (120-31), or taking Jupiter as the upper classes (405) and Mars as knights and soldiers (436-37). He takes Valerius's arguments at their face value, that is, seeing no irony or playfulness, and swallows them unquestioningly, even enthusiastically, as at the end of his discussion of Phaeton, 315-18 or after Leucothoe, 420-23, or his little addition to Isidore at lines 227-28 (see note). For the most part, though, there is just a sober, blindered focus on explanation, as when at 623ff. he tells us all about side winds as Canius is defending promiscuity. See the discussion in Lawler 1991, 100-1.

In our translation of the commentary, we have used our translation of Valerius for the lemmas where we could, but were not slavish about it: sometimes it is necessary to give a more literal rendering of the Latin in order to make sense of Ridewall's comment. Our notes are few because the text is generally self-explanatory.

RULES FOR RIDEWALL VARIANTS:

D=Du[1]. Dg=Dg[3]. F=Ff. M3=Mo[3]. M8=Mo[8]. C2, C3=Co[2], Co[3]. H=Hm. P=P[3]. Group α = C3M8 (γ) + DgFDo (δ, the group in which Ridewall is combined with the *Grues* commentary). Group β = DC2M3 (ε) [DM3=ζ] + CaPPe (ι) [CaP = η] + QH (θ). J and Ch do not fit into any group.

Omitted variants:

1. Readings unique to either η or θ.
2. Shortenings, summaries, and brief misplacements in η or θ.
3. Transitional words at the beginning of passages in J.
4. Unique readings, as usual; except that unique readings are reported if there are so many as to undermine support for C3. *Om.* X★=X omits as part of a longer omission, as usual; these longer omissions are not ordinarily reported for groups η and θ; cf. #1 above.
5. Variations from C3 in length of lemmata, as usual; but variants which may give evidence of the reading of Ridewall's copy-text of the "Dissuasio" are reported.

I am forbidden to speak and cannot be silent, etc.. This letter contains chiefly three things: the excuse of the writer Valerius, correction of Rufinus who wants to marry, and various instruction for him, to support the correction. He instructs him, and induces him to abandon his intention, by fables of the poets, by stories from the sacred scriptures, and by the lives of certain pagans. First, then, Valerius corrects Rufinus and charges him implicitly with taking offense. For Rufinus has been offended at Valerius's attempts to dissuade him, to advise him not to marry, and so Valerius says, "*I am forbidden to speak*." But then he excuses himself for speaking, saying that he cannot keep silence.

When he says, "*I hate cranes and the voice of the screech-owl,*" he gives the cause of this inability of his to keep silent. The cause is this: because of the friendship between him and Rufinus, and because he hates to see his friend hurting himself and throwing himself away, it is his duty to speak, and warn him of the danger that threatens him. Thus the literal sense is this, "O Rufinus, just as I hate the crane, the screech-owl, the owl, and the other birds that are harbingers of winter, predicting it by signs clear to men who know them, so I hate your marriage, and I want to pull you back from it because of the dangers that I consider to be certainly threatening you.

Note that the *crane* is a familiar bird which, as authors—Solinus and others—mention and Alexander Neckham repeats in the first book of *The Natures of Things*, chapter 44, flies in winter to northern parts or regions, and so is said to be a harbinger of winter cold.

The screech-owl, as Isidore says in book 12 of the *Etymologies*, is said to be a bird that augurers and seers consider an omen of bad luck. For when it calls its call is a harbinger of adversity. *The owl* is also a familiar bird that is thought by augurers and

Ch *starts at* 549, H at 569. 1 Incipit expositio epistole valerii ad ruffinum de uxore non ducenda C2; Incipit expositio epistole eiusdem Mo3; Exposicio epistole valerii ad ruffinum socuium suum ne ducat uxorem P; Incipit commentum epistole valerii ad ruffinum Q; Secundem alium expositorem J. Explicit epistola Valerii ad Ruffinum de non ducenda uxore. Incipit exposicio eius C3. Incipit exposicio epistole Valerii ad rufinum. Textum quere prius Mo8. Exposicio epistole Valerii ad Ruffunum socium suum ne ducat uxorem, quam reperies in principio sequentis katerni Ca. *The rest have no incipit*. 2 **principaliter** specialiter ζ. 3 **correpcionem correpti** correctionem correcta ηQ. **etiam variam** etiam vanam δ; maximam η. 8 **consuluit** consiluit γ; consulit DgDoC2; consulum F. 9 **Et** *om*. M3η. **secundo** ille δ. 11 **dat** et dat DηQ; omnis M3. **huius** *om*. M8C2M3η. 12 **scilicet** *om*. ζQ; enim Ca. 15 **Ruffine** carissime δM8. 16 **grues** *om*. DgM3. 18 **pericula** periculam C3. 20 **grus** gruis M8DgF; grues Q. **que** qui δ; quem M8. 24 **pronosticum** δ *inserts* Item ut dicit Ysidorus grues . . . nigrescunt, *Grues* 2-7. 25 **Similiter** *om*. δη. **ulula** *add* ut dicit Isidorus δ. 25-26 **ut . . . xijo** *after* 28 adversitatem C3ε; secundum Ysidorum 12 ethimologiarum J. 27 **portendit** procedit M8; protendit D; pretendit C2M3; *om*. Q. 28 **adversitatem** adversionem M8δ; δ *inserts* et est avis . . . imitatur, *Grues* 8-9. **Similiter** *om*. δη. **nota** δ *inserts* et

Loqui prohibeor et tacere non possum, etc. Hec epistola continet principaliter tria, scilicet Valerii scribentis excusacionem, Rufini nubere volentis correpcionem, correpti etiam variam informacionem. Unde informat eum et inducit ad dimittendum propositum per fabulas poetarum, per historias sacrarum scripturarum, et per gesta gentilium personarum. Primo ergo Valerius corripit et redarguit occulte Ruffinum de offensione. Fuit enim offensus de Valerii dissuasione, quia scilicet [consuluit] sibi ne nuberet, et ideo dicit *Loqui prohibeor*. Et secundo seipsum excusat de locucione; unde dicit se non posse servare silencium.

Ibi, *Grues odi et vocem ulule*, dat causam huius sue inpotencie, quare scilicet non potest silere. Et est causa ista: propter enim fedus amicicie inter ipsum et Ruffinum, et quia odit dampnum et dispendium amici sui, oportet eum loqui, et eum premunire de periculo iminente. Unde sensus littere est: O Ruffine, sicud ego odi grues et ululam et bubonem et alias aves hyemem pronosticantes et predicentes per signa hominibus expertis manifesta, ita ego odi nupcias tuas, et te a nupciis vellem retrahere propter [pericula] que tibi considero certitudinaliter iminere.

Nota *grus* est avis satis nota que, sicud tangunt auctores, Solinus (*De mirabilibus mundi* 10) et alii, et recitat Alexander Nequam libro primo *De naturis rerum*, capitulo 44 (1.47), ad partes vel plagas septentrionales solet in hyeme convolare, et ideo dicitur esse hyemalis frigoris signum pronosticum.

Similiter *ulula* dicitur esse, [ut dicit Ysodorus *Ethimologiarum* libro xij° (12.7.38)], avis apud augures et divinatores infausta et infortunata; vox enim eius quando vociferatur portendit et pronosticat adversitatem. Similiter *bubo* est avis satis nota que apud

seers to be an omen of bad luck. When it is seen in a city it is said to mean that the city is destined for solitude and desolation, as Isidore mentions in book 12, citing Ovid's lines from the *Metamorphoses*. Speaking of this bird, Ovid says,

> He (Ascalaphus) is turned into a repulsive bird, the harbinger of grief, the lazy owl, a dark omen to men.

This is the literal sense: Valerius means that just as he hates birds that are harbingers of evil, and just as he hates birds that mean that winter's bad weather is coming, so he hates Rufinus's coming marriage, because through it Rufinus is about to throw himself away, and that is one reason why he cannot be silent, cannot not speak, even though Rufinus is offended by his attempt to dissuade him.

And you sneer. Here he corrects Rufinus for his lack of forethought, his thoughtless small-mindedness. For Valerius means that Rufinus *sneers at*, that is, laughs at and despises, his advice to watch out for the danger of marriage, even though that advice is as true and healthy as if it were *vaticination*, that is, prophecy. Note that *vates* comes from "vim (or virtue) of mind," because those who can prophesy the things to come seem to excel others in vigor of mind; and from *vates* comes *vaticination*, that is, the chanting of the prophet. Note that *subsannare* (sneer) means to show signs of derision and contempt by wrinkling the nose, in accordance with Persius's phrase, "Turn and face the sneer behind you."

Therefore I am forbidden to speak. Here he corrects Rufinus for being displeased by truth and turning away from it. He means that Rufinus did not want to hear the truth, but rather to turn from it, and so wants to forbid Valerius, who was *the prophet of truth*, to speak; and so Valerius accuses Rufinus of only wanting to hear pleasing

a sono . . . pigricie, *Grues* 10-12. **que** unde bubo δ; unde J. 30 **enim** etc. C3. 31 **portendere** protendere δ; precedere D; pretendere C2M3ηQ. 32-33 **qui . . . ave** libro primo de achone y'o M3. 33 **hec** libro 1° γ; *om.* ζη⋆; *add* versus DgF, sic dicens Do. 34 **fit** sit C3M3; sic D; fuit η. 36 **Est . . . littere** *om.* ζη; iuxta unum expositorem talis est sensus littere de avibus J. 37 **que** quia C3C2δ. **etiam** *om.* M8; cetera d. 37-38 **et . . . pronosticantes** *om.* ζ. 40 **nec . . . tenere** *om.* ζQ. 41 **dissuasione** persuasione γδ; *om.* η⋆. 46 **id est** et ζ; *om.* Q⋆. 47 **ventura** futura ζ. 48-49 **et . . . canticum** *om.* D; et . . . vaticinium *om.* M3. 49 **vaticinium** *om.* C3. 51 **Postice**} postico C3δε; *om.* M8⋆η⋆Q⋆. **occurite** *om.* M8⋆; occurente δ; cit'ire D. **sanne** *om.* M8⋆; famine Dg; fannem F; signo D; sanno M3. 53 **dicere** *om.* C3δM3η⋆Q⋆. 54 **declinare** determinare vel declinare

augures et divinatores malum et infortunium dicitur pronosticare: visa [enim] in civitate, solitudinem et desolacionem civitatis dicitur portendere, prout tangit Ysidorus libro 12° (12.7.39), [p. 350] allegans versus Ovidii libro suo *De transformatis*, qui dicit loquens de hac ave [hec],

> Fedaque [fit] volucris venturi nuncia luctus
> Ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen. (5.549-50)

Est ergo talis sensus littere: vult dicere Valerius quod sicud ipse odit istas aves [que] pronosticant malum, et etiam sicud odit aves yemis intemperiem pronosticantes, ita odit futuras nupcias Rufini, quia per eas casurus est Rufinus in dispendium, et ista est causa una quare non potest tacere nec silencium tenere, licet Rufinus sit offensus de ista sua [dissuasione].

Ibi, *Et tu subsannas*, corripit Ruffinum de sua inconsideracione et inconsiderata parvipensione. Vult enim Valerius dicere quod iste Ruffinus *subsannat*, id est, deridet et despicit consilium suum de cavendo periculo nupciarum, licet tale consilium fuerit verum et sanum ac si esset *vaticinium*, id est, prophetia. Nota vates dicitur a 'vi' vel 'virtute' mentis, quia illi qui ventura possunt prophetando predicere, alios in vigore mentis videntur excellere, et ex hoc derivatur ['vaticinium'], id est, vatis canticum. Nota subsannare est signa derisionis et contemptus ostendere cum nasi corrugacione, iuxta illud Persii, "[Postice] occurite sanne" (1.62).

Ibi, *Ideo loqui prohibeor*, corripit Ruffinum de veritatis displicencia et eius declinacione, unde vult [dicere] quod Ruffinus noluit veritatem audire sed eam pocius declinare, et ideo Valerium qui fuit *augur veritatis* voluit a locucione prohibere; unde inponit Valerius Ruffino quod noluit audire nisi placencia et voluntaria, et ideo

things that meet his wishes, and so he says, "*prophet of truth, not of desire*." Note that "prophet" (*augur*) here stands for anyone who predicts the future, even though strictly speaking it applies only to one who regularly predicts future events from the talk of birds.

I love the lark and the blackbird. Here Valerius gives a further excuse for being unable to be silent, saying that he cannot keep silence because he loves his friend Rufinus's happiness. Just as he said before that he could not be silent because he hated what was bad for his friend, here he says that he is forced to speak because he loves what is good for Rufinus and will make him happy. These birds, that is, the *lark*, the *blackbird*, and the *nightingale*, stand figuratively for happiness, for they are harbingers of temperate and pleasant breezes. Note that according to Isidore in Book 12 the lark (*luscinia*) is a bird that has its name because it announces the dawn with its song. Its name is a compound of *lux, lucis* and *cano*, as it were a "chanter of light." The blackbird (*merula*) is a songbird that the ancients called *modula* because of the modulations of its song. It is black everywhere but in Achaia, a part of Greece, where it is found white. The nightingale (*philomena*) is a familiar bird, named from Greek *philos*, which is *amor* (love) in Latin, and from *amoenus*, (pleasant), thus the nightingale as it were "loves pleasant things," that is, seasons and places. These three birds are omens of merriment and pleasure, and so Valerius's exhortation to be wary of marrying will end up finally in happiness for Rufinus.

You love flatterers, etc. Here Valerius corrects Rufinus for his inordinate affection, by which he is drawn to feigned friends who are full of flattery. He calls such flatterers *parasites, comedians*, and *Circe*. Note that strictly *gnatones* (parasites) are poets,

δ. 58 **futura** ventura ζ. 61-72 **Ibi . . . Similiter** *om*. J. 61 **aliam** *om*. D; unam aliam C2M3. 65 **quia** et quia δ. 67 **luciniam** lucinam M8DC2Ca. 69 **lucinia** lucina M8DC2. **xii** 13 M8Q. **libro** *add* capitulo 7 D. 72 **lucis** δ *inserts* quia cantu . . . mapel, *Grues* 17-23. 73 **quem** quam C2η. 75 **reperitur** δ *inserts* in aliis partibus invenitur tota nigra, habens rostrum subrufum; cf. *Grues* 32. **satis** *om*. δζηQ. 77 **unde** inde C3δηQ; idem D; *om*. J. 80 **leticiam** δ *inserts* Item philomena . . . illicebras, *Grues* 24-31. 82 **afficitur** affiliatur D; efficitur FP. 83 **adulacione** adinvencione γ; simulacione C2; *om*. Q★. **vocat** vocantur D; vocant C2M3. 84 **poete** poete et M8δ. 85 **facta**

dicit *augur veritatis non voluntatis*. Nota quod augur stat hic pro omni homine futura predicente; tamen proprie loquendo ille dici solet augur qui per garritum avium predicere consuevit eventus futurorum.

Ibi, *Luciniam amo et merulam*, Valerius aliam ponit sui ipsius excusacionem, quare scilicet non possit silere, et dicit se non posse servare silencium quia amici sui Rufini diligit solacium. Unde sicud prius dixit se non posse tacere quia odio habuit amici incommodum, sic hic dicit se coactum ad loquendum quia Rufini diligit comodum et solacium. Istud autem solacium intelligit per figuram istarum avium, scilicet per *luciniam, merulam,* et *philomenam*; iste enim sunt aves que pronosticant auram temperatam et amenam. Nota lucinia est avis secundum Ysidorum xii libro (12.7.37) que ideo nomen sumpsit quia cantu suo ortum diei predicere consuevit. Unde est nomen compositum de 'lux, lucis' et 'cano, -nis,' quasi 'cantrix lucis.' Similiter merula est avis canora que propter modulacionem cantus quem habet dicebatur antiquitus modula. Hec est avis nigra ubique preterquam in Achaia, id est, in illa parte Grecie, ubi avis ista candida reperitur. Philomena est avis satis nota et dicitur a 'philos' Grece quod est 'amor' Latine, et 'amenus, -na, -num,' [unde] philomena quasi 'amans amena,' tempora scilicet et loca. Iste tres aves pronosticant iocunditatem et amenitatem, et ita exhortacio Valerii de cavendo nupcialem copulam cedet finaliter ipsi Ruffino in leticiam.

Ibi, *Gnatones diligis*, etc., Valerius corripit Rufinum de sua inordinata affectione qua afficitur ad amicos fictos et simulatos qui pleni sunt [adulacione], unde tales adulatores vocat *gnatones, comedos*, et *Circen*. Nota gnatones sunt proprie poete, compositores satire,

composers of satire, whose custom was to take the sayings and deeds of men and now reprehend and criticize them, now extol and commend them in poems of praise, and this in public places, as in theatres and at banquets. They are called satirists from *saturitas* (fulness), as it were, "full of glibness and eloquence", and also *gnatones* (parasites), as it were, *gnari*, (knowing ones), that is, "clever and witty speakers," just as flatterers have customarily been compared to sellers of oil.

Comedians are poets, as Isidore says in book 8, who write about happy and pleasing subjects. Comedy differs from tragedy in this respect, that the subject-matter of comedy is happy, even jocular, but the subject-matter of tragedy is sorrowful. Therefore Valerius means that Rufinus loves, not those who tell him the truth, but those who say pleasing things that meet his wishes, as poets usually do.

Of *Circe*, which is a woman's name, it is to be noted that she is supposed to be the daughter of the sun. This Circe had so much knowledge and experience of preparing drinks that were sweet and pleasing to the taste that by means of such drinks she changed men into animals, this one to an *ass*, that one to a *pig*, and so on. She is the Circe to whom Ulysses came on his way home from the Trojan War with his men. She offered the cups to him and his men; Ulysses did not drink from them, but the men did and were immediately changed into animals. Ovid touches on this in the *Metamorphoses*.

But to tell the truth, what Circe was was a lovely whore—and so was called the daughter of the sun—who, by attracting men to sexual pleasure, made them lose right reason and discretion, and made them like animals because their vices deformed them. For a man infected with vices is not to be called a man but an animal, as Boethius says in the *Consolation*, and particularly if he is infested with the vice of

sancta et opera DgDo; sancta et operi F; sacra D. 87 **cenis** scenis C2M3. 89 **et callide** *om.* ζ . 90 **venditores** δ *inserts* Item gnatones . . . suo gestu, *Grues* 34-42. 91 **Similiter** *om.* δ. 92 **tractant** *om.* δ. **in hoc** *om.* M8η. 93 **distinguitur** distinguntur DgFQ; differt η. **comedie** comedia δζηQ; Pe *illegible*. **materia** materie M3η; Pe *illegible*. 94 **tragedie** tragedia DgDC2ηQ. **ergo** autem ζ. 97 **facere** δ *inserts* Item comedi . . . horam, *Grues* 46-49. 99 **que Circes** qui cirtes DgF; que M8η; que circe J. 100 **gustui** gustu δDC2Q. 101 **modo²** ε *only*; et C3J. 102 **Circes** cirtes DgF; circe J. 103 **sociis** δ *inserts* in patria sua volens redire . . . excors, vix esset canis immundus amica luctosus, *Grues* 50-59 *(see Grues 59 variants)*. **cum²** *om.* C2Q; cum ad ipsam M8; cum ad eam η. 103-6 **cum² . . . transformatis** *om.* δ. 104-8 **sed . . . voluptatem** *added in margin in different hand* Ca. 107 **tamen** *om.* C2; sed Q. **Circes** cirtes δ. 108 **que** quasi DgF; *om.* Do; quia D. 112 **vicio** pec-

qui consueverunt dicta et facta hominum nunc reprehendere et vituperare, nunc preconiis extollere [p. 351] et comendare, et hoc in puplicis locis sicut in theatris et in cenis; unde isti dicti sunt satiri a saturitate, quasi 'facundia et eloquencia pleni,' et dicuntur gnatones quasi gnari, id est, 'astute et callide loquentes,' quales esse consueverunt adulatores olei venditores.

Similiter *comedi* sunt poete, ut dicit Ysidorus libro 8 (8.7.6), qui de materiis letis et placentibus tractant. Unde in hoc commedia distinguitur a tragedia, quod comedie materia est leta pariter et iocunda, sed tragedie materia est dolorosa. Vult ergo dicere Valerius quod Ruffinus diligit non illos qui dicunt sibi veritatem, sed illos qui loquuntur placencia et iuxta voluntatem suam, sicut poete consueverunt facere.

De *Circe*, que est nomen mulieris, est notandum quod fingitur filia solis, que Circes fuit tante experiencie et sciencie in preparandis poculis dulcibus et gustui placentibus, quod per talia pocula mutavit homines in bestias, modo illum in *asinum*, [modo] illum in *suem*, et sic de bestiis aliis. Unde ista est Circes ad quam Ulixes rediens de bello Troiano cum sociis cum venisset, ipsa pocula sibi et sociis propinavit, de quibus ipse Ulixes non bibit, sed socii biberunt et statim in bestias mutati fuerunt, sicud tangit Ovidius libro *De transformatis* (14.242–307).

Eundo tamen ad veritatem, ista Circes fuit meretrix pulcra—et ideo solis filia fuit dicta—que trahendo homines ad voluptatem fecit eos amittere rectam racionem et discrecionem, et bestiis fecit eos similes per viciorum deformitatem. Nam homo viciis infectus non homo sed bestia pocius est dicendus, ut dicit Boecius *De consolacione* (4.p3.21), et maxime si sit infectus vicio luxurie et gule,

lechery and gluttony, which are two vices that follow naturally upon one another. Aulus Gellius maintains this in the *Attic Nights*. The literal sense then, is that Rufinus loved Circe, that is, carnal pleasure with its drives that transform a man into an ass and a pig. But the ass is a lecherous animal, and the pig is a gluttonous animal, and therefore Rufinus had no desire to hear his friend Valerius telling him the truth and trying to attract him to chaste purity.

They furnish you honeyed poison. Again, Valerius accuses Rufinus of bad judgment, because he does not know how to distinguish between a healthy drink and a poisoned drink, and he alludes to the story of King Zedekiah whom the king of Babylon captured and brought to Babylon and put in prison. One day the king of Babylon made a feast to his gods in thanks for a victory granted him over his enemies. After the meal he had king Zedekiah brought before the court and put next to some other captives who had also been brought in, and had him given a delicious but laxative drink. He drank it and right away his bowels were loosened shamefully in front of everyone. After that public humiliation he was led back to prison, where he died of shame a few days later. Valerius, as I said, brings this story to mind here, implying that *the ministers of Babel,* that is, of damnation, *are furnishing* to Rufinus *honeyed poison*, that is, they are advising him to marry, advice that seems sweet because it is delightful at first taste, and yet in the end it kills shamefully. Note that *toxicon* is the Greek accusative form: where we end the accusative in *-um*, the Greeks end it in *-on*. It is called *toxicon* or "toxic" as if it were from *taxus*, the yew, a poisonous tree whose shadow, authors say, is deadly to men.

Note also that the *coluber* is a snake whose vehement violence of venom will kill

cato D; viciis ηQ. 113 **consequuntur** consequenter γ (M8 *adds* habent *after* se); sequuntur C2; *om.* D⋆. 113-14 **determinat** tangit C2M3J. 115 **dilexit** diligit M3Q. 116 **que** qua δ. 119 **nitebatur** nitebabatur C3; videbatur F; voluit Q. 121 **indiscrecione** mundicie indiscrecione δ. **discernere** distinguere αJ. 122 **historie** hic historie C3; historiam M8D; isti historie C2; huic historie M3. 123 **et**[2] et eum αC2JPe. 124 **carceri** carcerari DgF; in carcerem D; in carceri M3. 127 **collocari** collocari alias colligari Dg; alias colligari collocare FDo; collocavit D; colligari ι. **et** *om.* M8DgζQ; etiam η. 129 **omnibus**[1] hominibus M8η. 131 **dies** dies postea γDgC2; dies post FDo. **interiit** interierit C3; mortuus est η; i*llegible* Pe. **Istam** ista C3. 132 **hic** *om.* γQPe. **ut dicitur** *om.* M8M3ιQ. 138 **toxicon** toxicum C3C2JQ. **toxicum** taxicum C3; toxicon Q. 140 **Nota . . .**

que sunt duo vicia que [consequuntur] se, et de isto determinat Agellius libro *Noctium Atticarum* (6.16.6). Est ergo sensus littere quod Ruffinus dilexit Circen, id est, voluptatem carnis et eius petulanciam, que transformat hominem in asinum et suem. Est enim asinus animal libidinosum et sus animal gulosum, et ideo invite audivit Valerium amicum suum qui sibi dixit veritatem et eum [nitebatur] attrahere ad pudicicie puritatem.

Ibi, *Propinant tibi mellitum toxicon*, Valerius iterum redarguit Ruffinum de indiscrecione, scilicet quia nescit [discernere] inter potum sanum et venenosum, et alludit [historie] de rege Sedechia, quem rex Babilonis captivavit et in Babilonem duxit [et] ibidem carceri mancipavit. Quadam autem die rex Babilonis, faciens festum diis suis pro victoria sibi data de hostibus suis, fecit post prandium Sedechiam regem introduci in aulam et ibi iuxta alios captivos similiter introductos collocari, cui et precepit potum delicatum, laxativum tamen ventris, propinari, qui bibit et cito post ignominiose coram omnibus venter eius laxatus fuit; qui coram omnibus confusus ad carcerem reductus fuit, ubi pre verecundia infra paucos [dies] [interiit] (Comestor, *PL* 198. 1426). [Istam] historiam reducit [hic] Valerius ad memoriam, ut dicitur, volens dicere quod *ministri Babel*, id est, confusionis, *propinant* Rufino *toxicon mellitum*, id est, dant sibi consilium nubendi, quod consilium apparet dulce quia delectabile [p. 352] in prima facie, sed tamen confusibiliter interficit in fine. Nota 'toxicon' est acusativus Grecus, unde ubi nos terminamus acusativum in -um, Greci terminant in -on. Dicitur autem ['toxicon'] quasi ['toxicum'], a taxo arbore venenosa, que est arbor cuius umbra, ut dicunt auctores, hominibus est mortifera.

Nota etiam de *colubro* quomodo est serpens cuius veneni ve-

a lion—and yet the coluber will flee from a deer. And Valerius wants to show how carnal delight kills men who are strong and brave as lions, but flees those who fear the risk of falling. Whence the verses:

> Give up, and Venus gives up; insist, and she gets worse and hunts you.
> If you flee Venus's wars, you will be safe.

Note that a wound graver than *any treacle* is an incurable wound, because treacle is the strongest of all medicines against poison, and therefore a poison or a poisonous bite which cannot be cured with treacle is to be taken as incurable—and such is the poison of sexual pleasure. Doctors know well enough the medicinal properties of treacle.

You have many (advocates) of your desire, etc. Here he corrects Rufinus again for inordinate affection, and says Rufinus loves *advocates of desire*, because they are *many* and *eloquent*, more than *preachers of truth*, because they are few and devoid of eloquence, and for this reason Rufinus is *nauseated by*, that is, abominates, *loving* his friend Valerius and his advice. Note that nausea is a disorder of the stomach which comes from filling it too full, and therefore because Rufinus has had enough of Valerius's dissuading Valerius says he is nauseated by his love.

The voice of the goose was condemned as empty, etc. Here Valerius, correcting Rufinus and educating him, alludes to a story about how the Romans were saved by the forewarning of a goose. The Gauls wanted to take the Capitol by stealth, in darkness, but because of the honking of a goose they were seen and captured, and thus the Romans were saved by the goose from a sneak attack. Ovid speaks of this saving of the Capitol by the noisy honking of a goose in Book 2 of the *Metamorphoses*:

quomodo coluber ηJ. 142 **ostendere** dicere M8C2. 143 **timentes** timens M8M3; timent D; timentem Q. 145 **insta** ista D; iuxta C2JQ. 147 **tyriaco** tiriaca ζ; tiriace η; *illegible* Pe. 149 **tiriacum** *add* fit γ. 151 **medicos** δ *inserts* mellitum toxicon . . . verba, *Grues* 60–71. 152 **corripit** Valerius corripit δ; Valerius J; hic corripit Q. 153 **inordinata** deordinata DC2. **affeccione*** acceptacione αβJ. **Rufinum** ad Rufinum δ. **diligere** diligis DgF. 154 **quia sunt**[2] sunt C2; *om.* ηQ; quia J; Pe *illegible*. 155 **destituti** desti[ti] Ca; destinati P. 159 **Valerius** ideo Valerius C3δC2Pe; ideo η; igitur Q. 159–60 **amorem suum** amore δ. 162 **correpti** correpcionis δ; *om.* η*Q*. 163–64 **premunicione** prenunciacione C3D; renunciacione M8; premunicionem Q. 164 **Galli** gallici δ. 165 **clangore** clanguore C3; clamor M8; clamore M3; voce et clamore η; per clamorem Q. **anseris** *om.* C3. **fuerant** fuerunt M8εηQ. 166 **anserem** anseres ηQ. 167 **ex . . . vociferacione** εJ *only* (et *for* ex M3; et ex C2; clagore et clamore C2; et eius vociferacione C2J). 168 **libro secundo** libro

hemens violencia leonem interficit, tamen coluber cervam fugit, et vult Valerius ostendere qualiter delectacio carnis fortes et audaces ut leones interficit, sed timentes periculum casus fugit. Unde versus:

Cede, Venus cedit; insta, magis inproba ledit.
Si fugias Veneris prelia, tutus eris. (Walther, *Vers*. 2580)

Nota vulnus gravius *omni tyriaco* est vulnus incurabile, quia tyriaca est potissima medicina contra venenum, et ideo toxicum vel morsus venenosus qui per tiriacum non est curabilis, illud venenum incurabile est reputandum, et tale est venenum voluptatis. Quid autem et qualis medicina sit tiriaca, satis notum est apud medicos.

Ibi, *Multos habes voluptatis tue*, etc., corripit Ruffinum iterum de inordinata [affeccione], et dicit Rufinum plus diligere *persuasores voluptatis*, quia sunt *multi* et quia sunt *facundi*, quam *precones veritatis*, quia sunt pauci et eloquencia destituti, et hac de causa Rufinus *nauseat*, id est, abhominatur *amare* Valerium amicum suum et consilium suum. Nota nausea est passio stomachi proveniens ex nimia replecione illius membri, et ideo quia Rufinus fuit saciatus de Valerii dissuasione, [Valerius] dicit eum nauseare super amorem suum.

Ibi, *Reprobata est fatua vox*, etc., pro ista Rufini correpcione et correpti erudicione facit hic Valerius mencionem cuiusdam historie de Romanorum liberacione facta ex anseris [premunicione]. Notandum est enim quod Galli clam et occulte volentes Capitolium cepisse, [clangore] [anseris] fuerant percepti et deprehensi, et sic Romani per anserem fuerunt ab insidiis liberati. De ista Capitolii liberacione [ex anseris clamore et vociferacione] loquitur Ovidius libro secundo *De transformatis*:

Nor did he yield to the geese who were to save the Capitol with their watchful cries.

For among all the animals this bird is best at sensing the approach of a man from his smell, as Neckham says in the first book of *The Natures of Things*, chapter 68 (71); and he gets it from Pliny, book 10. Valerius means that just as the goose by honking out the truth did more for Rome than the song of swans, for all the delightful pleasure it calls up, and this because of the greater usefulness that followed—for the city of Rome was saved by the goose from *burning*, and from the plunder of its *treasuries*, and from the murder of its *senators*, and therefore the honking of the goose was more acceptable than the song of the swan would have been—so Rufinus should have placed more value on the friendly and useful, if simple, teaching of Valerius than on the glibness and pleasing eloquence of others who were advising him to marry, because that marriage was harmful for Rufinus. And yet Rufinus opposed him, like the fatheads who despise the cry of the goose and prefer the pleasant song of the swan. Note that *olor* in Greek is the same as *cignus* in Latin, and comes from *olon*, "whole". because the swan's feathers are wholly white, as Isidore says.

You are completely inflamed by your passion, etc. Once again Valerius corrects Rufinus for his lack of forethought about sexual pleasure and its consummation. Here he says that Rufinus is deceived because he only has eyes for the beginning and *head* of sexual pleasure and venereal delight, and not for the middle or the end, and so here he compares carnal delight to *that monster* of a *Chimaera,* of whom poets tell. For the Chimaera is a *threefold monster*, as poets feign, and Vergil suggests in Aeneid 6 that it is a monster from hell. It is supposed to be a *lion* in front, with a *goat's* belly

3^{O} δJ, *margin* aliter libro 2^{O} DgDo. 169 **vigili** vigilii FD; vigiliis Q. **Capitolia** *om.* M8★η★; capitolus F; capitolius Do; capitalia D; capitali M3; capitolii Q. 170 **Cederet** sederet DgF; sedet Do; tederet? D; *om.* ι. 173 **sumit** similiter habetur D; similiter C2; *om.* J★Q. **Plinio** plinius C2Q. 175 **Rome** romane M8DηQ; romanis vel urbi romane M3. **olorum** oloris Dη. 176 **propter** ipso δ; *om.* η★. 178 **et**[1] *om.* DgFη★Pe. 179 **strepitus** strepitum δ; *om.* η★Q★. **acceptus** acceptatus M8; acceptum δ; *om.* η★Q★. 180 **debuit** debet δ; *om.* Cη★. 182 **delectabilem** et delectacionem δ; et inutilem Q; *om.* η★. 187 **ut dicit Ysidorus** hic avis dicitur propriam mortem cantu delectabili (delectabili Pe) prenunciare ι; δ *inserts* Cignus a canendo . . . ipsorum, *Grues* 83-90. 188 **tuo** tui γ. 190 **hic** *om.* M3ηQ. 191 **et**[2] *om.* C2M3η★Q. 197 **caprino** caprina C3δ; capricorno C2; capre η; . . . a (*in*

Nec servaturis vigili Capitolia voce
Cederet anseribus (2.538–39).

Ista enim avis potissime inter omnia animalia adventum hominis percipit per odorem, ut dicit Alexander libro 1 *De naturis rerum*, capitulo 68 (1.71), et sumit a Plinio libro 10 (10.26.51). Vult ergo dicere Valerius quod sicud anser perstrependo veritatem plus profuit urbi Rome quam cantus olorum, id est, cingnorum inducencium delectacionis iocunditatem, et hoc propter maiorem utilitatem consequentem—nam urbs Rome fuit per anserem liberata ab *incendio*, et a spoliacione *thesaurorum*, et ab interfectione *senatorum*, et ideo strepitus anseris magis fuit acceptus quam fuisset cantus oloris—ita Rufinus plus debuit appreciari amicabilem et utilem licet simplicem doctrinam Valerii quam facundiam et eloquenciam delectabilem aliorum qui consulebant sibi nubere, quia nupcie ille erant Ruffino pestifere. Et tamen Rufinus oppositum fecit sicud fatui faciunt qui vocem anseris reprobant et delectabilem cigni cantum acceptant. Nota 'olor' Grece est idem quod 'cyngnus' [p. 353] Latine, et dicitur ab 'olon' quod est 'totum,' eo quod totus sit albus in plumis, ut dicit Ysidorus (12.7.18).

Ibi, *Desiderio [tuo] totus inflammaris*, etc., iterum Valerius corripit Ruffinum de sua inconsideracione circa voluptatem et eius consummacionem. Unde hic dicit Valerius Rufinum deceptum quia solum habet oculum ad principium et *capud* voluptatis et veneree delectacionis, et non ad medium nec ad finem; unde facit hic similitudinem inter delectacionem carnalem et *monstrum illud chimere*, de quo solent poete facere mencionem. Est enim chimera *monstrum triforme*, ut fingunt poete, et tangit Vergilius in 6 *Eneydos* (6.288) quomodo est monstrum infernale. Fingitur autem *leo* in

and a serpent's *tail*, as in the verse, "A lion in the first part, a she-goat in the middle, a snake in the lowest part." And in the moral sense this monster stands figuratively for carnal delight and the sex act. For lust has ardor at the beginning, a rank smell in the performance of the act, and compunction in the end, for repentance and remorse of conscience always follow sexual pleasure, as Boethius says in his book *The Consolation*: "What", he says, "shall I say of sexual pleasures, the desire for which is full of anxiety, the fulfillment full of repentance? .... Anyone who will recall his lusts will understand that the last phase of sexual pleasure is sadness."

Ulysses was enchanted, etc. In order to instruct Rufinus to turn his mind to fleeing marriage, Valerius brings in the story of Ulysses and the deadly song of the *Sirens*. This is the story. When Ulysses, sailing home to Greece after the taking of Troy, saw that he was approaching where the Sirens were, he immediately had the ears of his companions stopped with pitch and wax, lest they hear their song, and be charmed by it, and thus charmed be taken in, and thus taken in be sunk or otherwise killed. He had himself tied to the mast lest he too, hearing the sweet melody, be enticed into soft-mindedness and thus carried off to his death. And so Ulysses is said here to have *made himself strong* and to have bound himself *with the bonds of virtue*, because the virtue of prudence as it were drove him to do what he did. Note that the word *symphony* here means "concord and harmonic consonance"; it is a compound of *syn* which is *con* and *phonos*, which is *sonancia*, and so "symphony" is as it were "consonance." Note also of the Sirens that according to Isidore's *Etymologies*, book 11, chapter 3, "There are supposed to have been three Sirens, partly maidens, partly birds, with wings and claws. One sang with her voice, one played the pipes, and one played

gutter) Pe. **serpentina** δ *inserts* et comparatur . . . chimera, *Grues* 92-93. **iuxta illud** *not repeated* δ (*see previous entry*). 198 **capra** caper ειQ. 199 **Et . . . morali** in quo ζ; moraliter η. 200 **sub . . . monstri** *om.* ζη⋆. 202 **voluptatem** voluptacionem FDo. **consequitur** sequitur δM3ιQ. 202-3 **in consciencia** consciencie ηQ. 203 **libro** in libro M3Q. 204 **loquar** loquitur D; loquio M3; *om.* Q. **quarum** *om.* εQ. **anxietatis** anxietate Dη. 205 **penitencie** penitencia ζ. **voluptatum** voluptatis ε; *om.* η⋆Q⋆. 206 **volet** valet M8M3; voluit D. **intelliget** δ *inserts* extollit . . . parat, *Grues* 95-97. 208 **ut** ut scilicet C3δC2J. **adducit** inducit δ; adduxit η. 211 **appropinquare** propinquare Dη. 212 **cantum** canticum DgF; cantus C2ι. 213 **deceptique** decepti etiam C3C2δJ; decepit Q; etiam decepit Pe; et DM3; *om.* η⋆Q. **submergerentur** mergerentur M8Q; *om.* η⋆. **vel** et δ; *om.* η⋆Q; *om.* (*gutter*) Pe. 214 **Seipsum** *add* etiam C3εJPe; *add* autem η. **navis** *add* cum funibus δ. 215 **etiam** *om.* δη⋆JQ. 216 **et . . . interitum** *om.* ζη⋆Q . **interitum** *add* traheretur C3δC2J; *add* raperetur M8; *add* duceretur Pe; *others out*. 217 **virtus** *om.* γ. 218 **ita** sic C3C2; *om.* Q. 220 **quod² . . . sinphonia** M8 *only*; quod est sonus DC2; sonus M3; *om. all others* (ηJQ *out*). 222 **Sirene** syrenes ζ. 224 **canebat** canebant δ. **illectos** alectos M8M3Q; illectatos δ; illictos D; invectos Ca;

parte anteriori, cum ventre *caprino* et *cauda* serpentina, iuxta illud: Parte leo prima, media capra, anguis in yma. (Walther, *Vers*. 4473) Et in sensu morali delectacio carnis et actus venereus dantur intelligi sub figura huius monstri. Habet enim luxuria ardorem in principio, fetorem in actuali exercicio, et pungit in termino, quia semper voluptatem consequitur penitencia et remorsus in consciencia, dicente Boecio libro suo *De consolacione*. "Quid," inquid, "de voluptatibus loquar, quarum appetencia plena est anxietatis, sacietas vero plena penitencie? ....Tristes enim esse voluptatum exitus, quisquis reminisci libidinum suarum volet intelliget" (3.p7.1,3).

Ibi, *Delectatus est Ulixes*, etc., Valerius, ad Rufini informacionem, [ut] inclinet animum suum ad fugam nupciarum, adducit in medium historiam de Ulixe et cantu letifero *Sirenarum*. Hec est historia: Ulixes capta Troia rediens in Greciam per navigium et percipiens se ad loca appropinquare Sirenarum, statim pice et cera fecit aures obturari sociorum ne audirent cantum earum, et sic allicerentur, et allecti deciperentur, decepti[que] submergerentur vel modis aliis interficerentur. [Seipsum] fecit ligari ad malum navis, ne et ipse etiam, audita melodie dulcedine, in animo ad molliciem traheretur et sic ad [interitum]. Et ideo dicitur hic Ulixes *sibi ipsi vim fecisse* et seipsum *virtutis vinculis* astrinxisse, quia [virtus] prudencie eum quodamodo compulit [ita] facere. Nota *symphonia* stat hic pro concordia et consonancia armonica, unde componitur a 'syn' quod est 'con' et 'phonos' [quod est 'sonancia,' inde 'sinphonia'], quasi 'consonancia.' Nota etiam de Sirenis quomodo secundum Ysidorum *Ethimologiarum* libro 11, capitulo 3, "Sirene 3 finguntur fuisse ex parte virgines et ex parte volucres, habentes alas et ungulas; quarum una voce, altera tibiis, tercia lira canebat, que illectos

the lyre. They would charm sailors with their song and entice them into shipwreck." And as Isidore says here this fable in truth describes the pernicious operation of lust; the Sirens were really whores and other women who brought men down to death and destruction. They have wings and claws because love, as Isidore says, both flies and wounds. Also the Sirens dwell in the waves of the sea because they bring down their own, that is, men given to the pleasure of fleshly lust, into the danger of spiritual drowning.

I, who have put my trust in the Lord, etc. Here he mentions one other story, of the philosopher Empedocles who, it is said, wanted to be buried in no other element but fire because fire is the noblest of all the elements, and so is said to have chosen Mount Aetna as his *mausoleum*, that is, as his tomb. Note that Aetna is a mountain in Sicily that vomits fire, and therefore this philosopher, preferring that his body be burned rather than that it be buried in the earth or another element, is said to have *chosen Mount Aetna for his tomb*. And note how he compares the heat of lechery and carnal lust to Mount Aetna, in which heat the lecherous man is said to be as if dead and buried, both because the act brings one closer to natural death and because it takes away the life of the spirit and of virtue, that is, the life of grace. The literal sense is therefore clear.

Isidore mentions Mount Aetna in book 14, chapter 8, where he says that "Mount Aetna is so called from fire *(igne)* and sulphur .... It is well known that this mountain has caves full of sulphur that lead all the way down to the sea; these caves draw in the waves, and this creates the motions of the winds, and that motion brings fire to birth from the sulphur; whence the burning we see." This mountain is in Sicily, as Isidore says in chapter 6 of the same book.

invictos P. 225 **navigantes** navigantis DgF. 226 **veritatem*** *add* historie αβJ; η *out*. 227 **vel Sirene** *om*. ηJ. 227-28 **et** *om*. ζη*Q. **et mulieres** *om*. ηJ. 228 **homines** et homines δ. **mortem et** *om*. ηJ. **perducentes** trahentes et perducentes δ; ducentes C2ι; trahentes Q. **Iste** que ηQ. 230 **Sirene** sirenes δ; *om*. M8ι. **maris** marinis C3; variis D; maribus Pe; *om*. Q. 230-31 **perducunt** producunt DgDo; perdunt η. 232 **submersionis** subversionis δ; demersionis η; . . .sionis (*edge cut*) Pe. 234 **philosopho qui** *om*. δ *but inserts* volens sibi famam adquirere, *Grues* 105. **alio** *om*. C2Q. 235 **ut dicitur** ut fertur ζ; *om*. C2Q. 236 **omnium** *om*. ζQ. 237 **elegisse** eligisse C3. **sepulcro** δ *inserts* ut sic visus . . . insiluit, *Grues* 106-11. 237-45 **Nota . . . litere** *follows* 252 capitulo 6 αJ. 237 **Nota Ethna** nota de ethna quod D; nota ad ethna quod M3; nota quod ethna FDoιs. 238 **Cicilia** scilicia C3F; silicia ζQ. 239 **combureretur** comburaretur FDo; *om*. η*. **quod** *om*. δη*. 240 **Ethne** ethna αDJ; *om*. η*Pe. 241 **Et** *om*. ζι*Q*. 242 **comparat** *corrected from* comparatur Dg; comparatur F. **esse sicud** *om*. δη*; sicud M3Q; esse Pe. 244-45 **spiritualem . . . litere** Q *om. but adds* Et sicut in igne tres sunt, scilicet flamma, fumus, et cinis, ita in actu luxurie est summus ardor, summus fetor, et in cinere summus amaritudinis sapor sive dolor, quia postquam incinerata fuerit caro luxuriosa, infinite amaritudini tradetur (?) anima. 246-47 **ubi dicit *om*. Dη.** 247 **sulphure** sulpure C3; *om*. Q*. **dictus** *add* est ζ. 248 **plenas** plures M3η; *om*. Q*. 249 **in se** *om*. εQ*. **fluctus** *add* maris M3η. 250 **creat** creant M8C2; crescat Pe; *om*. PQ*. **agitatus** agitati C2η. 251 **Sicilia** silicia, *corrected later* C3; silicia D; utili M3; *om*. ι*Q*. 253 **Secuntur** *add lemma*

navigantes suo cantu in naufragia trahebant" (11.3.30–31). Et sicut ibi dicit Ysidorus, hec fabula secundum [veritatem] describit perniciem luxurie, unde iste Sirenes vel Sirene fuerunt meretrices et mulieres homines ad mortem et interitum perducentes. Iste habent alas et ungulas quia amor, ut dicit Ysidorus (11.3.31), et volat et vulnerat. Iste etiam Sirene morantur in maris fluctibus quia perducunt suos, id est, luxurie et carnis voluptati deditos, in periculum spiritualis submersionis.

Ibi, *Ego autem in Domino sperans*, etc., unius alterius historie facit mencionem, scilicet de Empedocle philosopho qui in nullo alio elemento voluit sepeliri, ut dicitur, nisi in igne, eo quod sit nobilissimum [p. 354] omnium elementorum, et ideo montem Ethne pro *mausoleo* sibi dicitur [elegisse], id est, pro sepulcro. Nota Ethna mons est in [Cicilia] ignem evomens, et ideo, quia iste philosophus maluit quod corpus suum combureretur quam quod in terra vel elemento alio conderetur, ideo dicitur *elegisse montem [Ethne] pro sepulcro*. Et nota quomodo ardorem luxurie et carnalis lascivie comparat monti Ethne, in quo ardore luxuriosus dicitur esse sicud mortuus et sepultus, tum quia ille actus disponit ad mortem naturalem, tum etiam quia aufert vitam spiritualem et virtuosam, vitam scilicet gratie. Patet ergo sensus litere.

De isto monte Ethna facit Ysidorus mencionem libro 14, ubi dicit capitulo 8 quod "mons Ethna ab igne et [sulphure] dictus.... Constat hunc montem habere speluncas plenas sulphure et usque ad mare deductas, que spelunce in se recipientes fluctus motus ventorum creat, qui agitatus ignem gignit ex sulphure, unde quasi videtur incendium" (14.8.14). Iste mons est in Sicilia, sicud patet per Ysidorum eodem libro capitulo 6 (14.6.32).

Other stories follow, which Valerius touches on for the moral formation of his friend Rufinus, and also to remove from him the chain of marriage. Of these some are taken from scripture and are familiar enough, like the story of Adam, in which he shows that a wise man should not take a wife because of the evil of *disobedience*, which is, as it were, one of the properties of any woman. The second story is of David and Bathsheba, where Valerius shows that a wise man should not take a wife because of the danger and calamity which this taking so often occasions, as Bathsheba was the incentive and occasion, not only of *adultery*, but of *murder*. The third story is of Solomon, from which he means to conclude that love of a woman brings the lover not only to bodily but to spiritual ruin, whence he says that the *bewitchment*, that is, enchantment, of women robbed Solomon of his *wisdom* and his *renown*, and Solomon finally was infected by such bewitchment with the sin of idolatry, because he knelt down and worshipped *Baal*. Literally, according to Isidore, *Etymologies* 8, chapter 11, Baal was an idol of the Moabites, whom the Latins call Priapus. Solomon worshiped this idol, not because he thought there was any divinity in idols, but because he was made a fool by the love of women and did not want to disappoint them, as Augustine says on Genesis 11. This is the Solomon who by reason of this worship of idols *became a member of Zabulus*, that is, of the devil, and this after he had been the *ecclesiastes*, that is, the speaker and preacher, *of the Lord*. Note that "Zabulus" means "contrary", and is one of the names of the devil, who is always contrary and inimical to us. Note that on account of the manner of teaching that Solomon employs in the book he wrote on contempt of the world he is called Ecclesiastes, that is, "orator" or "speaker" or "preacher", urging men to love God and despise worldly vanity.

Tandem validior est ignus tuus etc. δ. 253–63 **quas . . . Salamone** de adam de david et salamone η. 254 **informacionem** instruccionem M8Q; instruccioni C2. **declinacionem** determinacionem δ. 255 **historiarum** *om.* M8Jη⋆Q⋆. **sunt** *om.* FDoQ⋆. **assumpte** sumpte δ; *om.* Q⋆. **scriptura** *add* sacra M8δPe; scripturis M3; *om.* Q⋆. 257 **quedam** *om.* M8C2QPe. 258 **mulieris** mulierum δ. 259 **Bersabee** bethsabee C3; δ *inserts* qualiter David concubuit cum uxore Urie et propterea fecit virum suum occidi; *cf.* Judges 16. **ostendit** dicit εPe. 260–61 **ductione** dilectione γδ; delectacione εQ; ductione Pe. 261 **saltem** *om.* ζQPe. **accidere** accedere δPe; occidere M3. **Bersabee** bethsabee C3. 263 **Salamone** *add* quare uxor non est ducenda C2. **ex . . . quod** ostendit quod uxor non est ducenda quia Q. **mulieris** muliebris C3DgDo; mulierum M3. 264 **etiam** *om.* DgDoQPe; et F. 265 **fascinus** fascinacio DgDo; festinatio F. 266 **et**^{2} et in M8D. 267 **peccato** peccati C3DgF. **flectebat** flectabat FDoQ. 268 **adoravit** adorabat DJQ; *om.* η⋆. 269 **Baal** Baalim αJ; *om.* η⋆. 270–81 **Istud . . . despectionem** *om.* η. 272 **xi** *om.* γDgDo; i D; 12 M3; 2^{o} Q. 273 **Genesi** *add* ad literam ζ. 274 **factus** factum δ. 275 **fuerat** fuit εQ. **id est** *add* perorator idest (et C2, seu M3) ε. **et** seu ε; *om.* η⋆. 276 **Nota** *this sentence and the next reversed* ε. 277 **nominatur** vocatur ε; *om.* M8η⋆Pe⋆. 278 **quem** quod δ; *om.* ι⋆Q. 279 **quem** quod C3; *om.* ι⋆Q⋆. 280 **et** *om.* DgM8⋆ι⋆Q⋆; seu ζ. 279–80 **id est perorator et concionator** aliter id est portator et contemptator Dg *margin*; id est portator et contemptator F; id est perorator et con-

Secuntur alie historie quas tangit Valerius ad amici sui Ruffini moralem informacionem, et etiam nupcialis vinculi declinacionem, quarum historiarum alique sunt assumpte de scriptura et sunt note satis, sicud de Adam, in qua historia ostendit quod uxor a sapiente non est ducenda propter malum *inobediencie*, que est quasi quedam proprietas mulieris cuiuscumque. Secunda historia est de David et [Bersabee], ubi ostendit Valerius quod uxor non est ducenda a sapiente propter periculum et infortunium quod ex tali [ductione] solet occasionaliter saltem accidere, sicud [Bersabee] fuit incentivum et occasio tam *adulterii* quam *homicidii*. Tercia historia est de Salamone, ex qua vult concludere quod amor [mulieris] inducit amantem non solum ad corporalem sed etiam ad spiritualem confusionem, unde dicit quod *fascinus*, id est, incantacio, mulierum privavit Salamonem *sapiencia* et *fama* sua, et postremo fuit ex tali fascinacione infectus [peccato] ydolatrie, quia flectebat genua et adoravit *Baalim*. Ad litteram secundum Ysidorum 8 *Ethimologiarum*, capitulo 11, [Baal] fuit ydolum Moabitarum quem Latini vocant Priapum (8.11.24). Istud ydolum Salamon adoravit non quia in ydolis aliquid numinis estimavit, sed quia mulierum amore infatuatus illas contristare noluit, sicud dicit Augustinus [xi] *Super Genesi* (11.42; *PL* 34.453). Iste est Salamon qui per istam ydolorum adoracionem *membrum factus est Zabuli*, id est diaboli, et hoc postquam fuerat *ecclesiastes*, id est, concionator et predicator, *Domini*. Nota "Zabulus" interpretatur "contrarius," et est unum nomen quo nominatur diabolus, qui nobis semper est contrarius et inimicus. Nota propter modum docendi quem Salamon exercet in illo libro [quem] fecit de contemptu mundi, ipse dicitur Ecclesiastes, id est, perorator et concionator seu predicator, hominibus persuadens Dei

So that he might appear to be thrust down a still greater precipice, etc. Here Valerius gives another story to show the gravity of the dangers men regularly fall into through the love of women and the alliance of marriage—mentioning *Apollo* the son of *Jove*, who is feigned by the pagans to be the god of wisdom. Apollo suffered a very great downfall indeed: on account of the love and affection he had for venereal pleasure, he *was made the shepherd of* a king called *Admetus* after enjoying the prestige of being the son of Jove, or Jupiter, who, in the fiction of the poets, was the chief god, above all the other gods. Note that many books have *in Phaethon's fall* and many, *in Paeon's fall*. If it is "of Phaethon," then two stories are touched on here; if "of Paeon," then only one story. The fables feign that Jove was angry with his son Apollo because Apollo had killed the Cyclopes, who are Jove's smiths who make the thunderbolts with which he kills men; the Cyclopes had killed Apollo's son Paeon, who is also called Aesculapius, with a thunderbolt. For the inordinate love Apollo had for his son Paeon who had perished by a thunderbolt, Jupiter took away Apollo's divinity and forced him, stripped of the prestige of godhead, to serve King Admetus. Valerius means that Solomon was forced into a still baser service because the love of women led him to serve the devil, which was worse than serving a mere man. If the reading is *of Phaethon*, then this is an allusion to the story of how Phebus, that is, the Sun or Apollo, gave his son Phaethon permission to drive the chariot of the sun, with the four horses that pull it, and Phaethon, who knew neither how to drive the chariot,

temptator Do; *om.* ι*Q*J. 281 **despectionem** δ *inserts* Dalida . . . deputatus, *Grues* 112-13. 282 **detrudi** D *only*; *om.* Q*; detendi M3. 283 **gravitatem** graviorem δ; *om.* η*. 284 **consueverunt** solebant C2Q; *om.* η*. **dileccionem** delectacionem M8JQ; consortium Pe. 284-85 **et . . . confederacionem** *om.* C2η*Q. 286 **paganos** gigantes ζ. 289 **pastor** *add* gregis ειQ; *add* regis J. **qui** Pe *out through* ad 501 (*missing leaf*). **Admetus** *add* De Appolline [p. 355 C3] quomodo de filio iovis factus sit pastor Admeti (Admetis δ) regis loquitur Ovidius de transformatis libro secundo in fabula de othiroe (tthiroe M8; ethiroe Dg) α. 291 **poetarum** poeticam M8; paganorum εJ; poetas (*om.* ficcionem) η. 292 **respectu** *om.* Dη. **aliorum** *om.* ηQ. 293 **Si autem** nota si litera ζ. **Si . . . Fetontis** *om.* δ. 294 **Peonis** pereonis DgF; Peoum D. **una** vera ista DgF; una ista Do. 295 **Unde** ubi δ. **deum** *om.* DJ. 297 **sunt** finguntur M8; fuit frater C2; fuit η; fuerunt J. **qui²** quia C3δC2M3; et J; *om.* Q*. 298 **interficit** infecit δ; interfecit Ca. **interfecerant** interfecerunt δ; interfecerat η. 299 **Esculapius** δ *inserts* Unde Theodolus . . . agendam, *Grues* 120-24. 300 **deordinata** inordinata ζ; *om.* Q*. 302 **divinitate** dignitate ε. **numinis** *om.* ζ. 303 **Admeti** admetis δ; admethe M3. 304 **mulierum** *om.* C3C2η*Q*; solum mulierum solum M8. 306 **hic** *om.* M8η. 307 **suo** *om.* FDo. 308 **solis** *om.* C3; suum M8. 309 **nec** *om.* FDo. 311 **est** *om.* δ. **id est** et M8;

dilectionem et vanitatis mundane despectionem.

Ibi, *Ut aduc videatur maiori [detrudi] precipicio*, etc., Valerius ostendit per aliam historiam huius periculi gravitatem in quam homines consueverunt incidere per mulierum dileccionem et nupciarum confederacionem, unde facit mencionem de *Appolline* filio *Iovis*, qui Appollo apud paganos deus fingitur sapiencie. Ipse enim Appollo ad tantam devenit deieccionem quod propter suam dileccionem et affeccionem quam habuit ad illam veneream delectacionem ipse *factus est pastor* unius regis qui vocabatur [*Admetus*] [p. 355], postquam fuerat in tanta dignitate quia fuit filius dei Iovis, qui Iubiter secundum ficcionem poetarum deus fuit principalis respectu omnium aliorum deorum. Nota plures libri habent *in casu Fetontis* et plures *in casu Peonis*. Si autem sit "Fetontis," tunc tanguntur hic due historie; si autem sit "Peonis," tunc est una historia. Unde notandum quomodo fabule fingunt deum Iovem fuisse offensum contra Appollinem filium suum eo quod Appollo interfecerat Ciclopes qui sunt fabri Iovis, qui faciunt fulmina quibus Iubiter interficit homines, quo fulmine Ciclopes isti interfecerant Peonem filium Appollinis, qui Peon alio nomine dicitur Esculapius. Pro ista ergo deordinata dileccione quam habuit Appollo ad filium suum Peonem qui fulmine interierat, Iubiter Appollinem privavit sua divinitate. Ipse autem privatus dignitate numinis cogebatur ad servicium Admeti regis. Et vult dicere Valerius quod ad vilius servicium fuit Salamon coactus quia amor [mulierum] duxit eum ad diaboli servicium, quod fuit peius quam servire puro homini. Nota si littera sit *Fetontis*, tunc hic fit mencio quomodo Phebus, id est, Sol vel Appollo, concessit Fetonti filio suo licenciam ducendi et regendi currum [solis], cum quatuor equis currum trahentibus, qui

nor how to rein in the horses, nor how to keep the sun on its due course, set fire to the whole earth and finally burned himself to ashes. This is *Phaethon's fall*, that is, the catastrophe he fell into; but his fall was his father Apollo's fall, because of the way Apollo is said to have grieved over his son's death, as Ovid tells in *Metamorphoses* 2. Valerius means that such catastrophes befall us from the undue love with which a man loves his wife, and the children she bears, and so a wise man should not take a wife but put himself far off from such an alliance.

The best woman, who is rarer than the phoenix, etc. Valerius makes a comparison for Rufinus's edification between a good woman and the bird phoenix, which is a unique bird, according to Isidore a bird of Arabia. It is engendered not of seed but of decay, and there is only one such bird in the world. Ambrose touches on the way it is engendered in his *Hexameron*. Valerius's meaning is clear. He is alluding here to the line in Juvenal where, speaking of a good and modest woman, he says that she is like a black swan:

> a rare bird on earth and most like a black swan;

for a black swan is not to be found. Likewise Valerius: a good woman cannot be found, because she is rarer than the bird phoenix. *Swarms* are groups of bees; everything else is clear.

The banners of chastity. Here Valerius turns to history once again to instruct Rufinus, touching on the stories of the *Sabines*, of Ulysses' wife *Penelope*, and of the Roman matron *Lucretia*, the wife of Collatinus, a citizen of Rome. His meaning is that even though they were chaste women, still, because there are no such women

et est C2Q; sive η. 313 **quam** *add* sol εη. **de** dei FDo. 314 **morte** moriente δ. 315 **quia** *om.* ζη⋆. 316 **dileccione** delectatione J; *add* et inordinata δ. 318 **elongare** abstinere J; δ *inserts* Fascinno . . . demones, *Grues* 125–29. 319 **femina** mulier γC2M3η; mulierum D. **ibi** *om.* M8δM3; hic agit D; hic J; δ *inserts* Fenix . . . scribitur, *Grues* 130–34. 321 **avem** *om.* M3η. **fenix** *om.* M8ηQ. 325 **hic** hinc D; huic M3. 326 **bona** hac ave γδ; *om.* η⋆Q. 329 **modo** *add* ait ζ. 330 **inveniri** reperiri δζ; *om.* η⋆. **avis** ipsa M8C2; *om.* Q. 331 **Examina . . . colleciones** δ *only*. **alia patent** *om.* M8ζη⋆; que non est nisi unica Q. 335 **iste** ille C3. 336 **tales** *om.* C3Q⋆. 337–53 **Nota . . .**

Pheton nesciens currum ducere nec equos cohibere nec viam solis debitam tenere, terras omnes incendit et seipsum tandem combussit et incineravit. Iste est ergo *casus Phetontis*, id est, infortunium in quod incidit; suus autem casus fuit casus patris sui Appollinis, propter luctum et tristiciam quam dicitur habuisse secundum fabulas de filii sui morte, sicut narrat Ovidius libro secundo *De transformatis* (2.311–31, 381–400). Vult igitur Valerius dicere quod quia talia infortunia accidunt ex indebita dileccione qua solet uxor diligi et proles que gingnitur ab ea, ideo sapiens uxorem non debet ducere sed potius se a tali federe elongare.

Ibi, *Optima [femina] que rarior est fenice,* ibi Valerius ad Rufini informacionem facit comparacionem inter mulierem bonam et avem fenicem, que fenix est avis unica et est, sicud dicit Ysidorus (12.7.22), avis Arabie; et non generatur ex semine sed ex putrefaccione, et non est nisi una avis talis in mundo. Modum autem quo generatur tangit Ambrosius in suo *Exameron* (5.23). Patet ergo quid Valerius vult dicere. Alludit enim hic versui poete Iuvenalis, qui loquens de [bona] et pudica muliere dicit quod similis est nigro cyngno:

> Rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cyngno. (6.164)

Niger enim cyngnus non potest inveniri. Et eodem modo Valerius: mulier bona non potest inveniri, ex quo est rarior quam avis fenix. [*Examina* sunt apum collecciones]; alia patent.

Ibi, *Vexilla pudicicie*, Valerius pro Rufini informacione facit mencionem alterius historie et tangit historiam de *Sabinis*, de *Penolope* que fuit uxor Ulixis, et de *Lucrecia* matrona Romana que fuit uxor Collatini civis Romani, et vult dicere quod licet [iste] fuerunt mulieres pudice, tamen quia nulle [tales] sunt modo, ideo omnes

nowadays, all are to be feared, none married. Note that Livy gives the story of the rape of the Sabines. When Romulus founded Rome, he made a sanctuary, that is, a place he called a place of refuge, in which all were taken in indiscriminately, however wicked they were, and therefore, on account of the bad reputation of these people, the men of Rome were unable to get themselves noble wives. So Romulus, as a trick, announced games in Rome, to which the Sabines came, along with their wives and daughters. Then Romulus and his men seized and carried off three hundred girls from the Sabines, and he paired them off with his men and their supporters. Later the Sabine fathers tried to invade the Romans to avenge the injury, but the girls who had been carried off and married by the Romans, along with the sons and daughters they had had by the Romans, begged their fathers for a truce and, to excite their pity further, made their sons and daughters cry. It is the faithfulness in love the Sabine women showed their husbands that Valerius calls to mind here, and he means that modern women are not like them and therefore should not be taken as wives.

On the story of Lucretia, note Augustine in the first book of *The City of God* and Livy again, who tells how she was raped by the son of the emperor Tarquin and as soon as she could sent a letter to her husband Collatinus and told him the story of the rape, then in order to express her hatred of the sin stabbed herself to death. Valerius brings up this matron and her chastity here.

Stories tell of Penelope, Ulysses' wife, and her chastity. Ulysses was ten years in the siege of Troy and ten more getting home, and Penelope kept herself chaste, faithful, and modest the whole time, where other women such as Agamemnon's

uxores *follows* 408 De Ponto Q. 338 **Titus** ticius DgF. **Livius** livus M8D. 339 **vocabat** vocabant M8DoM3Q. 341 **erant** essent M3η; *om.* Q★. 342-43 **optinere** habere J; optinere vel habere D. 345 **suis et sibi** sibi et suis M8DQ; sibi et suis et sibi J. 346 **Post** postea vero M8; postea M3Q; deinde D. 347 **fuerunt** erant M8; fuerant DQ. 349 **suos** *om.* ηQ. 353 **et . . . uxores** *om.* M8; ducende uxores Dg; *om.* η; et ideo non ducende Q. **uxores** in uxores FDoD; δ *inserts* Nota quod Sabine fuerunt mulieres castissime, *Grues* 168. 354-57 **Nota . . . oppressa** J *follows Trivet*. 354 **de . . . Lucrecie** historiam de Lucrecia εQ. **Augustinum★** Augustinus γC2Q; de qua augustinus tangit D; tangit Augustinus M3η. **primo libro** primo D; *om.* η. 355 **Titum . . . Livium** *om.* M8★; *om.* etiam F; titus livus D; secundum tytun livium M3; titus livius η; etiam titus livius Q. **narrat** narrant DQ. 356 **Tarquinii** tarquii δ; tarquini ε; *om.* Q. **fuerat** fuit C2ηQ. 357 **misit** *add* pro εηQ. 359 **cultello** δ *inserts* Item narrat Martinus . . . Danielem, *Grues* 143-63. **de²** *om.* DJQ. 360 **hic** *om.* δ. 361 **De** tercio de γε (tercia M3) Q. 363 **10** *add* annos DgFD; *om.* Do★. 364 **pudice** δ *inserts* licet a multis . . . violari, *Grues* 166-67. **sicud** scilicet ηQ. **Agamemnonis** archemonis agamenonis

sunt timende et nulle ducende. Nota historiam de raptu Sabinarum tangit Titus Livius (1.8-13); Romulus enim quando primo Romam condidit asilum fecit, locum scilicet unum quem vocabat locum refugii, ad quem [p. 356] locum fuerunt omnes indifferenter recepti quantumcumque erant mali, et ideo propter infamiam talium personarum non poterant illi de Roma aliquas uxores nobiles optinere. Ad cautelam ergo Romulus in Roma ludos ordinavit ad quos venerunt Sabini et uxores et filie earum. Romulus ergo cum suis rapuit trecentas puellas de Sabinis et eas suis et sibi adherentibus copulavit. Post Sabini volentes iniuriam ulcisci Romanos ceperunt invadere, sed puelle que fuerunt a Romanis rapte et ab eis ducte exierunt, cum filiis suis et filiabus a Romanis genitis, et pacem et concordiam a parentibus pecierunt et filios suos et filias ad fletum compulerunt, ut sic Sabini cicius ad misericordiam traherentur. Istam ergo fidelitatem dileccionis quam Sabine ostenderunt suis maritis hic ad memoriam reducit Valerius, et vult dicere quod mulieres moderne non sunt tales et ideo non sunt ducende uxores.

Nota etiam de historia Lucrecie [Augustinum] 1 libro *De civitate Dei* (1.19.57-59) et Titum etiam Livium (1.58), qui narrat de ea quomodo a filio imperatoris Tarquinii fuerat violenter oppressa, que statim post nacta oportunitate misit marito suo nomine Collatino et sibi casum oppressionis narravit, et in detestacionem sceleris occidit seipsam cum cultello. De ista ergo matrona et de sua pudicicia facit hic Valerius mencionem.

[De] Penolope que fuit uxor Ulixis et de eius pudicicia narrant historie. Nam Ulixes per 10 annos fuit in obsidione Troie et per alios 10 fuit in redeundo, et semper Penolope se habuit caste, fideliter, et pudice ubi alie mulieres sicud uxor Agamemnonis et alie

wife, and others, had been corrupted. Penelope and her chastity, and how she held off many suitors in the absence of her husband Ulysses, are treated by Ovid in his book *From Pontus*.

(Scylla and Myrrha) have advanced against the Sabine battle-lines. Here Valerius brings up two more stories, of *Scylla* the daughter of King *Nisus* and of *Myrrha* the daughter of King *Cinyras*, and he implies that all modern women deserve to be feared because they are all like Scylla and Myrrha, who according to their fables were shockingly wicked women. For Scylla loved King Minos, her father's enemy, so much that she took off her father's golden hair—and the paternal head as well—and brought them to King Minos. For the fables feign that King Nisus's hair was golden on account of the great treasure he had, which his daughter stole, every bit, and killed her own father, as Ovid tells in *Metamorphoses* 8, where he shows us Scylla speaking thus:

> Take this purple lock as a pledge of love, and trust that I am giving you
> not a lock but my father's life.

Ovid also tells of Myrrha in *Metamorphoses* 10, how she was caught up in illicit love for her father Cinyras, and succeeded in sleeping with him through the deceptive maneuvering of her nurse. When the father realized the crime he had committed—for his daughter had been brought to his bed in the dark and he had slept with her without knowing it—he would have killed her with his sword, but she fled and escaped death. Valerius implies that the *battle-line*, that is, the great multitude, of such wicked women as Scylla the daughter of Nisus and Myrrha the daughter of Cinyras have penetrated the company of the Sabines, that is, of chaste women, and perverted

DgDo; arthemonis agamenonis F; athemonis η. 366 **refutavit** refutaverit C3JQ; recusaverit vel refutaverit Dg; recusaverit FDo; *om.* η⋆. **Ovidius** *add* in M8ηQ. 367 **Ponto** epistolis aliter nominatur liber eroidum η. 369 **scilicet** *om.* C3Jη. **filia** *om.* C3. 370 **Cinare** sinaris Dg; cinaris FDo; canaris η; cocaris Q. **dicere** *om.* γη⋆; dicere Valerius DJ; dicit (*om.* vult) Q. **mulieres** plures δ. 371 **omnes** *om.* M8Q. 372 **et flagiciose** *om.* C3; et flagicione M3. 372-82 **Nam . . . capud** J *follows Trivet*. 373 **in** *om.* γQ. **Minoen** mironem DgF; minonem ζη; minorem Q. **regem** *om.* DoM3. **patris** *add* sui DgηQ. 375 **Minoen** mironem DgF; minonem Dη; munitionem M3; minorem Q. **deportavit** portavit ζ . 377 **sustulit** abstulit M8ηQ. 378 **Scille** *add* ad Nisum γε; *add* ad minonem η. 382 **crede** redde δ; trade M3η; trado Q. **capud** δ *inserts* Item alius expositor dicit Silla fuit filia . . . aer, *Grues* 171-88. 383 **De Mirra etiam** *lemma* Mirra Cinare δ. 384 **quomodo** quod δη. 384-89 **capta . . . occidisse** δ *here weaves together Ridewall and* Grues*; text is* Erat quidam . . . dat amarus amor, *Grues* 189-199, *with these additions from Ridewall*: **consilium** et cautelis et fraudibus (et cautelas et fraudes Dg, *corrected in margin*); **vetule** proprie nutricis in tenebris; **interficere** qui tamen fugit et per fugam mortem evasit. *For other variants, see* Grues *variants*. 384 **deordinato** inordinato M8Q; deordinata D; δ *out*. 386 **a** *om.* γQ; δ *out*. 387 **enim** tamen C3; *om.* M8; δ *out*. **concubuerat** concuberat M8M3; concubuit DC2; δ *out*. 388 **fuerat** fuit DQ; δ *out*. 389 **occidisse** interficere δM3; occidere η. 390 **magna** *om.* δη. 391 **malarum** *om.* εη⋆Q. **filia Nisi** *om.* M8η⋆Q. **Mirra** mirre C3; *om.* η⋆. 391-92 **filia Cynare** *om.* M8η⋆Q. 392 **cetum** tectum δ. 393 **et**^{2} *om.* M8Dgη⋆;

fuerant adulterate. De ista Penolope et eius castitate et quomodo plures procos refutavit in absencia sui mariti Ulixis tangit Ovidius libro suo *De Ponto* (3.1.107).

Ibi, I*ngresse sunt acies in Sabinas*, Valerius facit mencionem de duabus aliis historiis, [scilicet] de *Scilla* [filia] *Nisi* regis et de *Mirra* filia *Cinare* regis, et vult [dicere] quod merito mulieres omnes moderne sunt timende quia omnes sunt similes Scille et Mirre, que secundum fabulas fuerunt mulieres male [et flagiciose]. Nam Scilla in tantum dilexit Minoen regem, hostem patris sui, quod ipsa crinem aureum patris una cum capite paterno abstulit et ad regem illum Minoen deportavit. Fingunt enim fabule quod capilli regis Nisi fuerunt aurei propter magnum thesaurum quem habuit, quem totum filia sua sustulit et patrem proprium interfecit, ut innuit Ovidius *De transformatis* libro 8 (8.1-151), ubi introducit verba Scille in hunc modum:

> cape pignus amoris
> Purpureum crinem, nec me nunc tradere crinem
> Sed patrium tibi crede capud. (8.92-94)

De Mirra etiam narrat Ovidius libro 10 *De transformatis* (10.298-502) quomodo capta fuit amore deordinato proprii patris qui vocabatur Cinaras, ad cuius concubitum tandem pervenit cautelis et fraudibus proprie nutricis. Sed pater postquam facinus [a] se perpetratum percepit—ignoranter [enim] cum propria filia concubuerat, que ad lectum suum in tenebris ducta fuerat—filiam suam cum gladio voluit occidisse, que tamen fugit et per fugam mortem evasit. Vult ergo dicere Valerius quod *acies*, id est, multitudo magna, talium mulierum malarum qualis fuit Cilla filia Nisi et [Mirra] filia Cynare intraverunt cetum Sabinarum, id est, castarum mulierum,

them, and drawn them into lust and incontinence, so that no modern women are like the Sabines or Lucretia or Penelope, and therefore are to be taken to wife by no wise man.

Jupiter, an earthly king. Valerius here brings up another story, of Jupiter, king of Crete, who loved Io, the daughter of Inachus, so much that poets feign that he changed himself into a bull. For his wife Juno, out of jealousy, had changed Io into a cow, and so Jupiter, in order to lie with her and fulfil his lust, transformed himself into a bull. And note how if taken in a moral sense such fables show how many evils come about from sexual pleasure and the vice of lust, which takes away the use of reason and judgment, not only from peasants and the middle range of men but also from the great, no matter how great they are, and from men whose virtue is so great that vis-à-vis other men they are as gods (whence even this Jupiter whom a woman transformed into a beast is put, in the poets' fiction, in the number of the gods). Note that this Io was later called *Europa* and so ended up with two names.

Phebus, who with the rays of his wisdom. Here he gives another story, of Apollo the god of wisdom, who is called Phoebus from Greek *phos*, which is *lux*, "light," in Latin, because the sun is a planet wholly made up of light, and poets equate the sun with the god of wisdom. This Phoebus, as Ovid tells in *Metamorphoses* 4, loved a girl named Leucothoe, daughter of king Orchanus, and was so taken with love for her that he transformed himself into the likeness of her mother in order to gain entrance into Leucothoe's bedroom, where he lay with her. Her father Orchanus so hated the crime that he buried her alive in the earth, and so killed her. Phoebus was so grieved at Leucothoe's death that he all but lost his light, and did not shine on the world in his usual way. Through this fable Valerius wants to show how much danger there

atque Q. **et**^{3} *add* ad DgM3. 394 **nulle** in nullo C2Q. 395 **in uxorem** in uxores M8; uxores ε; *om.* η⋆Q. 397 **Valerius aliam** *om.* DgF. **adducit** inducit ηC2J; introducit Q. **et** *om.* ηQ. 398 **Cretense** cercensi DgF (circum se Dg *margin*); crentensi Do; cretensi ζ; cercense C2; cretensium η; terencie Q; *om.* J. **Io** iunonem Dg *margin*, M3Q. **Inachi** malchi Dg; machi FDoM3; mathi DC2. 400 **ducta** dicta C3FDoD; de ioue et io M8. **mutaverat** mutavit C2Q. **Io** iovem DC2Q; seipsam M3. 401-2 **transformavit** mutavit ζη. 402-6 **Et nota . . . diis** *follows* 463 commensalem η. 404 **usu** hominem visu δ; usum ε; *om.* η⋆; homines Q. 405 **et**^{2} *add* nobiles et δ; *om.* η⋆. **tales** talis DgF; *om.* η⋆. 406 **virtutis** virtutum ζ; *om.* η⋆. 408 **postea** prius δ; post C2η; postmodum Q. 409 **binomia** δ *inserts* Item alius expositor dicit Europa . . . mundi, *Grues* 200-12. 410-18 **Ibi . . . interfecit** J *follows Trivet*. 410 **qui** et γC2M3; *om.* DQ⋆. **radiis** radius γ; *om.* Doη⋆Q⋆. **et est** *om.* M8η; tangit Q. 412 **luminosus** illuminosus C3; luxmerosus M3; *om.* η⋆. **poetis** poeta δ; *om.* η⋆. 413 **4** 10 δ. 413 **De transformatis** *om.* ζ; methamorfosios Q. 415 **raptus** captus ηQ. **amore** in amorem δ. **istius** *add* puelle M8β. 417 **quam** quod ηQ. **facinus** *om.* ηQ. **vivam** *add* eam ζη. 418 **Leucotoes** *om.* M3ηQ. 420 **ostendere** intelligere C2Q; *om.* η⋆. 421 **amore** amorem DgF;

et perverterunt [p. 357] eas, et ad luxuriam et incontinenciam traxerunt, ita quod moderne mulieres nulle sunt similes nec Sabinis nec Lucrecie nec Penolope et ideo a nullo sapiente sunt in uxorem ducende.

Ibi, *Jubiter rex terrenus*, Valerius aliam adducit historiam, et est de Iove rege Cretense qui in tantum dilexit Io filiam Inachi quod poete fingunt Iovem seipsum mutasse in bovem. Nam Iuno uxor Iovis, [ducta] zelotipia, mutaverat Io in vaccam, et ideo Iupiter ut eam posset cognoscere et suam libidinem explere seipsum transformavit in bovem. Et nota quomodo tales fabule moraliter intellecte ostendunt quanta mala accidere solent ex voluptate et vicio luxurie, que privat usu racionis et discrecionis non solum homines simplices et mediocres sed etiam quantumcumque magnos et tales qui inter alios propter magnitudinem virtutis comparantur diis, unde et iste Iubiter quem femina transformavit in brutum ponitur in numero deorum secundum ficcionem poetarum. Nota ista Io postea fuit vocata *Europa*, unde fuit binomia.

Ibi, *Phebus [qui] sapiencie sue radiis*, aliam ponit historiam et est de Appolline deo sapiencie, qui dicitur Phebus a 'phos' Grece quod est 'lux' Latine, quia sol est planeta totus luminosus qui a poetis vocatur sapientie deus. Iste Phebus, ut narrat Ovidius libro 4 *De transformatis* (190–255), dilexit puellam quandam nomine Leucotoe, que fuit filia regis Orcani, et tantum fuit raptus amore istius quod transformavit se in similitudinem matris puelle et intravit talamum Leucotoe et eam cognovit, quam pater suus Orcanus, detestans facinus, vivam in terram fodit et interfecit; de morte cuius Leucotoes Phebus doluit in tantum quod quasi lumen suum amisit, nec mundum more solito illustravit. Vult ergo per istam fabulam ostendere Valerius

is in love of women, from which no less a being than the god of *wisdom* suffered the shame and infamy of so foolish and disordered a love. Note that Leucothoe is equivalent to "white goddess," from Greek *leukos* which is *album* (white) in Latin, and *theos*, god.

Mars, who … god of warriors. Here he gives another story, of Mars the god of war. Ovid relates in *Metamorphoses* 4 that Venus, the goddess of lust, and Mars, the god of war, had been caught joined in illicit love by Phebus, that is, by the revolution of the sun. The sun revealed the adultery to Vulcan, who is feigned by the poets to be Venus's husband. Vulcan had the most subtle of chains made on the bed and around it, and when Mars was about to copulate with Venus, in an instant they were bound to each other so fast that they could not draw apart, and right away Vulcan had the whole company of the gods called. They came and found Mars and Venus joined in sin and bound to each other. Valerius brings in this fable to show how knights and soldiers cannot rely on military *strength* to ward off sexual desire and the shameful calamity of lust. Indeed, very many men who are honored for their physical prowess are scorned and ridiculed for giving way to their desires; and therefore the fable goes on to say that the assembled gods made fun of Mars and Venus for their filthy illicit congress.

Friend, please consider the chains. Here he applies this fable to the education of Rufinus, and, as you see, in the course of applying it mentions another fable. This one is of Vulcan and the goddess Pallas, or Minerva, who is said to be goddess of war and also of wisdom. Vulcan asked Jove for Pallas as his wife; Jove gave her to him—if he

om. η⋆. **talis** tales ζ; *om*. η⋆. 422 **fuit** *om*. C3η⋆; est DgF. **ignominiam** ignoranciam M8M3; *om*. η⋆. **infamiam** *add* tantam C2J. 423 **idem est quod** idem quod DgDo; id est DC2J; dicitur η. 424 **deus** δ *inserts* Item secundum alium expositorem Leucothoe . . . solis etc., *Grues* 213-218. 426 **4** 10 δ. 427 **deordinato** inordinato ηQ. 428 **Phebum** phebi γεQ; phebem η. **revolucionem** revelacionem γεηJQ. **fuerunt** *om*. C3Q⋆; fuissent D. 432 **sic mutuo adinvicem** adinvicem sic mutuo C3; *om*. M8D; mutuo sic adinvicem C2Q; mutuo sic invicem J; mutuo adinvicem M3; mutuo η. 434 **deorum** *om*. γ. 435 **deam** *om*. DC2η. 438 **ignominiosam** ingnominosam C3; ignominosam M8FDo; ignominiam et D; ignominose C2Q; *om*. η⋆. 441 **cetum** centum FC2; multitudinem D; *om*. η⋆. 442 **commixtionem** δ *inserts* Alius expositor dicit Mars concubuit . . . luxuriosi sunt, *Grues* 219-30. 443 **cathenas** cathendi C3; etc. M8J; cathenarum δ; *om*. D . 444 **patet** *add* ipse DC2J; *om*. η⋆Q⋆. 446 **scilicet** *add* de dea D; *add* de M3; sive η; *om*. J⋆Q⋆. 448 **Iupiter** ipse

quantum sit periculum in amore mulierum, ex quo talis qualis [fuit] iste deus *sapiencie* ignominiam et infamiam passus est ex tali amore fatuo et inordinato. Nota Leucotoe idem est quod 'alba dea,' a 'leucos' Grece quod est 'album' Latine, et 'theos,' 'deus.'

Ibi, *Mars qui deus bellancium*, ponit aliam historiam et est de Marte deo belli. Narrat enim Ovidius libro 4 *De transformatis* (4.171–89) quod Venus dea luxurie et Mars deus belli, deordinato amore coniuncti, per [Phebum], id est, solis [revolucionem, fuerunt] deprehensi. Post tamen sol revelavit adulterium istud Vulcano, qui Vulcanus fingitur a poetis maritus Veneris, qui Vulcanus fecit fieri subtilissima vincula in lecto et circa lectum, et quando debuit Mars cum Venere copulari, statim fuerunt [sic mutuo adinvicem] ligati quod non potuerunt abinvicem recedere, et statim fecit Vulcanus multitudinem [deorum] vocari, qui venientes invenerunt Martem et deam Venerem turpiter coniunctos et invicem colligatos. Istam autem fabulam introducit Valerius ad ostendendum quomodo viri militares non possunt per milicie *strenuitatem* carnis evadere voluptatem et luxurie [ignominiosam] calamitatem. Immo qui inter homines propter corporis probitatem honorantur plures propter voluptatem carnis contemptibiles et derisibiles iudicantur; et ideo in serie fabule dicitur cetum deorum derisisse deum Martem et deam Venerem propter istam fedam et deordinatam commixtionem.

Ibi, *Amice, meditare saltem [cathenas]*, ibi ponit huius [p. 358] fabule applicacionem ad Rufini erudicionem, et, sicut patet, in fabule applicacione facit mencionem unius alterius fabule, scilicet de Vulcano et dea Pallade, scilicet Minerva, que dea dicitur belli et etiam sapiencie. Vulcanus enim peciit a deo Iove deam Palladem in uxorem, cui Iupiter eam concessit dummodo posset contra

could conquer her. But Pallas did not in the least want to consent to Vulcan, and as they struggled Vulcan's seed is said to have fallen to the ground (according to some; according to others it fell on the upper air). From that seed a boy, it is said, was born, named Erichthonius, which means "the son of strife and dissension"; for *eris* is Greek for Latin *lis* (struggle). The phrase *nor a goddess (thought) worthy of her bed* refers to Pallas's armed resistance. Note still another Vulcan fable that Valerius touches on here. Vulcan is feigned to be not only Jove's smith but his son, and the poets say he was born from the thigh of Jove's wife Juno. But he was improperly formed there and so born lame, whence, poets say, Jove threw him out of heaven, and they feign that he landed on an island called Lemnos, and therefore Vulcan is called Lemnian, from the island he landed on. He touches on this fable when he says *whom* (namely Vulcan) *neither a god* (namely Jupiter) *thought worthy of* (to have at) *his table* (that is, as a tablemate in heaven)—just as Pallas did not think him worthy to have as her husband.

Pallas was rejected by the false judge of the goddesses. Valerius touches here on another fable, of Alexander Paris, the son of King Priam of Troy, who stole Helen, the wife of King Menelaos of Greece. Paris was for a time a shepherd in a forest called Ida. It happened that the goddess of envy threw a golden apple among three other goddesses, Juno, Pallas, and Venus, in order to stir up a quarrel among them. On the apple it was written that the most beautiful of the three should have it. They agreed that Paris the shepherd should decide which of them was more beautiful than the others. Therefore Juno came to Paris and promised him riches if he decided for her, and Pallas promised him wisdom if he decided the apple should be hers. But Venus promised him, if the apple were given to her, the most beautiful woman as his wife,

ζ. **dummodo** si ηQ. 450 **reluctacione** colluctacione M8Q. **Vulcani*** Vulcanus αβJ. **descidisse** decidisse M8ε; emississe η; effudisse JQ. 451 **ethere** ether C3; aere η; *om.* Q*. 452 **semine** *om.* ζ. **nomine** *om.* C3C2; vocabatur η. **Erictonius** erutonius δC2; erutenius D; erictanius M3; eritonius η; eritionius Q. 453 **et** idest DgF; *om.* Q*. 454 **reluctacione** resuscitacione DgF; refutacione C2J; *om.* η*. **illud** *om.* C2M3η*Q*. **dignata** JQ *only; all others* dedignata (*om.* η*). 456 **et**[2] *om.* M8ζηJ*Q*. 458 **claudus unde** enim claudus C3δC2J; enim claudus ut M8; claudus ζη; idest claudus unde Q. 459 **eiecisse** eiecicisse C3; eiectum M8. 460 **et** *om.* DgF. 460-61 **et . . . Lemnius** *om.* DoC2M3η*Q*. 460 **insula** hac insula DJ. 461 **Lemnius** lenius M8; lempnus D1; lempnius Ca. 462 **quando** *om.* C3η*Q*; cum M8; quomodo δ. **quem** quod δζ; *om.* η*Q*. **deus** *om.* γη*Q*. 464 **nec** *add* dea M3Q. **coniugem** δ *inserts* Item alius expositor Vulcanus . . . deorum etc., *Grues* 231-36. 465 **dearum** *om.* γεJη. 468 **silva** insula C3δQ. 469 **Contigit** contingit Fη. **quoddam** *om.* M8M3η; unum Q. 471 **fuit** erat ζη. 472 **quod** *om.* M8η. **earum** vestrum M8; eorum F; illorum Do; illarum C2; omnium η; istarum Q. **trium haberet** me habebit M8η. 474-75 **pro ea iudicaret** sibi pomum adiudicaret Dη. 475 **sibi**[2] pro ea C2Q. 476 **daretur** daret

Palladem prevalere. Pallas autem Vulcano nullatenus voluit consentire, unde in illa reluctacione [Vulcani] dicitur semen descidisse, in terram secundum alicos, et secundum alios in [ethere], de quo semine natus dicitur puer [nomine] Erictonius, qui interpretatur 'filius litis et dissencionis'; 'eris' enim Grece 'lis' Latine. De ista Palladis reluctacione intelligitur illud, *Dea nec [dignata] cubili*. Nota etiam aliam fabulam quam tangit hic Valerius de Vulcano, qui fingitur faber Iovis et filius ipsius, unde et poete dicunt Vulcanum natum et genitum de femore Iunonis que est uxor dei Iovis. Sed propter deformitatem fetus nascebatur [claudus; unde] poete dicunt Iovem Vulcanum [eiecisse] de celo, et eum fingunt cecidisse post eiecctionem in quandam insulam que dicitur Lempnus, et ideo ab insula in quam cecidit Vulcanus dicitur Lemnius. Hanc fabulam tangit [quando] dicit *quem* (scilicet Vulcanum) *nec* [deus] (scilicet Iubiter) *est dignatus* (habere in) *mensa*, (id est, in celo commensalem), sicud *nec* Pallas dignabatur eum habere in coniugem.

Ibi, *A falso [dearum] iudice reprobata est Pallas*, Valerius aliam tangit fabulam et est de Alexandro Paride, filio Priami regis Troie, qui rapuit Helenam, uxorem Menelai regis Grecie. Iste pro tempore quodam fuit in [silva] quadam Ida nomine, pastoris habens officium. Contigit autem deam invidie proicere pomum quoddam aureum inter 3 deas alias ad faciendum discordiam inter eas, scilicet Iunonem, Palladem, et Venerem. In pomo autem fuit scriptum quod pulcrior earum trium haberet pomum; convenerunt ergo dee quod Paris, ille scilicet pastor, daret iudicium que earum esset pulcrior. Venit ergo Iuno ad Paridem et sibi promisit divicias si pro ea iudicaret; Pallas vero sibi promisit sapienciam si sibi pomum iudicaret. Sed Venus promisit sibi uxorem pulcherimam si sibi daretur

and Paris, being more eager to take his pleasure than to be rich or wise, awarded the apple to Venus. And therefore he is called *false judge* here, because he made his decision on the basis of lust. Valerius applies this fable to Rufinus as you see: he likens Rufinus to Paris because he *sneers at* Valerius's simple, unschooled way of speaking, even though what he is saying is true, and might be useful to Rufinus. And he says also that Rufinus loves *figures of speech*, that is, fancy and well-arranged words, even though they may be bad and pernicious for him.

Julius Caesar. Here Valerius touches on the story of Julius Caesar; he wants to show through him how useful it is to put your trust in your friend, however simple, and do what he advises. The story is this. On the day when Caesar was murdered in the Capitol, he was forewarned by a friend of his about the plot against him. A woman of this simple man's party brought the emperor a letter in which the plot was described. Caesar took the letter graciously, but instead of reading it kept it in his hand until he should have time. After the emperor was murdered the letter was found in his hand. Valerius mentions this story here, and implies that if Caesar had turned his mind, as he turned his *ear*, to the advice of this *Tongillus*, that is, if he had read the letter brought to him and, following its advice, gone out of the Capitol, he would have escaped that death *by daggers*. For Caesar was in fact stabbed to death with daggers, they say, and so Valerius brings in daggers here.

You … to me who predict your daggers. Here Valerius, in order to correct his friend Rufinus, makes various comparisons: by means of certain similitudes he speaks obliquely of several shortcomings in virtue on Rufinus's part. Thus he compares Rufinus to an asp stopping its ears so as not to hear the words of the snake-charmer,

M8δD; iudicaret J; *om*. η⋆. 477-78 **ditari aut sapiens fieri** sapiens fieri C3; sapiens esse M8; ditari aut FDo; vel sapiens fieri vel ditari ζ (esse M3) J; *om*. η⋆Q. 481 **simplicem** simplicitatem ζ; *om*. η⋆. **loquendi** *om*. ζη⋆. 481-82 **Valerii licet** licet Valerius γδζQ; valerii licet Valerius J; *om*. η⋆. 482 **poterunt** possint D; possunt M3J; possent Q; *om*. C2⋆η⋆. 483 **id est** et M3Q; *om*. C2⋆η⋆. 484 **composita** comperta D; compta M3Q; *om*. C2⋆η⋆. **perniciem** pernicionem δ; *om*. η⋆; δ *inserts* Nota quod iste tres dee . . . celestia, *Grues* 237-59; *see Headnote*. 485 **tangit** hic tangit δ; *om*. η⋆. 486 **quam** quantum ζ; *om*. η⋆. 488 **Iulius** *add* Cesar δD. 490 **litteris** *om*. M8DηQ⋆. 490-93 **litteris . . . unde** *added in margin in different hand* Ca. 492 **perlegit** elegit J; legit η. **manu** *add* sua δ. 493 **fuerat** fuit M8δη. 494 **fuerunt** fuerant ζ; sunt Q. **invente** *add* clause δ. 495 **dicere** *add* Valerius DQ. **animum** manum εQ; anime η. 496 **Tongilii** J *only*; congilii C3M3; *om*. M8⋆η⋆; consilii δD; congilli C2Q. **sibi** *om*. M8⋆δη⋆Q⋆. 497 **contentum** *add* fecisset C3Dg; *add* fecisset et FDo; et D; M8η *out*. 498 **illam** suam Dg; *om*. FDoJ; illorum C2Q. **stilorum** δ *inserts* capitolium . . . cernentibus, *Grues* 268-71. 501 **Tu** tu vero δζηJ; *om*. Q⋆. **stilorum** stilorum tuorum δε; *om*. Q⋆; etc. ζ. **amici sui** sui amici C3D; *om*. Q⋆. 502 **Rufini** *om*. FDoη⋆; amici sui C2; Rufino Q. **quasdam** quas δεJ; *om*. η⋆Q⋆. 503 **similitudines** similaciones DgF; assimulaciones DoJ; *om*. η⋆Q⋆.

pomum. Paris ergo plus volens delectari quam [ditari aut] sapiens fieri, pomum adiudicavit Veneri, et ideo hic dicitur *falsus iudex* quia dedit iudicium secundum affeccionem. Istam autem fabulam applicat Valerius ad Rufinum sicud patet; dicit enim Rufinum similem Paridi quia *fastidit* simplicem et incultum modum loquendi [Valerii, licet] dicat veritatem et ea que cedere poterunt ad Rufini utilitatem. Et dicit etiam Rufinum diligere *scemata*, id est, ornata verba et composita, licet cedant sibi ad malum et perniciem.

Ibi, *Iulius Cesar*, tangit Valerius historiam de Iulio Cesare. volens per eum ostendere quam sit utile amico etiam simplici fidem adhibere et iuxta consilium suum facere, et est historia talis. Illo die quo Iulius in Capitolio fuit interfectus, ipse per quendam suum amicum fuit premunitus de insidiis sibi intentatis. Unde una mulier ex parte illius hominis simplicis portavit litteras imperatori, in quibus litteris fuerunt descripte ille insidie; quas litteras Iulius gra [p. 359] tanter accepit, sed eas non perlegit, sed in manu retinuit et tempus ad legendum expectavit—unde postquam fuerat interfectus ille littere fuerunt invente in manu imperatoris. De ista historia facit hic mencionem et vult dicere quod si Iulius applicuisset ita animum sicud fecit *aurem* ad consilium istius [*Tongilii*], hoc est, si litteras sibi missas ab eo legisset et iuxta consilium in eis [contentum] a Capitolio se subtraxisset, ipse evasisset mortem illam *stilorum*. Ad litteram enim, ut dicitur, Iulius stilis confossus interiit, et ideo Valerius facit hic mencionem stilorum.

Ibi, *Tu michi stilorum prenuncio*, Valerius ad Rufini [amici sui] correpcionem variam facit Rufini assimulacionem: per quasdam similitudines ipse circumloquitur in Rufino diversam virtutum defeccionem. Unde comparat Rufinum aspidi aures suas obturanti ne

as Augustine teaches on the Psalm-verse, "Like the deaf asp that stoppeth her ears, etc.": "When the Marsian, that is, the snake-charmer, comes, the asp puts one ear to the ground and stops the others with its tail so that it cannot hear the charmer's words, and so deludes him and his charm." Valerius means that Rufinus acts the same way, closing his ears to Valerius's advice, *the way the asp hears wizardries*, that is, charms, according to the psalm-verse, "nor of the wizard that charmeth wisely."

You give me your attention as the boar does to the barking hounds. Here Valerius compares Rufinus to a boar. The more a boar is worried by dogs, the wilder and fiercer it gets; and Valerius makes this comparison because his words seemed rather to spur Valerius on to marry than to hold him back from marrying. Alternatively, it is said that the boar out of nobility of spirit is merely contemptuous of the hubbub of the barking dogs, and Rufinus likewise held in contempt Valerius's effort to educate him.

You are as well-filled as the thirsty serpent. Here Valerius compares Rufinus to the snake dipsas, a kind of asp, and implies that just as one who has been bitten by this snake is always thirsty—the thirst kindled in him lasts until he dies—so Rufinus is not held back from marrying by any dissuasion of Valerius's, but rather spurred on to marry like a man bitten and poisoned by the dipsas: a drink of water does not ease his thirst but intensifies it, as the poet says, "And while (Narcissus) seeks to ease his thirst, another thirst grows"; "The more the waters are drunk, the more they are thirsted after." Note he mentions the poison of the dipsas when the sun is in the sign of Cancer, for in that season the poison of that snake is stronger.

504 **Rufinum** eum M8PeQ. 505 **docet** *add* beatus ζ; *om*. η*. 506 **et obturantis aures** *om*. M8M3Jι*Q. **aures** *add* suas DoDC2. **etc**. *om*. DM3ι*Q. 507 **incantantis** incantacionis ε; incantante η. 508 **aurem²** *om*. M8Q; terram η. 509 **caudam** cauda M3Q; *om*. ι*. 511 **claudit** *add* a DC2. 512 **venefici** veneficus C3; veneficis δ; *om*. M3*ι*Q*. 513 **sapienter** δ *inserts* Item alius expositor seva attropos enim tres dicuntur . . . evellere, *Grues* 272–79. 515 **eo** *add* quod δM3; *om*. D; quo Q. **et efficitur** *om*. M8C2ιQ. 520 **et despicit** *om*. M3J. **latrancium vociferacionem** vociferancium latratum M8; latratum et vociferancionem δ (F *om*. et); latracionem et latrancium vociferacionem D; *om*. η*. 521 **informacionem** δ *inserts* Item secundum alium expositorem aper . . . defendit, *Grues* 283–86. 523 **aspidis** serpentis C2Q; *om*. η*. 524 **nec** et ζQ. 525 **mortem** *add* non DC2Q. 526 **retrahitur** trahitur δ; detrahitur Pe. 530 **pote** poete M8F; potare M3; potate Q; *om*. η*. 532–33 **vehemencie maioris** vehementissime maior δ (vehementitissime F); vehe-

audiat verba incantatoris, sicud docet Augustinus super illud Psalmi, "Sicud aspidis surde et obturantis aures, etc." (Ps. 57.5): "Aspis, veniente Marso, id est, incantatore, ne ipsa verba incantantis valeat audire, unam aurem ponit ad terram et aliam aurem obturat per caudam suam, et sic deludit incantatorem et eius incantacionem" (cf. *PL* 36.679–80). Isto modo vult dicere Valerius quod Rufinus facit, qui aures suas claudit Valerii consiliis *sicud aspis veneficiis*, id est, incantacionibus, iuxta illud Psalmi, "et [venefici] incantantis sapienter" (Ps. 57.6).

Ibi, *Animum adhibes ut aper latratibus*, comparat Valerius Rufinum apro. Ad litteram, aper eo redditur et efficitur magis silvestris et magis crudelis quo magis per latratum infestatur a canibus; et quia Rufinus videbatur ex verbis Valerii pocius concitari ad nubendum quam a nupciis retrahi, ideo istam assimulacionem facit Valerius. Aliter tamen dicitur quod aper propter cordis elevacionem parvipendit et despicit canum latrancium vociferacionem, et sic Rufinus despiciebat in animo Valerii informacionem.

Ibi, *Placaris ut dipsas*, Valerius comparat Rufinum dipsadi serpenti, qui dipsas est genus aspidis, et vult dicere Valerius quod sicud ille qui morsus est ab isto serpente semper sitit, nec sitis in eo accensa citra mortem extinguitur, ita Rufinus per nullam dissuasionem Valerii a nupciis retrahitur, sed ad nubendum pocius concitatur, sicud intoxicatus seu vulneratus a dipsade—per potum aque sitis in eo non sedatur sed pocius augmentatur, iuxta illud poete: "Dumque sitim sedare cupit, sitis altera crescit" (Ovid, *Met.* 3.415); "Quo plus sunt pote, plus siciuntur aque" (Ovid, *Fasti* 1.216). Nota ipse facit mencionem de veneno dipsadis sole existente in signo Cancri, quia illo tempore venenum illius serpentis est vehemencie

You take care of yourself as Medea did when she was rejected. Here Valerius compares Rufinus's stubbornness to the famous woman Medea. Histories and fables alike tell that Medea killed her own sons out of a desire to avenge herself on her husband Jason. Thus,

> What a woman can do (what evil, that is), the cruel house of Tereus knows, Medea knows: her own sons slaughtered by unspeakable murder.

It is on account of that foolish, mad deed that Valerius says Rufinus is like Medea in giving himself advice, because he is advising himself ruinously, just as she avenged herself ruinously when she killed her own children fathered by Jason, after Jason had left her and taken Creusa. Ovid speaks of Medea and the mad revenge she took on her own children in *Metamorphoses* 7:

> Her sacrilegious sword is stained with the blood of her sons, and, having avenged herself badly, the mother flees Jason's weapons.

Phoroneus. Here Valerius mentions another story in order to bring Rufinus to detest marriage. The story is clear. This is the King Phoroneus whom the Master of Histories mentions, on Genesis, as a contemporary of the patriarch Isaac. He says, "at that time Phoroneus, the son of Inachus and Niobe, first gave laws to Greece, and instituted the trying of cases before judges, and called the place of judgment the *forus*, after his own name." For as Isidore says, "a f*orus* is a place where quarrels are settled, from *fando* (speaking) or from *Phoroneus*, the king who first gave law to the Greeks." Therefore, because according to Aristotle only a wise man, indeed one who outstrips other wise men in wisdom, is fit to institute and ordain laws, Valerius brings in examples of such wise men that in this way too Rufinus may be rescued

mencius C2; vehementissimum Q; *om*. η⋆. 535 **qua** *add* Medea C3δC2J. 536 **se** *om*. C3δC2. 538 **Terei** cerei γ; tarei D; terrei C2; teree M3; *om*. ι⋆Q⋆. 539 **Scit** sic DgDo; sicut F; sed DM3; *om*. ι⋆Q⋆. 541 **consulendo** conseniendo δ; consi (*edge of page cut*) Pe; *om*. η⋆. 542 **ipsa** *add* medea δM3; *om*. D⋆η⋆Q⋆. **vindicavit** vindicat ζ; *om*. η⋆Q⋆. 544 **Creusam** terreusam D; oreusam C2; orensam Q; *om*. η⋆. 545 **et** et de C3J. **quam . . . propria** *om*. ι⋆Q. 547 **sanguine** sanguinem δDι. **perfunditur** profuditur M8; profudit D; profunditur M3; perfudit η. **impius** ipsius αC2JQ. 548 **Ultaque** ulta D; ultam C2M3Q; vitam J. **effugit** effudit DgD; effuit FDo. **arma** δ *inserts* Alius expositor (dicit Do) Medea . . . occidit, *Grues* 291-302. 549 **Phoroneus** *Ch changes from Trivet to Ridewall*. **unius** *om*. ChJ. 550 **et** *om*. M8 J⋆δη⋆Q⋆. 551 **Iste est** *om*. ChM8⋆DgDo; iste ζ; iste enim Q. 552 **dicens** dicit ζ. 553 **Inachi** marchi δ; mathi C2; ymathi Q. **Niobes** *om*. ChM8η; niohes DgF; meos D; mohes C2; coiahes M3. **Niobes** *add* qui δεQ. **554 leges** legem M8D. **dedit** condidit C2Q. **instituit** constituit ChM3ιQ. 556 **forus** forum Chζ⋆; frons Pe; *om*. η⋆. **licium** rerum δ; *om*. η⋆. 557 **Grecis** grecie C3Q; *om*. η⋆. **dedit** δ *inserts* Phoroneus . . . exponuntur, *Grues* 303-5. 558 **et** *om*. δη⋆ Pe. 559 **et** *om*. C3Ch⋆η⋆. 562-67 **Ibi . . . historia** J *follows Trivet*.

maioris.

Ibi, *Tibi consulis ut spreta Medea*, Valerius assimulat Rufini pertinaciam ad illam mulierem Medeam, de [qua] narrant historie et fabule quod, volens [se] de marito suo Iasone vindicare, filios proprios occidit, iuxta illud:

Femina quid possit (mali scilicet) [Terei] domus aspera novit,

Scit Medea, suis infesta clade peremptis. (*Theoduli Ecloga* 271–2)

Unde propter istud factum fa[p. 360]tuum et insensatum Valerius dicit Ruffinum similem Medee in sibi ipsi consulendo, quia consulit sibi ipsi perniciose sicud ipsa perniciose vindicavit seipsam quando interfecit prolem propriam quam de Iasone conceperat, postquam Iason eam repudiaverat et Creusam acceperat. De ista Medea et fatua sua vindicta quam accepit de prole propria loquitur Ovidius *De transformatis* libro 7 quando dicit,

Sanguine natorum perfunditur [impius] ensis,
Ultaque se mater male Iasonis effugit arma. (7.396–97)

Ibi, *Phoroneus*, Valerius unius alterius historie facit mencionem ut inducat Ruffinum ad nupciarum detestacionem, et est historia plana. Iste est rex Phoroneus cuius meminit Magister in Historiis super Genesim, dicens eum fuisse tempore Ysaac patriarche, unde dicit sic: "eo tempore Phoroneus, filius Inachi et Niobes, primus Grecie leges dedit et sub iudicibus causas agi instituit, locumque iudicii a nomine suo forum appellavit" (*PL* 198.1112). Est enim forus, ut dicit Ysidorus, "exercendarum licium locus, a 'fando' dictus vel a 'Phoroneo' rege qui primus [Grecis] legem dedit" (15.2.27). Quia ergo secundum Aristotelem ad solum sapientem, et in sapiencia alios excellentem, pertinet instituere [et] ordinare leges, ideo exempla sapientium talium adducit Valerius in medium ut vel sic

from his plan to marry.

The emperor Valentius. He gives another example of another king, which is self-evident.

After Cicero had divorced Terentia. Here he gives another story, of the famous orator Tully, who was called Cicero because he had a face shaped and colored like a chick-pea (*cicer*), a kind of vegetable. The story is self-evident.

Canius of Cadiz (which Hercules built). Here he gives another example from the poets. He mentions a famous witty poet and gives his answer to a historiographer, that is, a writer of histories, who was called Livy and was Punic, that is, from Africa. All Africans are called Punic from the reddish color (*puniceus*) which is characteristic of members of the race. Thus a war between Rome and Africa is called a Punic War, as in Orosius and other writers on the Punic Wars—read Orosius's *Ormesta*. Note that Hercules' Cadiz (*Gades*) are statues that Hercules erected in the east and in the west as a sign that he had acquired dominion over the whole world, to its outer limits, east and west. As for the literal meaning, note that the historian Livy reprimanded the poet Canius for his incontinence with many women, saying bluntly, *You cannot share our philosophy*, that is, you cannot be fit for the study of wisdom, *while you are shared by so many* women with whom you are coupled in love. To back up this sally, Livy adduces the fable of Tityos and Juno, saying, *Tityos does not love Juno with the liver*. For the fables tell that Tityos, infatuated by Jove's wife Juno, tried to seduce

562 **Valencius** valentinus C3δC2Dζ; valerius vel quidem valentinus M3. **aliud** unum aliud M8C2; *om.* ζηChQ⋆. 563 **et patet** et M8; *om.* ζQ⋆; plana in littera η⋆; quod pretermitto quia satis evidet Ch. 564 **Terencie** *om.* Ch, *but adds* Istud idem recitat ieronimus contra iovinianum libro primo capitulo ultimo Ch. **ponit** Valerius ponit δ; tangit Valerius ChPe; ponit unam ζ; *om.* η⋆Q⋆. 565 **est** *om.* η⋆Q⋆. 566 **ciceris** ceceris M8; citheronis δ; *om.* η⋆Q⋆. 568 **Canius** tacius C3C2M3H tacitus M8; canius caneus Dg; tanius F; sanius Do; caonius J; *om.* η⋆Q⋆. 569 **et facit** H *begins* (postea facit). 570 **suam** *om.* Chζη⋆θ. **responsionem** racionem ChδPe; mencionem D; *om.* η⋆. **historico** historiaco DgFD; historiographo DoQ; historie C2; historis M3; historiarum Ch; historiarum scriptori Pe; *om.* η⋆; historiagraphus H. 572 **Afri** affrici DChζθ; *om.* η⋆. **id est** quasi δε–θJCh; *om.* η⋆. **Punici** puniti C2M3; punicidi Ch; pu . . . i Pe (*edge cut*); *om.* η⋆. **colore** calore FM3; *om.* η⋆. 575 **et . . . Orosii** *om.* M8M3η⋆; et aliorum bella punica describencium Pe. 576 **mundi** δ *inserts* Gadibus herculis. Nota hercules . . . poeta, *Grues* 308-11. 576-79 **Nota . . . occidentali** *follows* 610 distractus erat ε; *follows* 605 edax θ (*but* 607-10 *om.* θ); *om.* η⋆. 576 **Gades** gedes DgF; *om.* η⋆Ch⋆. **Herculis** *add* sicud (de quo C2) factum fuit (fuerat C2, est M3) superius gades ε. 578 **adquisiverat** exquisierat D; conquisierat C2; habuit J; quesierat Q; quesierunt H; *om.* M3⋆η⋆. 579 **quam** *add* ex parte ζ. 581 **Canium** stacium vel tacium C3δC2M3; stacium sive cacium M8D; staciium ζ⋆QCh⋆; Caonium J. 583 **potes** poteris εPeθ; *om.* η⋆Ch⋆. **studium** studendum vel ad studium Do; statum εθ; *om.* η⋆Ch⋆. 584 **per amorem** amore Dg3; amorem F; amori Do; *om.* ι⋆Ch. 585 **adducens** adducendum D; adducendo C2M3PeHChJ; *om.* η⋆Q. 586 **Ticius** δ *inserts* Ticius (*om.* Do) amat (*om.* Do). Nota Ticius fuit . . . fibras, *Grues* 312-26. 587 **fabule** fabula M3H;

Rufinus a nubendi proposito retrahatur.

Ibi, [*Valencius*] *imperator*, ponit aliud exemplum de uno alio rege, et patet.

Ibi, *Cisero post repudium Terencie*, ponit aliam historiam de oratore illo famoso Tullio, qui dictus [est] Cicero quia habuit faciem figuratam et coloratam ad similitudinem ciceris, quod est quoddam genus leguminis, et patet historia.

Ibi, [*Canius*] *a Gadibus Herculis*, ponit aliud exemplum sumptum a poetis et facit mencionem de quodam poeta famoso et facundo et ponit suam responsionem quam dedit uni historico, scriptori id est historiarum, qui vocabatur Livius et fuit Penus, id est, de Affrica. Omnes enim Afri dicuntur Peni, id est, Punici, a colore puniceo quo gens ista solet ut communiter colorari, et ideo bellum Romanorum cum Afris dicitur Punicum, sicud patet ex historia Horosii et aliorum bella Punica describencium; lege Orosii librum *De ormesta mundi*. Nota Gades Herculis sunt ymagines quas Hercules erexit in oriente et in occidente in signum quod usque ad illa loca adquisiverat dominium orbis tam ex parte orientali quam occidentali. Nota etiam pro intellectu littere quomodo iste historiographus qui vocabatur Livius reprehendit illum poetam [Canium] de incontinencia cum multis mulieribus, et ideo sibi dixit istud verbum reprehensorium, *nostram philosophiam participare non poteris*, id est, tu non potes esse habilis ad studium sapiencie, *dum a tot* mulieribus *participaris*, quibus scilicet per amorem copularis. Et probat Livius dictum suum adducens in medium fabulam de Ticio et Iunone quando dicit, *Non eo iecore Iunonem amat Ticius*. Narrant enim fabule quod Ticius, de Iunone uxore Iovis infatuatus, interpellavit eam de stupro et amore inordinate [p. 361], propter quod

her, and was damned for his sin to hell, where he is tormented by vultures (who are birds) who gnaw his liver. For the liver is the seat of love and sexual desire, as in the popular couplet,

> The heart discerns, the lungs speak, bile moves to anger, the spleen makes you laugh, the liver makes you love.

Thus Tityos was tortured in hell in the same member in which he sinned. Livy means that just as Tityos's liver, shredded by vultures, cannot drive him to keep up his wicked love for Juno, neither is the poet Canius, stretched thin by so many love affairs, at all fit for the study of wisdom. Note that Tityos is usually said to have been condemned to the torment of vultures gnawing his liver in hell for having proposed adultery to Latona, the mother of Apollo. The following couplet explains the moral sense of the fable of Tityos:

> Tityos is the man who sweats over worldly things, and the vulture that gnaws his liver is the worry that eats at him.

Ovid mentions Tityos in *Metamorphoses* 3 when describing the punishments of hell:

> Tityos was offering his liver to be shredded, and was stretched out over nine *jugera*.

Canius answered. Here he gives the poet Canius's answer, in which first he excuses himself for his sexual slips, saying that a fall makes one more careful in the future.

If I am smothered for a while. Here he proves with another example that this slip is good for him, just as a man who is pinned down and hindered in his breathing for a time, when he gets his breath back inhales the air with a keener pleasure.

historie ιCh. 589 **peccatum** vicium δ; peccatu η. 591 **dileccionis** delectacionis η; delectaciones H. 593 **et** *om*. αεP. **iras** iram C2διH. 595 **ergo** *om*. C3; igitur DgDPeθ; *om*. η⋆. 598 **Canius** Tacius γδε; Caonius J; Ticius Pe; ζηCh *out*. 599 **omnino** ideo δ; *om*. η⋆θ⋆Ch. 600 **Latonam** latonem C2M3Ch; *om*. η⋆θ⋆. 601 **quod** *om*. M8M3Peη⋆θ⋆J⋆Ch. 607 **meminit** facit mencionem ι; *om*. θ. 607–709 **describens . . . Thais** η *out*. 610 **Iugeribus** ingeribus M8D; iugelibus M3; *om*. ι⋆Ch⋆. 611 **Canius** DgJ *only*; tacius γε; tantus F; cadmus Do; stacius θ; *om*. ι⋆. **responsionem** racionem δDC2Ch. **Canii** tacii γC2M3; ticii δD; Caonii J; cuius θ; *om*. PeCh. 612 **responsione** *om*. M8PeCh; racione DC2. 614–17 **Ibi . . . aerem** *om*. ζ. 614 **opprimor** opprimas αJ; opprimes

peccatum dampnatus est Ticius ad infernum et ad tale tormentum in inferno. Sunt enim vultures, ille scilicet aves, iecur Ticii corrodentes; est enim in iecore sedes amoris et dileccionis veneree, iuxta illos versos vulgares:

Cor sapit [et] pulmo loquitur, fel commovet iras,
Splen ridere facit, cogit amare iecur. (Walther, *Spr.* 3428)

In illo [ergo] membro in quo Ticius peccavit, in illo apud inferos punitus fuit. Vult ergo ille Livius dicere quod sicud iecur Ticii, per vultures dilaniatum, non potest esse causa amandi Iunonem per amorem deordinatum, sic nec [Canius] poeta, distractus tot amoribus mulierum, omnino ineptus est ad sapiencie studium. Nota communiter dicitur quod iste Ticius sollicitavit Latonam matrem Appollinis de stupro, et ideo quod sit dampnatus ad illud tormentum inferni quod vultures rodunt iecur Ticii. De isto Ticio sunt tales versus exponentes fabulam ad intellectum moralem:

Est Ticius sudans circa mundana, iecurque
Corrodens vultur cura refertur edax.
(Garland, *Integ. Ov.*, 203–4)

De isto Ticio meminit Ovidius libro 3 *De transformatis* describens penas inferni:

Viscera prebebat Ticius lanianda, novemque
Iugeribus distractus erat. (4.457–8)

Ibi, *Cui* [*Canius*], ponit responsionem illius poete [Canii] in qua responsione primo se excusat de lapsu incontinencie, unde dicit quod casus est sibi occasio maioris cautele in posterum.

Ibi, *Si quando* [*opprimor*], per aliud exemplum probat quod iste lapsus est sibi ad comodum, sicud ille qui oppressus et diu impeditus ne trahat anelitum, post anelitus resumpcionem cum maiori

The changes that night brings. Here he gives another example to the same point, saying that the alternation and variation of days and nights is more pleasant for men than it would be if it were always night or always day, because, as Seneca says, "sameness breeds disgust," and therefore as this Canius said, *constant darkness would be like hell*.

Thus the lilies of spring. Here he gives another example to the same point, namely, to show that the variety of alternation preserves the pleasure of a happy experience. This example is from flowers in springtime, which depend on the variation of the winds Eurus, Nothus, and Zephirus to stay in bloom. Note that all three are side winds, not main winds. Eurus is an eastern side wind, whose chief wind is called Subsolanus, whence the verse, "Subsolanus, Vulturnus, and Eurus are of the dawn," that is, these three are the winds from the eastern quarter. *Eous, -a, -um*,"of the dawn," is the equivalent of "eastern," and the literal meaning is that the east wind is a mild wind, and therefore good for flowers in springtime. Nothus is a southern side wind, whose chief wind is Auster, whence the verse, "And Nothus and Affricus stick to Auster at noon." But since south winds are moist, Nothus, which is a moist side wind to the south wind, because it is a side wind is good for the flowers of springtime. Zephyrus is a western side wind whose chief wind is Favonius, whence the verse, "Circius, Zephyrus, and Favonius blow from the sunset"; and Zephyrus is a mild wind that brings forth spring flowers. What Canius the poet means, then, is that just as the alternation of these winds makes spring flowers grow, then the sun comes on like lightning and they droop, because the uninterrupted heat of the sun makes spring flowers shrivel, so in the restless world of love *amours* with many

C2; labor resurgo forcior (caucius H) θ. 618-22 **dicit . . . est** *om*. Ch. 618-22 **ad . . . est** et patet Pe. 619 **viscissitudo** *add* semper C2Q. **variacio** varietas Dθ. 622 **Canius** tacius γC2M3; ticius DgDo; cicius F; Caonius J; Stacius θ; *om*. D. 623 **ibi²** M3Ch *only*; ubi αDC2J; *om*. θ⋆. 623-50 **ad . . . facit** quomodo (*add* scilicet Pe) flores delectantur varietate ventorum et patet PeCh. 623-24 **scilicet ad** *om*. ζ⋆. 626-40 **Euri . . . productivus** J *follows Trivet, saying*: De ventis vide supra. 630 **id est** *om*. M8Do; et D. **isti** *om*. C2θ. 631 **Eurus** aurus C3; *om*. C2; orientalis θ. 632 **temperatus** temperaneus DgF; temporaneus Do; temperans M3; tempestatus Q. 633 **ventus** *om*. Dθ. 634 **heret** et αJ; erit M3. **Affricus** austricus δ. **Austro** auster M8H. 635 **qui** quia C2M3. 636 **austri** australis DQ; auster M3. **collateralis⋆** temperate γDgF; temporate Do; et comparatur D; temperatus et H. 638 **cuius** cui δ. **occasu⋆** occasum αβJ. 639 **Zephirusque** zephirus δQ; ventusque C2. 640 **poeta Canius⋆** tacius C3δC2M3; potanus M8; poeta stacius sive cacius D; poeta Jθ; η *out*. 642 **veniente** venti M8; oriente C2θ. 643 **marcorem** marcessionem M8; marcionem δ. 644 **ita** *add*

alacritate et leticia respirat et attrahit aerem.

Ibi, *Vices noctium*, aliud ponit exemplum ad idem, et dicit quod viscissitudo et variacio dierum et noctium est magis hominibus ad solacium quam foret si semper esset nox vel semper dies, quia, ut dicit Seneca, "ydemptitas parit fastidium," et ideo, sicud dixit ille [Canius], *tenebrarum perpetuitas instar inferni est*.

Ibi, *Sic lilia primeva*, [ibi] ponit aliud exemplum ad idem, scilicet ad ostendendum vicissitudinis varietatem continere leticie iocunditatem, et ponit exemplum de floribus temporis vernalis, ad quorum conservacionem valet plurimum viscissitudo ista ventorum Euri, Nothi, Zephiri. Nota isti sunt 3 venti collaterales, non cardinales; est enim Eurus ventus orientalis collateralis cuius ventus cardinalis dicitur Subsolanus, unde versus, "Sunt Subsolanus, Vulturnus, et Eurus Eoy," id est, isti 3 sunt venti orientalis plage. Eous, Eoa, Eoum idem est quod orientalis, et ad litteram ventus [Eurus] est ventus temperatus, et ideo valet floribus temporis vernalis. Nothus est ventus australis collateralis, cuius ventus cardinalis est Auster, unde versus, "Atque die medio Nothus [heret] Affricus Austro." Quia autem venti australes sunt humidi, ideo Nothus, qui est ventus austri [collateralis] humidus, eo quod est collateralis confert floribus verni temporis. Zephirus est ventus occidentalis collateralis cuius cardinalis ventus est Favonius, unde versus, "Circius [occasu] Zephirusque Favonius afflant"; et est Zephirus ventus temperatus et florum vernalium productivus. Vult ergo dicere iste poeta [Canius] quod sicud isti flores vernales vicissitudine [p. 362] istorum ventorum crescunt, et sole fulmineo veniente marcescunt, quia continuacio ardoris solaris causat marcorem in floribus temporis vernalis, ita in actibus et negociis amoris multarum mulierum amores sunt

women are pleasant and solacing, but to love one woman on and on turns out to be boring. Note that in all these examples the poet has hoped to show that a life of incontinence, now having one woman, now another, rather than to marry one, is the lesser evil. Note he calls the sun *lightning-like* because of the effect of its heat, for the sun's heat burns, and kindles fire, just as lightning does.

Mars, having broken his cords. Here Canius the poet gives another example to prove his point, adducing the fable of Mars, the god of war. caught in adultery with Venus the wife of Vulcan and bound in invisible chains, which he calls *cords*. He means that it is axiomatic that of two evils one should choose the lesser, and that it is less evil to act incontinently here and there and now and then, and thus to satisfy the sexual appetite, than to marry a wife and be bound to her forever. For though Mars was bound by Vulcan's cords and mocked for a while by the gods, as was touched on earlier, and as Ovid touches on in *Metamorphoses* 4, nevertheless, once those cords and chains were broken, Mars was taken into the society of the gods, and made a fellow divinity, for he is god of soldiers and of war. But *wedded Mulciber*, Venus's husband, stays forever and ever an outsider to the fellowship of the gods because he stays thrown out, and restricted to the island of Lemnos; and this is the meaning of the words *from the table of heaven*, that is, of the gods, *wedded Mulciber*, that is, the husband Vulcan (for the poets feign that Vulcan is Venus's husband) *is tied down with a thick rope of his own far from the feast,* that is, is kept far off from the fellowship of the gods because of the chain of marriage.

Friend, (I approve the words) of both of these men. Here Valerius gives his verdict on the argument between Canius and Livy. He says that he disapproves of both

et DgM3; *om*. Do; sic D. **amoris** *om*. δ. 645 **solaciosi** consolaciosi δ; solaciose M3. **continetur** continuetur δJH. 649 **solis** solaris M8DgDo; eius Q. 651 **ibi²** *om*. M8DgPe; hic Q. **Canius⋆** tacius αC2M3; stacius Dθ; *om*. J⋆Pe; η *out*. 652 **in medium** *om*. ζPeθ. 653 **cum** *add* dea DgFPe; medea dea Do. 654 **vocat** *add* hic C2M3Pe. 655 **signum est quod** signum est M8; *om*. C2θ; dignum est quod J. 656 **eligendum** *expunged* C3; *om*. M8C2M3J. **est et quod minus malum est⋆** est γFM3 ; *om*. DgDoC2; et dicit quod minus malum est D; potest autem minus malum Pe; *cf.* C3 *margin* nota quod de duobus malis minus malum est permittendum. 658-63 **cui . . . deus** *om*. Pe (*page cut*). 659 **ligatus** alligatus C2θ. **restibus** resticulis DgM3H; reciculis C2. **Vulcani** vulcanis C3. 661-62 **rumpebantur** disrumpebantur Dg; dirumpebantur FDo. 663 **quia . . . bellorum** *om*. M8θ. 664 **Mulcifer** multifer γ; multiber FDoM3; multiphere C2; iste Q; ille H. 665 **equaliter** semper M8; essencialiter δ; *om*. Peθ. **alienus** alienatus M8; elongatus ζ. 667 **Mulcifer** multifer γ; multiphere C2; multiber M3; *om*. θ⋆. 671, 673, 674 **Canii⋆** tacii αC2M3; stacii Dθ; caonii J; Pe *om*.

iocundi et solaciosi, et per oppositum amor unius si continetur, in tedium vertitur. Nota ille poeta per ista exempla voluit ostendere minus malum esse vivere incontinenter, modo habendo unam, modo aliam mulierem, quam unam ducere in uxorem. Nota vocat solem *fulmineum* propter caloris solaris effectum; nam calor solis urit et incendit eo modo quo fulmen facit.

Ibi, *Mars ruptis resticulis*, ibi poeta ille [Canius] ponit aliud exemplum ad probandum propositum suum at adducit in medium fabulam de Marte deo belli deprehenso in adulterio cum Venere uxore Vulcani et ligato vinculis invisibilibus que vincula vocat *resticulas*. Vult ergo dicere quod signum est quod de duobus malis minus malum [eligendum] est, [et quod minus malum est] pro loco et tempore incontinenter agere, et sic voluptati carnis satisfacere, quam uxorem ducere, cui semper oportet maritum alligari. Nam Mars licet fuerit ligatus illis restibus [Vulcani] et a diis derisus ad tempus sicut fuit tactum prius, et tangit Ovidius *De transformatis* libro 4 (4.171–89), tamen postquam ille restes et vincula rumpebantur, Mars in deorum collegium est assumptus, et conviva superum est effectus, quia est deus bellancium et bellorum. Sed *uxorius* [*Mulcifer*], id est, Vulcanus, qui ipsius Veneris est maritus, ipse semper a deorum consorcio manet equaliter alienus quia a celo manet eiectus et ad Lemnum insulam limitatus, et hoc est quod dicit *a qua*, scilicet mensa, *superum*, id est deorum, *uxorius* [*Mulcifer*], id est, Vulcanus uxoratus (fingunt enim poete quod Vulcanus est maritus Veneris) *longe suo fune religatur*, id est, propter matrimonii vinculum a consorcio superum elongatur.

Ibi, *Amice, utriusque istorum*, Valerius post [Canii] et Livii altercacionem suam ponit sentenciam et determinacionem, et dicit quod

Canius's life and of Livy's, but says that both men's words are good. Yet he favors Canius's opinions a little, and so goes on to say on its behalf that many occasional illnesses broken up by periods of health hurt the body less than a chronic incurable disease—and so it is with the man who slips at times out of incontinence and the man who is tied to a wife: one is sick as it were by turns, the other all the time. Note that this remark of Valerius's has its own literal sense, since it may be understood of bodily malaise and illness—for the married man is constantly bothered by a malaise of which the other man is free.

Pacuvius, in tears, etc. Here he gives another story, which is self-evident, just as at *Sulpicius felt* he gives yet another story to the same end of avoiding marriage, and it too is self-evident.

Cato of Utica said. Here Valerius, to prove his contention and to reinforce the advice he has given Rufinus, brings in a remark of Cato of Utica's on the harm women do. Cato of Utica was the one who committed suicide in the city of Utica because he had no desire to be taken prisoner by Julius Caesar after his victory over Pompey. This Cato in fact had a great contempt for sexual pleasure, as Augustine mentions in *Against Julian the Heretic*, book 4, where he cites Lucan's lines,

> And pleasure for its own sake never crept into Cato's actions, never took
> a part in them (2.390–91).

The sense of this is that Cato of Utica never did anything out of prurience. And what he thought is obvious in his remark that our time would be spent with the gods if we were kept apart from women. A remark of Varro's supports this remark of Cato's. Varro, as the author of *Universum* tells it, used to say that a man who keeps

671, 673, Ticii 674; η *out*. 674 **Prefert** refert DC2; profert H. 675 **Canii*** tacii α (*added in margin* C3)εJθ; eius Pe; η *out*. 677 **de** in Dgζ; *om*. F; illi θ. 679–80 **habet intellectum suum quia** *om*. JH. 680 **debet intelligi** *om*. ζQ*. 682 **sicut ibi** δ *only*; sibi ibi C3; *om*. M8εPe*θ*. 682–84 **ibi . . . patet** J *follows Trivet*. 683 **Sensit Sulpicius*** sulpicius cum ab amicis C3; sensit cum amicis DgF; surculos ab amicis D; supplicius cum amicis M3; *om*. DoPe*θ*. 685 **ibi** *om*. M8DgPeθ*; idest F. 689 **triumphum** triumhum C3; victoriam Q. 690 **ad litteram** *om*. JQ. **multum** *om*. ζ. **detestabatur** *add* in tantum luxuriam et D; mulierum luxuriam et M3. 693 **in actus** inactus Dg; *om*. FDoPe*. 694 **Surrepsit** surrexit M8M3; surripuit D; surrepit θ; *om*. Pe*. 696 **iste** *om*. ζPeθ. 697 **fuerit** fuit D; fuerat C2θ. 699 **muliere** mulieribus εJQ; consorcio mulierum H; *om*. Pe*. **illius** *om*. M8H; istius D; iste Pe. **Varronis** narracionis DQ; varro Pe; valerius H. 700 **qui** quia M8δD; que Q. **sicud . . . dicere** dicit θ; sicud *om*. F. **Universi** universis FDo; unde D. **servat** servaretur

nec vitam approbat [Canii] nec etiam Livii; verba tamen utriusque dicit esse bona. Prefert tamen sentenciam [Canii] quoad aliquid, unde pro sententia [Canii] dicit quod minus ledunt corpus multi morbi qui habent interpollaciones suas et non sunt continui, quam langor continuus et incurabilis—et sic est de illo qui ad tempus per incontinenciam labitur et de illo qui uxori ligatur: unus quasi per vices infirmatur et alius continue. Nota ista sentencia Valerii habet intellectum suum, quia debet intelligi de tedio et morbo corporali; in tali enim tedio uxoratus continue vexatur, et non sic alius.

Ibi, *Pacuvius flens*, etc., ponit aliam historiam et patet, sicut ibi, [*Sensit Sulpicius*], ponit aliam historiam ad eandem conclusionem, scilicet ad matrimonii declinacionem, et patet.

Ibi, *Ait Cato Uticensis*, ibi Valerius ad sui propositi probacionem et consilii Rufino dati confirmacionem adducit in medium sentenciam Catonis Uticensis de nocumento mulierum. Nota Cato Uticensis fuit ille qui seipsum interfecit in Utica civitate quia nullo modo voluit capi a Iulio Cesare post [triumphum] habitum de Pompeyo [p. 363]. Iste Cato ad litteram multum detestabatur voluptatem, sicut tangit Augustinus libro 4 *Contra Iulianum Hereticum* (5.38; *PL* 44.807), ubi Augustinus adducit illos versus Lucani,

> nullosque Catonis in actus
> Surrepsit partemque tulit sibi nata voluptas.
> (*Pharsalia* 2.390–91)

Sensus est quod Cato iste Uticensis numquam aliquid egit ex pruritu voluptatis. Que autem fuerit sentencia Catonis patet, quia ipse dixit quod hominum conversacio foret cum diis si foret elongacio a muliere. Et pro ista sentencia Catonis facit sentencia illius Varronis, qui, sicud auctor narrat *Universi*, consuevit dicere quod qui servat

himself pure, and unstained by the vices of lechery and gluttony, will enjoy the companionship of the gods while he is still alive, here in this world; there is also the example of Socrates who had a divinity as a friend, as Calcidius says, on account of his holy and chaste life.

Metellus answered Marius. Here Valerius gives another story to prove his main point, that a wise man should not marry. The proof here is the answer of a wise man named Metellus, once a Roman consul. Its meaning is self-evident.

Thais the Corinthian. Valerius gives another example, of the philosopher Demosthenes and the answer he gave Thais. This Thais was then a bad woman, but later she was converted to goodness by the holy abbot Paphnutius and did penance. Thais asked Demosthenes for a huge sum of money to sleep with her, and he answered that the act of sex is always followed by regret and sadness, and he did not want to buy so cheap a pleasure so dearly. Aulus Gellius writes of Thais in the *Attic Nights*. Note that here Valerius mentions Amphion, who, as poets feign, was a citharist who merely by playing his cithar drew stones from various places to build the city of Troy and its walls.

Livia killed her husband. Valerius gives still more stories, with the intention of showing Rufinus that he ought not marry because of the danger that threatens husbands whether their wives love them or hate them. For Livia hated her husband and so she killed him, but the other woman, Lucilia, loved her husband too much. Hoping to bewitch her husband to an excessive love like hers, she prepared a love-potion, which he calls *aconite* here—but the potion was poison and killed

DJ. 701 **luxurie** *a Peterborough Cathedral Library seal is pasted over the page of Pe here through* 777 duri*; we mark words obscured by it with two asterisks.* **immaculatum** iñ maculatum C3; in maculatum M3Q; immaculatus D. 702 **fruetur** frueretur εJ. **ponitur** ponit DgDoζH. 703 **numen** iuvenem δQ; murem M3. **quoddam** quendam Dg; quod DC2; *om.* M3. 706–7 **uxorem non esse ducendam** quod uxor non est ducenda D; uxor non esse ducenda M3. 707 **responsionem** racionem δD; *om.* PeQ⋆. 709 **Thais** Lays η; *om.* Pe⋆⋆θ⋆. **ad propositum** *om.* C3Dη⋆Pe⋆⋆. 711 **pro tunc male** male fame M8; pro nunc manifeste δ; *om.* D⋆η⋆Pe⋆⋆; pro illo tempore male θ. 712 **Panucium** pannicium DgF; pannonium Do; *om.* D⋆Pe⋆⋆; panuncium C2; pesuncium M3; pathuncium H. **ad bonum** *om.* M3η⋆θPe⋆⋆. 714 **posset** possit δ; *om.* Pe⋆⋆. 715 **consequitur** sequitur M3H; *om.* η⋆Pe⋆⋆. 717 **Atticarum** δ *inserts* Alius expositor Amphion conditor . . . vellet, *Grues* 338–44. **hic facit** habet δ; *om.* η⋆Pe⋆⋆. 720 **civitatis** *om.* δθη⋆. 721–38 **Ibi . . . noverce** δ *out*. 721 **historias** *add* ad propositum ζJQ; *om.* Pe⋆⋆H⋆. 723 **periculum** pericula Jθ. 724 **ideo** *om.* ζPe⋆⋆H. 725 **illa** una M8; *om.* δM3Pe⋆⋆θ⋆. **alia** *repeated* C3. 726 **ideo** *om.* M3θ. **suum** *om.* γηθ. 727 **unum** *om.* δηPe⋆⋆θ; ad virum D; suum unum M3. 728 **et** latine C3; vel aconitum et M8. **maritum**

se mundum et [immaculatum] a viciis luxurie et gule vivens hic in mundo fruetur consorcio supernorum; et ponitur ibi exemplum de Socrate qui numen quoddam habuit in socium, ut refert Calcidius (p. 199.1, 263.21), propter suam sanctimoniam et pudicam vitam.

Ibi, *Metellus respondit Mario*, Valerius aliam ponit historiam ad probandum propositum principale, scilicet uxorem non esse ducendam a sapiente, et hoc probat per responsionem unius sapientis viri, consulis quondam Romani, nomine Metelli, et patet quid intelligit.

Ibi, *Thais Corinthia*, Valerius aliud exemplum [ad propositum] ponit de philosopho Demostene et eius responsione quam dedit Thaidi, scilicet illi mulieri pro tunc male; post enim Thais ista per sanctum abbatem Panucium conversa fuit ad bonum et penituit. Ista Thais petivit maximam summam pecunie a Demostene ut cum ea posset carnaliter commisceri, et ipse respondit quod, quia actum carnis consequitur semper dolor et displicencia, ideo noluit illam vilem delectacionem emere ita care. De ista Thaide loquitur Agellius libro *Noctium Atticarum* (1.8). Nota Valerius hic facit mencionem de Amphione qui, ut fingunt poete, fuit unus citharista et melodia cithare sue traxit lapides de diversis locis ad edificandum civitatem Troie et muros illius civitatis.

Ibi, *Livia virum suum*. Valerius iterum alias ponit historias et intendit ostendere quod Rufinus uxorem non debet ducere propter periculum quod solet accidere uxoratis, sive diligantur sive odiantur ab uxoribus. Nam Livia odivit virum suum et ideo interfecit eum; sed illa [alia] mulier, nomine Lucilia, nimis amavit virum suum, et ideo, quia voluit allicere virum [suum] ad consimilem amorem excessivum, ordinavit potum [unum] amatorium quem hic vocat *aconiton*, [et] ille potus fuit venenosus et intoxicavit maritum il-

Lucilia's husband. Note that poets—for example, Ovid in *Metamorphoses* 7—feign that Hercules went down to hell and brought Cerberus, the three-headed dog of hell, back out with him. When Cerberus saw the earth he spat foam on the rocks, and these bits of foam were called aconite, as if *a cane et caute nata*, "born from dog and rock." And because the foam was poison, any poison is called aconite, and so Ovid in *Metamorphoses* 1, describing the wicked deeds of the first age of iron, and speaking of how stepmothers poison the sons of the first wife, says "Terrible stepmothers mix deadly aconites."

Deianira (clothed) the Tyrinthian. Here Valerius alludes to another story, of Hercules and his wife Deianira. Ovid gives this fable or story in *Metamorphoses* 9. Deianira was a beautiful girl whom Hercules married. He came with her to the river Evenus, and found it so swollen from the winter rains that it could hardly be crossed. Hercules was more worried about his bride Deianira than about his own safety. But as he stood there worrying, along came Nessus the centaur, who offered to bring Deianira across. He did so, and Hercules swam across. But when Nessus got to the other side he began to molest Deianira. She screamed; Hercules heard her and shot him to death with an arrow. Nessus, seeing he was dying, took off his *undershirt* or chemise and gave it to Deianira as a present, promising her that if Hercules ever stopped loving her she could revive his original love by getting him to put on the chemise.

virum C2θ. 729-39 **Lucilie . . . Ibi** Peθ *out.* 729-822 **Nota . . . sapiente** J *follows Trivet.* 735 **quodcumque** *add* venenosum et ζ; *om.* Peθ⋆. 736 **attemptata** acceptata M8; accepta δDC2; *om.* Peθ⋆. 737 **prioris** *adds* et C3; *om.* Peθ⋆. 738 **dicit** et dicit δ; *om.* Peθ⋆. **noverce** *add* versus est ζ; *add* versus C2. 739 **Tirincium** tiricium C3Dg; chiricium M8; tirencium F; terencium Do; terinthium D; tyrencium M3; *om.* η⋆Pe. 741 **vel** *om.* M8η⋆Peθ⋆; et δ; super D; sive M3. 743 **Deianira** *om.* M8ηPeH; de iara Do; ianira ε. 744 **Hebenum** hebercium αJ; hobenum D; helenum M3; hebecium η; *om.* Pe⋆⋆Q. 745 **de** *om.* C3. **transiri** transire M8δC2Peθ. 746 **pro**[1] de C2M3 **sua**[1] *om.* M8ηPe⋆⋆. **sua**[2] *om.* M8ηQ⋆H. 747 **autem** *add* sic M8; esset sic ζ; sic erat C2; esset ι. **Nessus** vessus M8M3; nephus Q; *om.* Pe⋆⋆. 748 **portandum** deportandum C3; petandum M3; *om.* Pe⋆⋆. 749 **Nessus** vessus M8; fessus M3; nefus Q; *om.* Pe⋆⋆. **venit** pervenit DgηQ; *om.* Pe⋆⋆. 752 **Qui Nessus videns** vidensque nessus ζ; *om.* Pe⋆⋆. **mortem non posse** se non posse mortem ζηH; quod mortem non posset Q; se mortem Pe. 754 **contingeret** contineret C3; contigeret M8. *om.* Pe⋆⋆. **unquam** numquam C3D; *om.* ηPe⋆⋆. 756 **revocare** δ *inserts* Nota quod Deianira fuit

lius Lucilie. Nota isti poete, sicud patet per Ovidium libro 7 *De transformatis* (409–19), fingunt Herculem ad infernum descendisse et inde secum Cerberum, qui est canis inferni cum 3 capitibus, adduxisse. Iste autem Cerberus visa terra spumas emisit super cautes, id est, super lapides, que spume vocate sunt 'aconita,' quasi 'a cane et caute nata.' Et quia spume ille erant venenose, ideo aconitum solet dici quodcumque toxicum, unde Ovidius libro 1 *De transformatis* describens que fuerunt attemptata in primo seculo ferreo, et loquens de novercis quomodo dant venenum filiis [prioris] uxoris, dicit, "lurida terribiles miscent aconita noverce" (1.147).

Ibi, *Deianira* [*Tirincium*], [p. 364] Valerius alterius historie facit mencionem et est historia de Hercule et Deianira sua uxore, quam fabulam vel historiam ponit Ovidius libro 9 *De transformatis* (1–272), et est ista. Deianira fuit puella quedam pulcra ab Hercule ducta in uxorem; cum qua Deianira veniens Hercules ad fluvium [Hebenum], invenit fluvium ymbribus yemalibus augmentatum in tantum quod [de] difficili potuit transiri. Hercules tamen plus solicitabatur pro coniuge sua Deianira quam pro persona sua propria. Dum autem sollicitus, venit Nessus centaurus et optulit se ad [portandum] Deianiram ultra aquam, quod et fecit. Hercules autem natando transivit; sed Nessus postquam ad ripam venit, Deianiram opprimere voluit, sed ipsa reclamavit. Cuius clamor ad aures Herculis pervenit, qui Nessum cum sagitta ad mortem vulneravit. Qui Nessus, videns mortem non posse evadere, *interulam* suam, id est camisiam, deposuit et eam pro munere Deianire dedit, promittens Deianire quod si [contingeret] Herculem [unquam] a suo amore recedere quod per illam camisiam posset Herculem, si eam indueret, ad amorem pristinum revocare. Contigit autem

Later Hercules did fall in love with another woman, Iole. Deianira heard the rumor of it and was pained. In order to make Hercules love her again, she sent him the undershirt. He put it on, was poisoned by it, and died.

That is the story that Ovid gives, in much greater detail, in *Metamorphoses* 9. This, then, is what Valerius says: *Deianira gave the Tirynthian*, that is, Hercules, named for the mountain Tiryns, *an undershirt (interula) to wear*, that is, a chemise, so-called because it is worn on the inside, next to the body. Note that here Valerius calls Hercules *the hammer of monsters* because he subdued many monsters, such as Cerberus the three-headed dog of hell, Geryon the giant with three human bodies, and the giant Antaeus, and so on—Ovid enumerates them all in *Metamorphoses* 9.

Twelve superhuman labors. Here Valerius brings to mind the tasks of Hercules in order to show how much strength can be overcome by the malice of women. These labors of Hercules, called *superhuman* because they required more than merely human strength, are treated by Boethius in the *Consolation of Philosophy* and by Seneca in the first of his tragedies. The Boethius is book 4, meter 7, *Bella bis quinis*. He says in the meter, "Hercules is famous for his hard labors. He daunted the proud centaurs"; that was the first labor. "He took the spoils from the cruel lion"; that was the second labor. The centaurs were cross-breed monsters, half man, half horse. Also, in the Nemaean forest there was a very cruel lion; Hercules killed it and took away its skin—spoils, as it were. "He also smote the birds with his sure arrows"; that was the third labor. Hercules shot the Harpies, who were very rapacious birds. "He ravished apples from the waking dragon"; that was the fourth labor. Poets say that in the orchard of King

. . . Hercules, *Grues* 354. 757 **fuisse** *om.* δ; esset η; esse Pe. **unius** cuiusdam Pe; *om.* ηθ. 758 **Ioles** voles C2Q; volens M3; *om.* Pe**; volees H. 760 **ex . . . induicione** ad . . . induicionem DgF; *om.* C2; induicione illius θ. 763 **9** 8 αεPe; *om.* η*ζ*. 764 **denominatum** denominat γDgF; denotatum ζ. **Tyrincio** Tyrinnicio C3η; thyrinnico M8; Titicon DgF; tirinthio Do; tyricio D; tyrencio M3; tyrinco Q; *om.* Pe**. 766 **quomodo** quod M3θ; *om.* Pe**. **hic** *om.* ζθη*Pe**. 768 **tricipitem** tricapidem D; tricapitem η; habentem tria capita θ; *om.* Pe**. 770 **que** quos δθ; de quibus η; *om.* Pe**. **9 De transformatis** suo de transformatis octavo γ; 8 de transformatis δC2ηζ; ubi prius η; *om.* Pe**. 771 **reducit** *om.* δη*. 771-72 **probitates** probitatis δ; proprietates M3; *om.* θ*. 772 **quantas vires** quantas vires vel quantos vires, *corrected to* viros *in later hand* C3; quantos viros et quantas vires M8; quantas vires vel quantas res Dg; quantos viros vel quantas res F; quantos vires vel quantas res Do; quantis viris M3; *om.* θ*Pe**. 773 **mulierum** mulieris DC2ηθ; *om.* Pe**. 775 **consolacione** *add* philosophie εθ. **traiedia prima** *om.* ζη*Pe**θ*. 776 **quinis** qui vis δC2; quin vis η; *om.* Pe**θ*. **777 sic** *om.* ζPe*. 778 **spolium** spolia M3θ. 779 **ecce** *om.* FDo. 780 **ex** *om.* δ. **silva** silvea C3. 781 **Nemea** veiena M8; nemeta Do; neomea ζ; memea ι; *om.* Q; neomena H. 783 **Arpias** arpios vel arpias γ; arripios arripiastas Dg; aripios aripiastes F; aripios Do. **rapacissime** *add* certis sagittis, idest, non deflectentibus a certo ictu D. 784 **rapuit** *om.* C2ιQ; abstulit H.

postea Herculem amore captum fuisse unius mulieris alterius Ioles nomine, quod audiens Deianira, et de rumoribus dolens et Herculem ad amorem sui reducere volens, interulam predictam misit ad Herculem, qui eam induit, ex cuius induicione intoxicatus et mortuus fuit.

Hec est historia quam tamen clarius et prolixius ponit Ovidius [9] libro *De transformatis* (101–238). Hoc est ergo quod Valerius dicit: *Deianira Tirincium*, id est, Herculem [denominatum] a Tyrincio monte, *vestivit interula*, id est, camisia que ideo sic vocatur quia interius corpori applicatur. Nota quomodo hic Valerius vocat Herculem *malleum monstrorum* quia ipse Hercules domuit multa monstra, sicud Cerberum canem inferni tricipitem, et Gerionem gigantem habentem tria corpora humana, et Anteum gigantem, et sic de aliis multis que enumerat Ovidius libro [9] *De transformatis* (182–98).

Ibi, *12 inhumanos labores*, Valerius ad memoriam reducit probitates Herculis ut ostendat quantas vires contigit obrui malicia mulierum. De istis laboribus Herculis, qui ideo dicuntur *inhumani* quia excedebant vires puri hominis, tractat Boecius libro suo *De consolacione* et Seneca in suis traiediis, traiedia prima; Boecius libro quarto metro 7, quod metrum incipit "Bella bis quinis." Unde dicit sic in metro, "Herculem duri celebrant labores,/ Ille centauros domuit superbos"; ecce labor primus. "Abstulit sevo spolium leoni"; ecce secundus labor. Centauri fuerunt monstra bigenera quia ex una parte homines et ex alia parte equi. Similiter in [silva] Nemea fuit sevissimus leo quem Hercules interfecit et pellem loco spolii secum tulit. "Fixit et certis volucres sagittis"; ecce tercius labor. Hercules enim sagittavit [Arpias] que erant aves rapacissime. "Poma cernenti rapuit draconi"; ecce quartus labor. In orto enim

Atlas were trees that bore golden apples, and that were guarded by a sleepless, that is, ever-watchful, dragon, but Hercules stole the apples. "He dragged Cerberus by the triple chain"; that was the fifth labor, and Boethius means that Hercules went down to hell and bound and dragged back Cerberus, the three-headed dog of hell. On Cerberus, see the Master of the *Histories*, on Judges, the story of Ehud, where he says that Orcus, King of the Molossians, had a dog named Cerberus who ate men, even strong and brave ones. It is on account of such ferocity that he is feigned by poets to be the dog of hell. The sixth labor of Hercules was that he overcame King Diomede of Thrace, who used to feed his horses human meat. All guests who stopped there he put out for the horses to eat. But Hercules bound the king and put him out for his own horses, who ate him, then were killed by Hercules.

The seventh labor of Hercules was the fight he had with Hydra, the serpent of the Lernaean swamp. Hydra had several heads, and whenever one was cut off two new heads grew on. Hercules conquered Hydra by burning her after he failed to kill her with arrows. The eighth labor was Hercules' fight with the giant Achelous; Hercules fought with him and finally overcame him. The ninth labor was with the giant Antaeus, whom Hercules likewise felled and at last killed when he was down. The tenth labor was the one he had with Cacus, a monster who spat fire out his mouth. Cacus stole Hercules' cattle, but Hercules discovered the theft and killed the thief. Virgil mentions Cacus in *Aeneid* 8. The eleventh labor was the fight Hercules

786 **quodam** *om.* DH. 787 **vigilante** vigilanti δDPeθ. 788 **et** *om.* Dι. 790 **scilicet** *om.* M8Dι; *om.* θ⋆. **ligatum** ligamen FDo. **Cerbero** *add* loquitur M8D; tractat ι; narrat θ. 791 **in Historiis** in historia FDoM3η; historiarum C2. 791 **librum** *om.* C2θ; libro M3. **in historia** *om.* M3ηθ⋆. 792 **Magister** *om.* Dηθ⋆. 793 **etiam** *om.* δDC2θ. 794 **feritatem** severitatem M8; ferocitatem δQ; verocitatem M3. 795 **Diomedem** domedam FDo (*repeated* Do); deomedem η. 797 **omnes** homines DC2; *om.* M3Pe⋆ (*bottom of page cut*). 800 **Herculis** *om.* M8ι; Hercules (*om.* labor) θ. **pugna** *om.* M8D. 801 **Lernee** larnee F; bernee DoC2H; herroe M3; hernee Q. 802 **absciso** succiso Dη. 803 **ex quo** quia ιθ. 804 **Acheleo** atheloo C3; attheleo M8; atheleo δC2Pe; achillo M3; atheloe η; *om.* D⋆θ⋆. 806 **quem Hercules habuit** *om.* M8Peη⋆θ⋆. **habuit** *add* bellum ζ. 807 **tandem** etiam M8; *om.* δζι. 808 **Caco** cato γFPe; catho M3; catus θ. 809 **Cacus** D *only*; catus γC2Peθ; caco DgDo; cato F; cathus M3; qui η. 810 **De** et de ζ. **Caco** D *only*; cato αC2M3J; *om.* η⋆Pe (*page cut after the letter c*) θ⋆. 812 **Arcadie** archaide F; in archadia D; arabie C2M3; *om.*

regis Atlantis poete dicunt fuisse arbores poma aurea deferentes que custodiebantur a dracone quodam insompni, id est, semper vigilante; sed Hercules hec poma rapuit. "Cerberum traxit triplici cathena"; ecce quintus labor, et vult dicere Boecius quod Hercules ad infernum descendit et canem [p. 365] inferni nomine Cerberum, habentem scilicet tria capita, inde ligatum traxit. De Cerbero Magister in Historiis super librum Iudicum in historia de Aioth (*PL* 198.1275), ubi narrat Magister quod Orcus rex Molosorum habuit unum canem nomine Cerberum qui homines etiam fortes et robustos devoravit. Et ideo propter feritatem fingitur a poetis canis infernalis. Sextus labor Herculis fuit quod regem Tracie Diomedem nomine vicit; consuevit enim rex iste equos suos carnibus humanis pascere, unde hospites omnes ad se divertentes equis suis apposuit ad comedendum; sed Hercules ipsum regem ligatum propriis equis apposuit, qui eum commederunt, quos tandem Hercules interfecit.

Septimus labor Herculis fuit pugna quam habuit cum Ydra serpente paludis Lernee, qui serpens habuit plura capita et semper uno absciso succrescebant duo nova capita. De ista Ydra Hercules triumphavit comburendo, ex quo sagittis non potuit eam interficere. Octavus labor fuit pugna Herculis cum [Acheleo] gigante cum quo Hercules luctabatur et tandem finaliter vicit eum. Nonus labor fuit quem Hercules habuit cum gigante Antheo, quem Hercules similiter in lucta prostravit et prostratum tandem interfecit. Decimus labor fuit quem habuit cum [Caco] monstro quodam evomente ignem per os. Iste [Cacus] armenta Herculis furatus fuit, sed Hercules furtum deprehendit et furem interfecit. De isto [Caco] facit mencionem Virgilius libro 8 Eneydos (8.184-305). Undecimus labor Herculis fuit pugna quam habuit cum apro Arcadie qui omnes segetes vasta-

had with the boar of Arcady, who laid waste all the wheat fields in that land; Hercules killed the boar. The twelfth labor of Hercules was when he held up the sky for Atlas. For Ovid feigns in *Metamorphoses* 5 and 1 that the giant Atlas held up the sky on his shoulders, or it would have fallen. But he got tired and asked Hercules if he would like to help him hold up the sky, and Hercules said he would, put his shoulders to it, and held up the sky without budging. Valerius's point is that Hercules, who went through so many labors and came out unscathed, in his thirteenth labor, with a woman, succumbed and died—from which he is inclined to conclude that a wise man should not marry.

Gold broke through. Here Valerius touches on another familiar story or fable, of King Acrisius who had a very beautiful daughter named Danae. Acrisius her father was so afraid that she might be raped that he shut her up in a strong tower and assigned several guards to it. But Jupiter fell in love with her and changed himself into a golden raindrop and dripped, as it were, into her lap and in the end corrupted her, impregnated her, and begot Perseus on her. Ovid mentions Danae and how Jove raped her in the likeness of a golden rain in *Metamorphoses* 6 when, speaking of the web woven by Arachne, he says that she wove in the web how Jupiter "the golden" tricked Danae, and again in Book 3 Ovid says, "Perseus, whom Danae had conceived by a golden shower." And note that Valerius means that women are not only malicious but grasping and ambitious too: women deaf to wooing can be corrupted with bribes, as Danae was corrupted by gold placed in her lap.

Periccion, a virgin verging on old age. Here Valerius mentions another story, of the conception of the philosopher Plato. For Saint Jerome, *Against Jovinian*, book 1, chap-

η⋆θ⋆. 813 **istum aprum** quem M8M3; quem aprum Pe; *om.* η⋆θ⋆. 813-14 **labor Herculis** *om.* M8ηθ. 816 **sed** licet DgF. 817 **quod** ut εζη. **iuvare** adiuuare DgF; iuvaret ηθ. 818 **annuit** adiuuit δ; *om.* Q. **supportavit** δ *inserts* et sustinuit . . . superbum, *Grues* 363-71. 820 **cum femina** contra feminam DgF. 821 **non** *om.* C3. 828 **quasi stillando** constillando FDo. 829 **et**[1] *add* eam δ. **corruptam** *om.* ζη⋆Q. 829-30 **generavit** δ *inserts* Unde theodolus . . . aurum, *Grues* 380-84. 830 **ymbris** imbri δQ; *om.* ι⋆. 832 **loquens** loquitur Dιθ. **texta** sexta C3; texa M8; texata D. **Arangne** arranea DoJ; pragne η; apagne Pe. 833 **aureus** *add* vel amens C3δ. 833-34 **etiam . . . auro** *om.* ιθ. 837 **corrumpi** corrupi DgF; *om.* η⋆. **corumpuntur** coripiuntur DgFD; *om.* η⋆. **Dane** Danes γDgFPe; Danies Do; Dana Q; *om.* η⋆. 838 **scilicet** *om.* M8Doζη⋆Peθ. 839 **Periction** Do *only*; perucio C3C2; peruca M8; pericton DgCa; penicio F; pyrcton D; pentheon M3; Pericio

vit illius terre; istum aprum Hercules interfecit. Duodecimus labor Herculis fuit quando pro Atlante celum supportavit; fingit enim Ovidius libro 5 *De transformatis* et primo quod Atlas gigas celum supportavit humeris suis ne caderet; sed fatigatus ex onere rogavit Herculem quod vellet eum iuvare ad supportandum celum, qui annuit et humerum supposuit et celum inflexibiliter supportavit. Vult ergo dicere Valerius quod Hercules qui tot labores sustinuit et tamen evasit, in terciodecimo labore, quem habuit cum femina, succubuit et interiit, ex quo vult concludere uxorem [non] esse ducendam a sapiente.

Ibi, *Irrupit aurum*, Valerius tangit aliam historiam sive fabulam satis notam, de Accrisio rege qui habuit filiam pulcherimam nomine Danem, de cuius raptu seu violacione timens pater suus Acrisius eam in turri fortissima posuit et custodes plures adhibuit. Sed Iubiter captus amore virginis transformavit se in pluvie guttam auream et quasi stillando descendit in gremium virginis, et tandem illam corrupit et corruptam inpregnavit et ex ea Perseum generavit. De ista Dane et eius a Iove violacione in specie ymbris aurei facit Ovidius mencionem libro 6 *De transformatis* (6.113), quando loquens de tela [texta] ab Arangne dicit quod ipsa texerat in tela quomodo Iupiter [aureus] decepit Danem; etiam idem Ovidius libro 3, ubi dicit, "Persea, quem pluvio Dane conceperat auro" (4.611). Et nota quod Valerius vult dicere quod mulieres sicud sunt maliciose, ita sunt cupide [p. 366] et ambiciose. Unde que non possunt corrumpi prece corumpuntur mercede, quomodo ista [Dane] fuit corrupta, scilicet per aurum sibi oblatum et datum.

Ibi, [*Periction*], *virgo vergens in senium*, Valerius unius alterius historie facit mencionem, et est de Platonis philosophi generacione.

ter 29, says that "Speusippus, Plato's sister's son, and Clearchus, in his book in praise of Plato, and Anaxalides in his book of philosophy, all say that Plato's mother was overpowered by an apparition of Apollo," who the poets say is the god of wisdom. Note that Jerome calls Periccion a virgin. But Valerius introduces the story to show that few women stay chaste forever, for even if they manage to be continent when awake, still (or, *at last*) they are corrupted in their sleep—from which he wishes to conclude that a wise man should not marry, since along with a wife come so many dangers from every side.

I do not want you to become Venus's husband. Here Valerius expresses the wish that Rufinus will marry wisdom—for Pallas is the goddess of wisdom—and not be coupled with Venus, who is the goddess of sexual pleasure and licentiousness. And he immediately (at *Apollo will grace the wedding*) says why he wishes that: if Rufinus is married to Pallas, then he will have *Apollo*, the god of wisdom, as the *bridesman*, that is, the attendant of his espoused wife. And *married Stilbon*, that is, Mercury the god of eloquence who has taken Philology, that is, reason, as his wife, *will teach* and direct the *fescennines*, that is, lullabies. Thus here Valerius alludes to the story Martianus treats in his book *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology*. And note that Valerius hints that Rufinus will gain prestige should he wed discretion and retire from the pleasures of the flesh.

Jason heard. Here Valerius mentions another fable or story, of Jason, who, as poets tell, invented the ship and was the first to risk the danger of sailing. He heard a rumor that there was a golden fleece on the island of Colchos. He also heard that

Pe; *om*. θ⋆. 841 **beatus** *om*. M8⋆D⋆η. 842 **29** ii P; iii^{o} Ca; 3 Pe; 39 H; *om*. D⋆Q⋆. **Speusippus** susspensus Dg; susspenpus F; psensippus Do; sponsippus C2H; sposiopus M3; peusippus J; sensippus Q. 843 **Anaxilides** anaxalides M3; amasilides D; athlantides η; acta vilides Pe; *om*. H⋆. 845 **deus** *om*. DoD⋆M3. 845-46 **Nota . . . virginem** *follows* 746 senium DC2; *om*. M3η⋆Peθ. 846 **Perictionem** perucionem γDo; pernicionem D; periicionem M8; *om*. J⋆ι⋆θ⋆. 848 **vel** *om*. M8DC2Jη⋆Peθ⋆. **tandem** tamen M8C2θ; *om*. η⋆. 852-76 **ibi . . . reportavit** J *follows Trivet*. 852 **Rufino quod** quod Ruffinus DηH. 853 **sapiencie** pallidi M8; palladi D; *om*. Ca. **quod** *om*. M3ι. 857 **desponsate** desponsate disponente facundia Dg; disponente F. 858 **Fecenninas** facun/minas C3; facunninas M8; fastem ninas F; fascenninas DoD; fascennas M3; fasconnonas Q; *om*. η⋆. **id est** *add* cantilenas nimas id est Dg; *add* cantilenas vanas id est F; *add* cantus vel cantilenas minas id est Do. 859-60 **uxori in** *om*. δεζ⋆ι; *add* in C2Q. 862 **Philologie** philogie M8δ; phisiologie M3; philosophie θ; *om*. η⋆. **accreset** accrescit DgFPe; accressit Do; succrescet D; crescet C2; *om*. η⋆. 863-64 **se . . . delectacioni** a se . . . delectacionem δ; se a . . . delectacione ε (*om*. se D) Peθ; *om*. η⋆. 867 **primo** postea D; primus ιQ; *om*. M8. 869-70 **Quia habuit transire** sicut D; *om*. M3;

Dicit enim beatus Ieronimus *Contra Iovinianum*, libro 1, capitulo 29, quod "Speusippus, filius sororis Platonis, et Clearchus, in libro quem fecit de laude Platonis, et Anaxilides in libro philosophie ferunt matrem Platonis oppressam fuisse fantasmate Apollinis" (1.42, *PL* 23.273), qui dicitur deus sapiencie a poetis. Nota Ieronimus vocat eam [Perictionem] virginem. Istam autem historiam introducit Valerius ad ostendendum quod mulieres pauce sunt finaliter caste, quia si contingat eas continere vigilando, adhuc (vel *tandem*) corrumpuntur in sompno, ex quo vult concludere uxorem non esse ducendam a sapiente, ex quo tot iminent pericula ex omni parte.

Ibi, *Veneris nolo te sponsum fieri*, Valerius optat Rufino quod maritetur sapiencie—est enim Pallas dea sapiencie—et quod non copuletur Veneri, que est dea voluptatis et lascivie. Et statim ibi, *Hee nupcie gloriabuntur*, dat causam quare sic optat, et dicit quod si Rufinus coniungatur Palladi, tunc habebit *Appollinem*, deum sapiencie, pro *paranimpho*, id est, custode uxoris sibi desponsate. [*Fecenninas*] autem, id est, cantus super cunabula, *docebit* et ordinabit *Stilbon*, id est, Mercurius deus eloquencie, *uxoratus*, id est, [uxori in] coniugio copulatus Philologie, id est, racioni. Unde hic facit Valerius mencionem de historia quam tractat Marcianus in libro suo *De nupciis Mercurii et Philologie*. Et nota Valerius innuit quod Rufino accreset honor si coniungat se discrecioni et subtrahat se carnis delectacioni.

Ibi, *audivit Iason*, facit Valerius mencionem alterius fabule vel historie et est de Iasone, qui, ut narrant poete, primus adinvenit navem et primo fuit ausus seipsum exponere navigii periculo. Iste audivit famam de aureo vellere in Colchos insula existente. Audivit

it would be necessary to get through several perils to reach the fleece. He had to get past monstrous bulls belching fire and sulphur, which is why they are called *sulphur-breathing bulls*. And he had to get past that sleepless, ever-watchful dragon that guarded the golden apples of Atlas. And so Jason gave way to the counsel of the wise, though what they counseled was hard and difficult. But because Jason ruled himself by counsel, he obtained the treasure he longed for, and brought it back to his own country.

Valerius implies that Rufinus must act in the same way, that is, that he must be led not as the impetus of sexual desire moves him, but as the truth counsels, even though the truth seems as bitter as wormwood to him—as Jerome says in his *Dialogue between Atticus and Critobulus*. "A flatterer," he says, "is defined beautifully as a 'charming enemy.' Truth however, is bitter, her face wrinkled and sour, and she offends those she corrects." The end.

quia ι; scilicet θ. 873 **insompnem** vigilantem ζ; *om.* ι⋆. **aureorum** aurei et C3; auri et M8 ; aurei ortus et Q; ortus aureis et H. 874 **sapiencium** sapientum C2M8JPeH; sapientis ζQ. 875 **seipsum** sapientum δ; *om.* M3η⋆; se Peθ. **regulavit** credidit δ; refutavit D; regulans J; *om.* η⋆. 876 **optinuit** acquisivit ι. **optentum** *om.* M8 ιθ; optatum δ. 878 **deberet** debet ζ; *om.* Pe⋆. 879 **veritatis** *add* et non voluptatis seu amoris inordinati (mordinacis Ca) etc. η; *end* η. **veritas** *om.* εθ⋆. 880 **Atticum** actuum M8; tricobolum acutum δ; accinum D; acticum C2M3JQ. 881 **Critobulum** Pe *only*; critubulum C3; tricubulum M8; tercibulum DgF; tricocolum D; tritobolum C2J; recobolum M3; tricobolum θ. **inquid** *om.* εJPeθ. **definitur** dissimulatur δ; depingitur Pe; dicitur θ. 882 **autem** Dg *ends*. **offenditque** ostendit FDo; ostenditque D; offendit C2θ. 883 **correptos** correptoris FDo; corruptos C2; correctos H. **Explicit** Explicit exposicio Ridewas F; Finit Do; Explicit epistola valerii ad rufinum de non ducendo uxorem cum sua exposicione quod stoctoun D; Explicit exposicio epistole valerii ad ruffinum de non ducenda uxore. Deo gracias C2; Explicit exposicio super epistolam valerii ad ruffinum M3; Explicit exposicio epistole valerii ad ruffinum socium suum ne ducat uxorem cuius textum reperies statim in sequenti quaterno statim. Finito libro sit laus et gloria christo die xv^{a} mensis aprilis anno domini m.ccc.lxxix. post pascha (cuius . . . quaterno statim *in new hand*) Ca; Explicit . . . uxorem, as Ca, P; Explicit exposiscio etc. Pe; Explicit commentum epistole valerii ad rufinum de uxore non ducenda Q; Explicit epistola valerii ad ruffinum de uxore non ducenda cum exposicione eiusdem H.

etiam de locis periculosis per que oportuit eum transire. Quia habuit transire per loca in quibus erant tauri monstruosi evomentes ex ore ignem cum sulphure (et ideo dicebantur *tauri sulphurei*). Similiter habuit transire per illum draconem nunquam dormientem sed semper insompnem qui fuit custos [aureorum] pomorum Atlantis. Et ideo Iason iste adquievit consiliis sapiencium licet duris et difficilibus; et quia Iason consilio seipsum regulavit, ideo thesaurum optatum optinuit, et optentum secum ad patriam reportavit. Isto modo vult Valerius dicere Rufinum debere facere, scilicet quod deberet duci non secundum motum et impetum voluptatis, sed secundum consilium veritatis, licet veritas ipsa reputetur amara sicud absincium, dicente Ieronimo in suo *Dialogo inter Atticum et* [*Critobulum*]. "Pulcre," inquid, "adulator definitur 'blandus inimicus.' Veritas autem amara est, rugose frontis et tristis, offenditque correptos" (*PL* 23.520). Explicit.

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COMMENTARY THREE: NICHOLAS TRIVET

The commentary by Nicholas Trivet, the English Dominican polymath (d. c. 1335), appears in ten manuscripts, in one of which it is substantially revised. They are:

Cambridge, Clare College N.2.5 (formerly Clare 14; our C1, here called simply C) our copy-text, first quarter of the fourteenth century. The "Dissuasio" and the commentary are presented skillfully together on ff. 62v-78, the text in larger characters and with more space between lines, written in narrow columns, typically on the left side of the page and taking up less than a third of it; the text is divided according to the sense, so that each segment is a unified whole, and not according to the amount of commentary that goes with it; nevertheless, by varying the width of the column of text the scribe has generally managed to keep the commentary that goes with each segment next to it. Generally, he starts both on the same line, and if the commentary is long he completes it in a series of whole-page-wide lines before he enters the next column of text, so that its commentary can start on the same line with it. See the frontispiece. No other manuscript we have, of this or any other commentary, presents text and commentary so carefully integrated. The commentary *Hoc contra malos religiosos* follows on ff. 78v-84, in the same hand.

Cambridge, St. John's College, E.12 (115), c. 1400 (J). The "Dissuasio" and commentary alternate, sometimes virtually sentence by sentence, sometimes in longer, often rather arbitrary segments (and Trivet's commentary alternates with Ridewall's—his first, Ridewall's second) on ff. 1-42v; as in C, the commentary *Hoc contra malos religiosos* follows in the same hand, on ff. 42v-57.

Oxford, Bodleian Library Additional A.44, first quarter of the thirteenth century (text), fifteenth century (commentary) (our A^1, here called simply A). The text is on ff. 25-29B; the commentary was inserted later in front of the text, which it refers to in the lemmas as *ut infra*; it now forms ff. 17-24v, but ends in midsentence at *Amice* 624, having lost, apparently, an entire quire. However, the next word, *ethicum*, appears as a boxed catchword below the line, in the hand of the scribe; since there are no other catchwords, it may be that the scribe stopped here, marked his place with the catchword—and never resumed.

Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 11, mid-fourteenth century (our

Dg[1], here called simply Dg). The "Dissuasio" and commentary alternate, in virtually the same segments as in C, on ff. 70-85v, where the scribe ceased writing after five lines, at *aptus* 1444. The rest of f. 85v is blank, as are ff. 86-91v, as if left to receive the remaining text and commentary.

Cambridge, University Library Mm.l.18, fifteenth century (Mm). The "Dissuasio" is on ff. 103-8, with excerpts from Trivet's commentary in the margins and between the lines, though these almost disappear after f. 104r. The commentary follows on ff. 110-121v, with some additions inserted on a half-sheet which is now folio 109.

Manchester, Chetham's Library 8003, fifteenth century (Ch). The "Dissuasio" and commentary alternate—chapter by chapter according to Trivet's division of the text into ten chapters, except that chapters seven and eight are run together, as are chapters nine and ten—on ff. 1-15v. It breaks off, however, after line 1080, where Trivet's commentary is suddenly replaced by Ridewall's, beginning at Ridewall 544-45, *De ista Medea*.

Durham, Cathedral Library B.II.3, fourteenth century (our Dr, here called simply D). The "Dissuasio" and commentary alternate, in an arbitrary fashion similar to J's, on ff. 143-52.

Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek der Stadt, Amplonianum Folio 71, c. 1400 (no siglum assigned in our list; here called E). The "Dissuasio" and commentary alternate, in segments of varying length somewhat like D's, on ff. 12vb-21rb. Incipit: "Sequitur exposicio epistole valerii ad ruphinum; et est nicolai treveth."

Oxford, Lincoln College 81, c. 1400 (Lo). The "Dissuasio" and commentary alternate, in the same segments as in D, on ff. 94-111. In a table of contents on the first page of the manuscript,) it is identified as "Valerius ad Rufinum cum comento Trivet"; see Dean (1950), p131 n2.

Oxford, University College 61, middle fourteenth century (U). The "Dissuasio" and commentary alternate, chapter by chapter, on ff. 2-21v. U, followed here and there by Lo, represents a revised version of Trivet's commentary, probably not by Trivet; see below.

Dean (1950) studied all the manuscripts of Trivet's commentary except Ch. She divided them into two groups, α (CAJMmDg) and β (DELoU), reporting closely on three sample passages to support her analysis. On the basis of the opening passage of *Parvus*, she speculated that Trivet had made a commentary and two revisions in the manner there described, α (which begins *Mulier si primatum teneat*) representing the second version and β (which begins *Sciendum quod tres fuerunt Valerii*) the third. She summarizes her conclusions in this way:

> For the present, then, we may conclude that Trevet did comment on Map, and for convenience we may call his commentary τ, the parent of α and β. In its original form it began: "Homo qui loquitur amico suo." C and Dg^1 represent the first revision, the basis of α, from which copies, revisions, and abridgements were made by other people. J, for instance, was probably compiled by someone who had both τ (or an early copy of α) and Ridewas's commentary, as well as reference books, beside him as he wrote. U represents a later revision, embodying the results of Trevet's study of Livy, and may be considered the basis of β. The exemplar of Lo may have been a polishing or tightening up of U by Trevet, but may quite as well represent a later redactor, working somewhat as J's did. Lo itself was copied by an inattentive professional scribe: the writing is quite clear to read, but there are omissions due to visual error, and at least one marginal note has been incorporated into the text. Dm and Ef were abridged from a β manuscript more like Lo than like U; yet they have traces of α also (149–50).

Our study has brought us to somewhat different conclusions. Of the so-called α manuscripts, A is in no sense an abridgement of CDg (see Dean 139, 141), but a quite complete and nearly verbatim counterpart of C until it breaks off, apparently because of the loss of a quire. Mm (and Ch, which Dean did not know) might more properly be called abridgements than A, since both omit much. J is far less of an independent compilation from reference books than Dean supposes. She saw correctly that J combined Ridewall with Trivet, but apparently did not study the Ridewall text closely, for she supposed that some material was gathered independently when in fact it was merely taken from Ridewall. All of the extra material she cites from J on her pages 141 and 144 is from Ridewall, including the sentence on page 144 which she takes to be a reference to Valerius Maximus but is in fact simply a reference to our Valerius, the author of the text Ridewall is commenting on. Except for the Ridewall material, J like A is a very close counterpart of C. (In one place, however, Dean is right to say that the compiler of J had "reference books beside him as he wrote": this is a long quotation from Gerald of Wales, filling in Trivet's reference, at line 206.) We agree that Dg is also close to C, although it has many more small errors than A and J, errors that often align it with Mm and Ch.

As for Dean's β group, our studies suggest that though to posit such a group is occasionally useful for the efficient recording of variants, there is no reason to emphasize a sharp separation from the other manuscripts. All four manuscripts (DELoU) clearly do derive from an ultimate common ancestor that departed from the text in C at a number of places, most of them visible in the sub-group DE (κ). But since DE (which do not have the passage *Sciendum quod tres fuerunt Valerii*) show merely scribal variation, they should be kept separate from U and Lo, which record actual revisions. (In several places Dean herself is forced to acknowledge that DE follow α rather than β; see, e.g., the last clause of the paragraph quoted above.) Furthermore, we doubt very much that it was Trivet who made the revisions recorded in U and Lo. Rather, we judge that the author of the version preserved in U had a manuscript of Trivet more or less of the family of DE, and made his own rather thoroughgoing revision of the commentary from it, "classicizing" and grammaticizing, reducing Trivet's elaborate schematic analysis of the organization of the "Dissuasio," shortening some places and expanding others, adding authorities. Finally, the author of the version preserved in Lo had both a manuscript like DE and the U version; he generally followed Trivet, but on occasion added or substituted from U, his first addition being the *Sciendum* passage. He surely was not Trivet—or anyone else—"polishing or tightening up" U. Rather, we agree with Dean's alternative hypothesis that Lo is the work of a "later redactor, working somewhat as J's did," that is, combining two commentaries, though less systematically than J. The opening passage of *Parvus* we discuss in its place, though it will be evident here that we are quite skeptical about its assertion that *Sciendum*, at least as U has it, is the author's own revision of *Mulier*.[1]

We have collated Dm, Ef, and Lo and include them in our report of variants. We also collated (and reported) U through Chapter One (line 512), then gave up the attempt as vain, since although the basis in Trivet is generally discernible U really is a new version. Although the variants do not report unique variation, or even variation unique to either the group DE (κ) or the group LoU (λ), the interested reader will find sufficient report of U in the variants to Chapter One to discern both its basic connection to C and its frequency of departure from C. In Appendix One to this headnote, we offer a discussion of the abridgements in several manuscripts of a long passage in Chapter One, and give in full, and discuss, U's sharply different version of it. Robert Pratt completed a separate transcript of U, but we do not print it here, the work being long enough already.

1. We hereby retract the statement in Lawler 1985, p. 3, based on Dean before we had studied her claim in detail, that we have five witnesses each of two of Trivet's three versions.

We hope to publish it separately, and in the meantime will lend it willingly; eventually we will deposit it in the Yale Library with our other materials. We do, however, report on Lo's borrowings from U. Where Lo gives U as a substitution for C, we write "L follows U" in the Variants; where Lo adds U to C, we write "L adds from U," without actual quotation in either case. (In checking Lo against U, we used Pratt's transcript of U as well as our photocopy of the manuscript.) As a sampler, we give in Appendix Two to this headnote all Lo's borrowings from U in Chapter One.

Trivet claims (57-72) that his purpose is moral, since Map's "Dissuasio" can be interpreted morally as a dissuasion from sin, woman standing for "sensuality and the weaknesses and temptations of the flesh," flatterers for the devil, etc. In fact, however, he rarely moves explicitly to the moral level, but contents himself with making the argument very clear. Thus his work is fundamentally like that of the *Grues* author and Ridewall, but he probes Map's meaning much more perceptively than either of those authors; see the extensive comparison of the three, making clear Trivet's superiority, in Lawler 1991: 101-6, where the argument is made that Trivet seems to aim to produce a commentary of equivalent status to the original text. And yet he was after all writing primarily for schoolboys, and not quite pulling out all the stops. For instance, though in discussing Hercules' labors he draws on his Boethius commentary, in that commentary he is fuller, even discussing the historicity of the labors, which he does not do here (see Minnis 1988:143). And many of his remarks and citations on natural history can be found also in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*. On the other hand, there is a good deal of discussion of myth, much of it original, so that he comes across here as something of a mythographer.

Since he refers several times to alternative readings, it is clear that Trivet consulted more than one manuscript. Naturally there are times when he has (or chooses) a reading that differs from the reading of our text, but we have not regularly drawn attention to these, deeming them self-evident. He uses eight English words (goldfinch, nightingale, throstlecock, bittern, treacle, rock, south, steel) and four French (esperver, conoil, primerole, acier). Trivet seems to have used a glossed Ovid, which we have not identified. We have sometimes cited illustrative remarks from two Renaissance prints available in Garland reprints, since though they are obviously after Trivet they draw on medieval commentary.

For a good account of Trivet's extensive oeuvre, see the DNB entry by James G. Clark. He dates the Boethius commentary at around 1300, when Trivet was about 40; his drawing on that here, and his mention of King Alfred's translation of Boethius, suggests to us that the Valerius commentary was written at the same time or soon after. Eneas of Siena, whose commentary we have put at 1311-13, seems to have known Trivet's commentary. We put the date, then, as c. 1300. In

her recent new edition of his commentary on Seneca's *Phaedra*, Clara Fossati offers a "qualified" account of the range of Trivet's learning. We hope that his very great range will be very clear here, both in the text itself, in our identifications of sources, and in the notes—and anyone who looks into his commentaries on Boethius or Augustine will find it still greater.

RULES FOR TRIVET VARIANTS:

L=Lo. M=Mm. Group α = CJADgMCh. Group β = DE (κ) LU (λ).

Omitted variants:

1. Readings unique to either κ or λ.
2. Shortenings, summaries, and brief misplacements in κ or λ.
3. Unique readings as usual, unless they seem significant, or unless there are so many unique readings as to undermine support for C.
4. Omission of pronouns or prepositions or *esse* when sense is not affected; and variation between simplex and compound verbs, such as *suadeo/persuadeo*, or between two synonymous compounds.
5. As explained above, we do not report on U after Chapter One (line 435), so that the symbol λ does not appear after that point.

APPENDIX ONE:

A SAMPLE PASSAGE EXEMPLIFYING ABRIDGMENT IN MSS. MM, CH, D, E, AND LO—AND REVISION OF TRIVET IN MS. U.

The passage on Circe's transformation of Ulysses' men into beasts, lines 195-286, will serve to illustrate our sense, correcting Dean, of the interrelations of the manuscripts. In four mss., C, J, A, and Dg, the passage appears substantially as we print it: the facts about Circe and Ulysses, from Isidore and Ovid (195-205); a glance at other examples of transformation, from Gerald of Wales, the Bible, and *The City of God* (206-19); a long discussion of how such transformations are possible (220-70); finally, an analysis of the Circe story and the passages that precede it, incidentally citing King Alfred on Boethius, and concluding that the transformations really did take place (271-86). Mm, abridging vigorously, omits from the reference to Isidore in 195 through 274, that is, gives only the conclud-

ing explanation (suppressing all references within it to the preceding discussion); Ch omits 206–15 and 257–73. DELo follow C through line 213, omitting from the second reference to Gerald of Wales through line 250, where Trivet begins to summarize his opinion of transformation. But this summary, 250–73, is itself summarized in these three manuscripts (see Variants). Then they return to the text of C where MCh do, at the final analysis of Circe's transformations. Clearly there has been no real revision of Trivet here, only abridgement; even their summary of 250–73 sticks fairly closely to the diction of C. None of this is beyond the reach of scribes, and nothing so far calls for an αβ division of the sort Dean posits.

U is a different story. Here is the passage complete:

> Sciendum etiam secundum Ysidorum eodem libro, capitulo 23, "Circe fuit maga famosissima que socios Ulixis mutavit in bestias." Ulixes, post bellum Troianum et excidium, cum redire cepisset ad propria in Greciam, decennio vagabatur per mare invitus, in quo tempore ad diversas insulas est delatus, unde appulsus est in insulam Tracie in qua manebat dea, filia solis, idest Circe, que dicta est dea propter potenciam in veneficiis et filia solis propter pulchritudinem (et declinatur hec Circe, genitivo Circes, sicud Pentecoste, Pentecostes, et est tertie declinationis Grecorum). Hec Circe per carmina sua et pocula incantata scocios [Ulixis[1]] qui ad predictam insulam remissi fuerant in bestias [mutavit[2]]. Deus vero Mercurius dederat Ulixi florem album, quem dum servaret periclitari non potuit; unde veniens post scocios ad insulam, ipse ab ea non potuit transferri.
>
> Ad litteram, sicud docet Augustinus, 18 *De civitate Dei*, capitulo 17, ista Circe scocios transformavit; scocios enim Ulixis primo sui pulcritudine in sui concupiscentiam adduxit, quo facto magna potentia corpora eorum fecit similia corporibus bestiarum. Sed Ulixes ab ea declinavit, nec eam concupivit. Mercurius autem dicitur deus prudentie, qui ideo dedisse florem album fertur quia Ulixes prudenter castitatem quam flos albus designat servavit. Tamen Apuleyus libro *De deo Socratis* in fine dicit quod Mercurium ei dedisse florem album nihil aliud signat nisi deum ei dedisse prudentiam, unde vocans prudentiam florem album, dicit sic, "Hac (idest, prudentia) omnia horrenda subiit, omnia adversa superavit: quippe ea [adiutrice[3]] Ciclopis specus intravit et egressus est, solis boves vidit et abstinuit, ad inferos demeavit sed ascendit, eadem prudentia comitante Scillam preternavigavit nec [ereptus[4]] est (idest, raptus), Caribdi conceptus nec retentus, Circes poculum bibit nec mutatus est, ad Lothopagos accessit nec remansit, Sirenas audivit nec accessit. Nec enim aliud in eodem Ulixe Omerus docet nisi quod semper ei comitem voluit esse prudentiam, quam [poetico[5]] ritu Minervam nuncupavit." Hec

Apuleyus, comprehendens omnia discrimina Ulixis que sunt in Yliade omni. De ista transformatione et aliis quid subest veritatis, vide in prologo super [fabulas[6]] Ovidii *Methamorphoseos* (ff. 2v–3r).

1. Ulixes 2. mutati sunt 3. admitte? 4. erectus 5. patrio 6. pabulas

You should know further that according to Isidore in the same book, Chapter 23, "*Circe* was a notorious witch who changed Ulysses' crew into animals." When after the war and the fall of Troy Ulysses had started to make his way back home to Greece, he wandered over the sea for ten years against his will. In the course of his wanderings he was carried to various islands, and finally to the island of Thrace, home of the goddess Circe, daughter of the sun; she is called a goddess because of her power to prepare magic potions, and daughter of the sun because of her beauty (Circe is a Greek noun of the third declension: Circe, Circes like Pentecoste, Pentecostes). With spells and potions she changed Ulysses' companions who had been sent ahead to the island into animals. But Mercury had given Ulysses a white flower: if he kept it by him, he could not be exposed to danger. And so he followed his crew to the island, and she could not transform him.

Literally, as Augustine teaches in *The City of God*, 18.17, this Circe transformed the companions, first inducing them by her beauty to desire her, then with her great power making their bodies like the bodies of animals. But Ulysses shunned her, not desiring her. For Mercury, who is called the god of prudence, is said to have given him a white flower because Ulysses prudently kept his chastity (which the white flower stands for). But Apuleius, at the end of *The God of Socrates*, says that Mercury's giving him the flower means that the god gave him prudence: he calls prudence a white flower, and says, "This (that is, prudence) has endured everything fearful, has overcome all adversity—he entered the Cyclops's cave and came back out, he saw the oxen of the sun and abstained from eating them, he went down to hell and came back up; with the same prudence as his companion he sailed by Scylla and was not snatched away, he was pulled in by Charybdis but not held in, he drank Circe's cup and was not transformed, he went to the Lotus Eaters and did not stay, he heard the Sirens and did not give in. So what Homer teaches through Ulysses is nothing else but that he always wanted to be accompanied by prudence, which by poetic convention he calls Minerva." Thus Apuleius, listing all the perils of Ulysses in the whole *Iliad*. On how much truth there is in this transformation and others, see the prologue to the fables of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

(The passage from Apuleius, the final words of *De deo Socratis*, is on p. 35 of Moreschini's Teubner edition.) The first part of this, down to "Ad litteram," is clearly an attempt to sharpen Trivet's presentation by combining material from his introductory and concluding passages, 195-205 and 280-83, mixing small interpretations such as why Circe is called daughter of the sun with the narrative. There is a good deal of arbitrary substitution of synonyms, which suggests someone working with someone else's text, not his own—when Trivet uses portions of his Boethius commentary, he uses them verbatim or nearly so. Next the author states bluntly that the transformation really happened, as Augustine concluded; this turns into blunt statement what is presented slightly more tentatively in C, 283-86. Lastly, he quotes Apuleius on Ulysses' prudence (perhaps from John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 6. 28), then closes off the discussion by referring us to the prologue of a commentary on Ovid for a discussion of what truth there is in transformation.

Gone utterly is the long careful consideration of the question of truth. The Apuleius is a substitution of a more elementary order, a psychologizing of a god, with a concomitant moral stress on prudence. Gerald of Wales disappears, the biblical instances disappear, King Alfred on Boethius disappears, Augustine plays a reduced role; Ovid and Apuleius emerge in their place. This suggests at the least a different audience and a different, we think more clearly pedagogical, aim. What it does not suggest is Trivet trying to improve upon himself, as the *Parvus* introduction would have it. Indeed, a clumsy error appears: the whole point of the quotation of Apuleius is to drive home the identification of Mercury with prudence—and yet it is Minerva, not Mercury, whom Apuleius so identifies. Finally, a comparison of C to Trivet's commentary on Boethius, *De consolatione*, 4 meter 3, which also treats Circe's transformation of Ulysses' men, shows a virtually verbatim correspondence in the account of the story, and a similar long discussion of the phenomenon of transformation. The actual detail of that discussion is somewhat different, suggesting that Trivet had given the matter further thought since he wrote the commentary on Boethius, but the pattern—the interest in the subject, the urge to raise the general subject in the context of Circe's transformation—is strikingly similar—and strikingly different from the pattern of the comment in U. Altogether, we cannot accept the theory that U is a revision by Trivet; and the compiler of Lo would seem to share our opinion, since to combine two versions of a text by the same author would be an empty enterprise. Surely he thought he was offering a compilation of two quite different works.

APPENDIX TWO:
LO'S BORROWINGS FROM U IN CHAPTER ONE

Only substantive variants from U are given.

36-39 Si ... poetam] Lo begins here (f. 94r) with the discussion of authorship ("Sciendum") taken from U; see Variants; also printed by Dean, p. 136. ULo omit 39-72.

73-75 Et sciendum ... habeatur] Ad faciliorem intellectum huius epistole decem capitula assignantur (f. 94r). Cf. Dean p.136; she rightly points out that this sentence in ULo introduces the chapter divisions "as an accepted arrangement, not in the tone of a personal invention, as the first commentator did"; but that would make more sense if U were a revision by someone other than Trivet.

142 via] Add Alii dicunt quod componitur de lux, lucis et cano, -nis, unde lucinia, quasi lucem canens (f. 94v).

392 Britonum] Add Sed maiores cives cum thesauris suis in capitolium fugerant, quod Brennius capere non poterat; sed civitatem succendit; sed cives non occidit nec thesauros rapuit quia in capitolio errant (f. 95v). (U omits from 389 et civitatem to the end of the paragraph, and adds: Tamen autor hic videtur velle quod Brennius civitatem non cepit, sed per anseres est impeditus. Sed historie magis famose concordant quod civitatem cepit sed maiores cives fugerant cum thesauris suis ad capitolium, quod cum Brennius capere non potuit, residuum civitatis nihil vel parum incendit, nec etiam cives occidit nec thesauros rapuit, quia fuerunt in capitolio.) Since the "autor" is apparently Trivet, this is a particularly clear indication that the revisions were made by someone else. See note ad loc.

400-1 vicinatur] Add Unde Ricardus philosophus: Cignus proprii funeris exsequias precinebat; et Bernardus similiter: Solus qui sentit olor, discrimine quanto/ vivitur (U discrimen contrarius vivunt), et spreto funere cantor obit.[2] (f. 95v)

402 sui] Add Dicit etiam Ysidorus quod in yperboreis partibus ad cantum cigni precinentis ducunt homines choreas. De quo et Emilius sic ait: "Cignus in auspiciis semper letissimus ales./ Hunc optant naute quia se non mergit in undas."[3]

2. Solus … obit: Bernard Silvestris, *Cosmographia*, 3.449-50.

3. Aemilius Macer, cited by Isadore 12.7.19

In hac parabola Valerius uocat se anserem et suasionem similiter strepitum, adulatores uero Ruffini vocat olores iocundos uoce. Sed quanto dulcior vox oloris, tanto uiciniorem denunciat interitum. (f. 95v–96r)

417 seipso] Add Vult igitur dicere quod contra strepitum suum illi organizant, idest, cum melodia cantant. Vide antithesim: illi olores, ego anser; illi organizant, ego strepo—sed illi interitum, ego salutem; ideo tacere non possum. (f. 96r)

435–36 Proprium ... assumere] Sciendum quod de chimera aliud est fictum, aliud factum, aliud intellectum, aliud moraliter signatum, et hec in omnibus fabulosis sunt diligenter aduertenda. Fictum est hoc quod nunc prior (427) ab Ysidore. Factum sive in fieri est hoc quod prior (431) a philosophis. Sed res intellecta et moraliter signata est quod mulier et etiam vir dati lasciuiis, sed magis mulier, ante opus perdit verecundiam et assumit. (f. 96r) (In the second and third sentences here, the writer of Lo summarizes material in U that he had already copied from the standard Trivet text. This is a particularly clear indication that Lo turned to the standard text first, then to the text of U.)

446 mentis] Add Arguit igitur sic Valerius: dispositus una dispositione non potest bene iudicare de contrario, sicut organum visus, si esset coloratum alico determinato colore non iudicaret de alio colore. Sed tu totaliter dispositus voluptati, ideo loqui prohibeor. Minorem ponit ibi, Desiderio tuo, etc. et seductus nobilitate capitis, quia nobile et speciosum est ex ornamentis, miser nescis esse chimera quod optas, sed devoves, idest, detestaris scire quod illud est monstrum triforme. (f. 96r) (This is U's rewriting of 468–76; but Lo also has those lines from C in their proper place. This is an uncommon blunder; ordinarily the compiler of Lo suppresses material in C when he has taken U's rewriting of it.)

452–54 Secundum ... naufragia] De quibus fictio poetica hec est: inter ciciliam et ytaliam in mari fuerunt tres sorores, syrenes vocate, que fuerunt alate volantes et virgines, quarum una voce, idest, cantu, altera tube flatu, tertia cithare tactu homines cum navibus transeuntes ad se tante melodie dulcedine attrahebant, et attractos in sompnum convertebant, et sic relicta navi sine regimine eam submergebant et carnes submersorum commedebant. Historie veritas est quod in cicilia, que tota stat in mari greco quia est insula, fuerunt tres meretrices, et hoc convenerunt cum virginibus, quia ambe sunt steriles; que et volucres dicebantur quia fama pulcritudinis earum late volabat, que omnibus modis melodie excellebant qui in flatu oris, voce, et tactu consistunt, et per hoc fuerunt syrenes grece, idest trahentes latine, quod homines ad se trahebant et ipsos et eorum bona consumpserunt. Signatio hec est, quia sicut attracti per syrenes peribant, sic attracti per mulieres voluptuosas pereunt. (f. 96v)

462-66 Fuit ... Ethna[1]] Quod volens probare obiecit se flammis incendii ignis in monte ethna, et ibi pro fatua sua opinione periit, non habens aliam sepulturam sive mausoleum. Hoc sibi contigit quia male intellexit dictum Platonis quod in virum sapientem non cadit passio siue perturbatio mentis, sicut recitat Augustinus *De civitate Dei*, et fatue opinioni sue probare volens consumptus est in igne montis ethna. (f. 96v) (A summary of a much longer discussion in U.)

483 suadendo] Add Sicut Tullius describit unam malam mulierem que simul tribus viris illudebat, dans cuilibet illorum intelligere quod eum tantum amaret. Unius pedem calcauit, alterius manum perstrinxit, tertio cum oculo conniuebat, dicens, "Non nisi te diligo," quod dictum quilibet illorum ad se accepit. (f. 96v)

"A woman, if she have superiority, is contrary to her husband," Ecclesiasticus 25. As the Gloss says on these words, "literally: the Wise Man shows how harmful the superiority of the wife is, who ought to submit, not be put first. She was told: 'I will multiply your troubles' and 'Thou shalt be under thy husband's power,' Genesis 3. Thus the Gloss. Whence Gratian, Case 33, question 17c: "How far the law has decreed that wives be subjected to their husbands, even almost their slaves, is evident in the fact that it has established that a man might speak testimony against his wife for which she would be stoned if he demonstrated that it was true, but if it turned out to be false, he would not be stoned instead but only chastised, fined, and ordered to stay forever with the wife he had wanted to dismiss—whereas in other cases a man who has injured another with false testimony for which, if it were proved true, he would be sentenced to die, is ordered punished by the same punishment with which the other would have been punished were it true." Thus Gratian. And therefore, literally, it is true that the law of nature wants the husband to be supreme, and the wife to be subject, as Gratian says. And it only makes for unity and peace, as Augustine teaches in *The City of God*, if he who should be in charge is duly in charge, and he who should be subordinate is subordinate; and it follows that nothing brings about more opposition and discord than if he who should be in charge is subordinate, and he who should be subordinate is in charge.

That verse, "A woman, if she have superiority, is contrary to her husband," is well said, for those words, taken literally, touch on all four causes—the causes commonly noted in introductions of books—of the letter of Valerius to Rufinus that begins, *I am forbidden to speak*. For in this letter Valerius intends to persuade his friend Rufinus not to marry, because if he does he will be made certainly less virtuous and perhaps miserable. The material cause appears in the word "woman," for woman

1 **Mulier** *Only CJDg have the beginning complete. A begins at 60, M at 25, Chλ at 36,* κ *at 85; see variants in those places.* **teneat** habeat JA. 6 **Hinc*** Hec C; Hec vero J; Hec ymago Dg. 10 **falsum** verum CJ. 13 **eadem** et eadem C. 24 **quattuor que solent** secundum quod solet C; duo que solent J. 25 **Loqui** M *begins, f. 110r (Dean's 106r {1950, pp. 138, 141} is now 110r; the pages have been renumbered).* 28 **fortasse** fortassis JDg. 36 **Si . . . 39 poetam** Ch *begins* Incipit exposicio eiusdem

"Mulier, si primatum teneat, contraria est viro suo," Ecclesiastici 25(.30). Sicut dicit Glosa super illud verbum, "Historice ostendit Sapiens quam sit noxius primatus mulieris, que subesse debet, non preponi; cui dictum est: 'Multiplicabo erumpnas tuas,' et 'Sub viri potestate eris,' Genesis tertio (.16)." Hec Glosa (cf. *PL* 113.1211). Unde Causa 33, Questio 17c, "[Hinc]," sicut dicitur, "satis apparet quemadmodum viris subditas feminas—etiam pene famulas—lex esse voluit uxores, dum constituit ut diceret adversus uxorem vir testimonium unde lapidaretur illa si verum esse demonstraret, ipse tamen non vicissim lapidatur si hoc [falsum] esse constiterit, sed tantummodo castigatur et dampnificatur, eique iubetur perpetuo adherere qua carere voluerat; in aliis autem causis ei qui testimonio falso cuiquam nocuerit, quod si probaretur iussus occidi, [eadem] plecti iubetur pena qua fuerat si verum esset ipse plectendus." Hec ibi. Et ideo ad literam verum est quod lex nature vult virum dominari, et mulierem esse subiectam, sicut ibidem dicitur. Simul autem ad unitatem et pacem tantum agit, sicut docet Augustinus *De civitate Dei* (12.22, 28; 14.1), quia si debite dominetur qui dominari debet, et subiciatur qui subici debet; et per consequens nichil contrarietatem et discordiam magis inducit quam si ille qui debet dominari subiciatur, et qui debet subici dominetur.

Ideo bene dicitur in verbis pretactis: "Mulier si primatum, et cetera." In quibus verbis historice tanguntur unius Epistole quam Valerius mittit ad Ruffinum cause [quattuor que solent] in librorum principiis prenotari—que epistola sic incipit: *Loqui prohibeor.* Intendit enim Valerius in illa epistola inducere Ruffinum amicum suum ne ducat uxorem, quia secundum veritatem minus virtuosus et fortasse miser ex hoc efficeretur. In "muliere" ergo tangitur causa

is the subject matter of the letter. In the word "superiority," the formal cause or manner of proceeding is described. For he shows in the course of the letter that if a woman is married she will claim superiority. "If she has superiority," it says—and in fact we can take "if" as "because." The efficient cause is as it were implied in the idea of contrariety, for the maker was Valerius, whose persuasion seemed exceedingly contrary to Rufinus; and yet in my opinion he would have found the woman he is being dissuaded from yet more contrary—"she is contrary," it says. (If it be asked who this Valerius and Rufinus were, it seems to me at present that Valerius was a Roman, the same Valerius who wrote the prose *Stories of the Romans*, not Valerius Martial the poet.) The final cause appears in the word "husband." For he is called "husband" (vir) from the virtue he is supposed to have, and to this end Valerius has directed his letter. And so, "A woman, if she have superiority, is contrary to her husband."

Now, woman who is described as the material cause is dangerous, the supremacy she seeks is pernicious, the efficient cause in his contrariness is hateful—but the final cause, the intention, is virtuous. Surely, I say, woman, the material cause, is dangerous, for as Proverbs 31 says, "Who shall find a valiant woman, etc." Then the superiority that, in the course of the letter, she is shown to seek is pernicious, so that the phrase in 3 John may be truly said of her, "(she) loveth to have the pre-eminence"; and this will be shown here and there further on. Thirdly, the efficient cause, Valerius, is hateful to Rufinus because their opinions are contrary; and he could say to Rufinus what the angel said to Balaam, Numbers 22, "I am come forth to withstand thee, because thy way is perverse, and contrary to me." And yet, when all is said, the intention of the final cause is virtuous, and the verse that fits it best is the verse of Ecclesiasticus, "Blessed is the man that shall continue in wisdom."

epistole, pro quo sciendum est quod si queratur an Valerius fuit ille qui historias romanorum scripsit prosaice, sive valerius marcialis poeta, dubium non est hunc valerium et ruphinum familiares fuisse, qui quidem valerius considerans de nupciis innumera dispendia provenisse ruphino nubere volenti dissuadet, tum per figmenta poetarum, tum per documenta sacrarum scripturarum et eciam per gentilium personarum [sic]. λ *begins* Sciendum quod tres fuerunt valerii et omnes erant (tres U) romani. Unus erat (fuit U) valerius marcialis cocus qui fecit epigramata ludicra. Alius fuit valerius maximus (mangnus U) qui scripsit de {dictis et factis} (gestis U) memorabilibus (U *adds* et de religione) ad tiberium cesarem (U *om.*) Tercius fuit iste valerius, et non fuit idem alicui priorum, licet auctor manipuli (manipulus L) florum dicat eum esse (fuisse U) secundum predictorum (U *om.*). Rufinus fuit philosophus et romanus, (U *adds* puto quod fuit ille de quo claudianus scribit, coniungens omnia vicia in uno homine, in ruphino). 36 **queritur** queratur MCh. 39-58 **In viro . . . tamen** *om.* M. 39-72 **In viro . . . epistolam** *om.* Chλ. 46 **in** *om.* JDg. 58-70 **omnia . . . debet**

materialis, de qua hic tanquam de materia agitur. In "primatu" causa formalis ex modo procedendi describitur. Ostendit enim in processu epistole quod mulier si ducatur vendicat sibi primatum. "Si primatum," inquit, "habeat"—et veraciter "si" pro "quia" potest exponi. In contrarietate quodammodo causa efficiens poterit implicari; fuit enim efficiens Valerius, cuius persuasio Ruffino valde contraria videbatur; sed tamen illam sibi dissuasam magis, ut reputo, contrariam invenisset: "contraria," inquit. (Si autem queritur quis fuit iste Valerius et hic Ruffinus, videtur mihi ad presens Romanus fuisse, et eundem fuisse Valerium qui *Historias Romanorum* prosaice scripsit, non Valerium Martialem poetam.) In "viro" autem causa finalis demonstratur. Vir enim a virtute quam habere debet dicitur, et ad hunc finem Valerius istam epistolam ordinavit. "Mulier," igitur, "si primatum, etc."

Certe, mulier que causa materialis describitur periculosa, dominatio que ab ea appetitur perniciosa, causa efficiens ex dissimilitudine odiosa—sed causa finalis, intentio, virtuosa. Bene inquam mulier que est causa materialis periculosa, quia dicitur in Proverbiorum 31(.10), "Mulierem fortem quis inveniet, et cetera." Secundo tangitur eius dominatio que per processum appetitur: perniciosa, ut veraciter de ea dicatur illud Johannis, Canonica 3(.9), "Amat primatum gerere"; et hoc diffusius postea ostendetur. Tercio causa efficiens, scilicet Valerius, est Ruffino ex opinionis dissimilitudine odiosa; unde poterat dicere Ruffino illud quod angelus dixit ad Balaam, Numeri 22(.32), "Ego veni ut adversarer tibi, quia perversa est via tua, mihique contraria." Tandem cause finalis concluditur intentio virtuosa, ut de ea bene dicatur illud Ecclesiastici (14.22), "Beatus vir qui in sapientia morabitur."

Thus it is clear what this letter intends on the literal level; yet everything said in it can serve very aptly on the moral level, and it is in fact for that purpose that this entire commentary has been undertaken. Know, then, that woman stands for sensuality and the weaknesses and temptations of the flesh, and man stands for reason and strong resolve, as is clear in the Gloss, 1 Corinthians 11. And so everything that is written in this letter can and should be applied to morals, either by encouraging us to heed well what we are taught or by discouraging us from the incentives to immorality. Dissuasion from marriage may be taken as a call to resist temptation to sin. The reproval of flatterers who urge marriage may be applied to the devil and the world, who by false promises incite us to sin. When the text urges us explicitly to heed good advice, it should be applied all the more to morality, and it should be taken to heart especially by dawdlers. With these principles in mind, let us turn to the letter.

You should know first that it seems to me that this letter can be divided into ten chapters in order to mark the shape of the argument more clearly. The first chapter is the prologue, which starts, *I am forbidden to speak*; the second starts, *The first wife of the first Adam*; the third, *Jupiter, an earthly king*; the fourth, *Julius Caesar*; the fifth, *After Cicero had divorced Terentia*; the sixth, *Lais the Corinthian*; the seventh, *Finally, among so many thousand*; the eighth, *My friend, does it shock you*; the ninth, *I do not want you to become Venus's husband*; the tenth, *But lest I hang you up*. The letter has three sections: introduction, execution, and conclusion, for first he proposes a kind of prologue; then he sets out a range of stories; third and last, he concludes, or composes an end to his words. The second section starts with the second chapter, *The first wife of the first Adam*; the third section with the last chapter, *But lest I hang you up*.

marginal gloss on f. 103r M. 60 **Pro quo sciendum quod** A *begins* In hac epistola intellige quod. 62 **Prima Corinthiorum** ad corinthios DgM. 63 **scribuntur** dicuntur DgM. 70 **multo fortiori** *one word in C*; fortiori AM. 71 **accipi debet** poterit deserviri DgM. 74-75 **ut . . . habeatur** *om.* Mλ. 77 **Lais** thays MCh; laus U. 81 **quia** nam DgCh. 83 **pars** Dg *adds* ibi in; λ *adds* incipit. 84 **capitulo ultimo** tercio capitulo et ultimo CJ. 85 **intendit** κ *begins* In hac epistola valerii magni (*om.* E) ad ruffinum amicum suum de uxore non ducenda, intendit. (E *heading*: Explicit morale sompnium pharaonis et consequenter sequitur exposicio epistole valerii ad ruphinum; et est nicolai treveth.) 88 **2 partes** duas JE; duo MCh. 89 **primo** *om.* JMChLU⋆κ; in principio Dg. 90-93

Sic patet ad litteram quid in ista epistola intendatur historice; sed tamen omnia que in ea dicuntur optime possunt moribus ministrare, et illius causa qualiscumque eius expositio est presumpta. Pro quo sciendum quod per mulierem sensualitas, et id quod carnis fragilitas suggerit, per virum, ratio et quod docet fortitudinis sinceritas, designatur, sicut patet in Glosa, Prima Corinthiorum 11 (*PL* 114.537). Unde illa que in ista epistola scribuntur omnia moribus aptari possunt et debent, sive suadendo efficacem auditum doctrine sane, sive dissuadendo lascivie incentiva. Ubicumque igitur ponitur dissuasio ad uxorem ducendam, ad temptationes illicitas dimittendum exponatur. Ubi adulatores qui uxorari suggerunt reprobantur, diabolo et mundo qui per falsas promissiones ad talia incitant adaptetur. Ubi autem ad auditum efficacem sermo ordinatur, ad idem per locum a multo fortiori trahi debet, et illud precipue in protrahentibus accipi debet. Hiis suppositis, accedendum est ad epistolam.

Et sciendum in principio quod ista epistola, sicut mihi videtur, potest in 10 capitula dividi, ut eius [f. 63] processus formalius habeatur. Primum est prologus, qui sic incipit: *Loqui prohibeor*; secundum, ibi: *Prima primi uxor*; tercium, ibi: *Iupiter rex*; quartum, ibi: *Iulius Cesar*; quintum, ibi: *Cithero post repudium*; sextum, ibi: *Lais Chorinthia*; septimum, ibi: *Tandem an umquam inter tot*; octavum, ibi: *Amice, miraris*; novum, ibi: *Veneris te nolo*; decimum, *Sed ne te*. Dividitur ergo ista epistola in tres partes, scilicet in prolocutionem, executionem, et conclusionem; quia primo quasi prologum proponit; secundo narrationem disponit; tercio et ultimo, concludendo, finem dictis imponit. Secunda pars, secundo capitulo, *Prima primi uxor*, et tercia pars, [capitulo ultimo], *Sed ne te longo*.

In the first chapter Valerius sets out as if to argue with himself whether he ought to dissuade Rufinus from marrying or not, and therefore he keeps alternating between a reason to keep silent and a reason to write. The whole first section is itself divided into two parts: first he gives his conclusion, then he proves it (at *I hate cranes*). For first he says, *I am forbidden to speak and cannot be silent*, that is, "I have strong reasons restraining me from speaking and writing the truth, and therefore *I am forbidden to speak*, but I have still more urgent reasons forcing me not to hold back the truth, and therefore *I cannot be silent*." Then, when he says *I hate cranes*, he proves this conclusion. And the proof is itself divided into five parts according to five reasons, each split into a curb and a spur. The second of these parts starts at *The ministers of Babel furnish you honeyed poison*; the third, at *You have many*; the fourth, at *You are completely inflamed by your passion*; the fifth, at *Finally, that fire*. The first part is likewise split, for after he has put the reason curbing him from opposing Rufinus, he puts a reason spurring him to oppose him (*I love the nightingale*).

On the first part, then: know that as Isidore says, *Etymologies* 12.7, "Cranes (*grues*) took their name from their call which is a cooing sound. They fly behind one leader in a letter-shaped formation; they cry out to indicate danger.... The *ulula* was named for grief (*luc*tu) and complaint (p*la*nctu); for its call sounds like weeping or groaning. And so among augurs it is said to portend sadness if it cries and prosperity if it is silent." And the Gloss on Isaiah says that it is "a spotted bird the size of a crow," and is so called because it groans like a wolf (lupus). And in Holy Scripture it is called "onocrotalus"—in English, the bittern. The owl (bubo) as Isidore says in the same chapter, "has its name from its call; it is a bird that tokens death, loaded with feathers

idest . . . et cetera *om.* β. 91 **scribendo** scribendo tibi JMCh. 92 **loqui ergo prohibeor** secundo et tacere non possum CJA (*om.* β⋆). 92-93 **cogentes** et ita cogentes quod vincunt DgMCh (M *om.* et). 93 **ideo** et ideo DgM. 93-94 **Deinde cum dicit** *om.* MCh. 94 **istam** in ista parte primam M; in ista parte istam Ch. **conclusionem** questionem CJADgM; *om.* U⋆. 94-95 **Et . . . scilicet** quinque rationes (rationibus κ) interscalariter (*om.* κ) ponendo semper (super D) unam causam κL. 95 **suppositas . . . duplicat** duplicatas quas facit DgMCh. 96 **retrahentem . . . moventem** moventem et aliam retrahentem CJAκL; *om.* U⋆. 96-100 **Secunda . . . Luciniam** *om.* κU⋆; prima causa retrahens ponitur ibi Grues odi L. 99 **ad oppositum** *om.* MCh. 100 **Luciniam** J *inserts* Secundum alium expositorem hec epistola . . . pronosticum, *Ridewall* 1- 24. 101 **Circa . . . quod** *om.* JM. **sicut . . . Ysidorus** teste Isidori J; secundum Ysidorum κL; Ysidori U. 101-16 **sicut . . . precinebat**, 141-205 **Lucinia . . . transformari** *om.* M, *but adds (with many omissions) on a separate half-sheet, f. 109r (verso is blank). Everything on f. 109r also appears as marginal glosses next to the text on f. 103r.* 102 **libro** *om.* ChκL. **capitulo** *om.* Jκ. 103 **Hec** hee Mβ. 104 **sequntur** sequuntur omnes ChLκ. **erit** est AMDL. **earum** eorum DgMκ. **indicat** M *adds* anglice crane. 105 **Ulula** J *inserts* ulula . . . adversitatem, *Ridewall* 25-28. **autem** avis est JM(f.103r); etiam M(f.109r) Ch; *om.* β. **nominata** vocata M(f.103r)E; *adds* est DgMChκL. 106 **et** *om.* JChDλ. 107 **dicitur in** dicit MCh. 109 **sic** sicud DL. 110 **onocrotalus** onocratali J; onocrocalus A; enocrocasus M(f.103r); enocrocalus M(f.109r); anacracolus Chκ; onocroculus L; onocratalus U. **butor** butorius CA; butoris J; lucorius Dg; *om.* E⋆; botore L; bytor U. 111 **autem** *om.* Mβ. **sicut . . . prius** se-

In primo ergo capitulo intendit Valerius quasi secum disputare utrum debeat dissuadere Ruffino ne ducat uxorem vel non, et ideo alternatim ponit unam rationem moventem ipsum ad silendum, et aliam moventem ad scribendum. Prima pars dividitur in 2 partes, quia primo conclusionem exprimit, secundo eam probat (ibi, *Grues odi*). Dicit ergo primo, *Loqui prohibeor, et tacere non possum*, id est, "Rationes efficaces habeo retrahentes me, ne scribendo veritatem loquar, [*loqui* ergo *prohibeor*;] sed magis urgentes rationes habeo, cogentes me ne sileam veritatem; ideo *tacere et cetera*." Deinde, cum dicit *Grues odi*, istam [conclusionem] probat. Et dividitur in 5 partes, secundum 5 rationes suppositas, quas etiam duplicat, unam scilicet [retrahentem, et aliam moventem]. Secunda pars, ibi, *propinant tibi mellitum*; tertia, ibi, *multos habes*; quarta, ibi, *desiderio tuo*; quinta, ibi, *tandem validior*. Prima pars adhuc dividitur in 2 partes, quia primo ponit unam rationem ad oppositum retrahentem, secundo ponit unam rationem ad oppositum moventem, ibi, *Luciniam*.

Circa primum sciendum quod sicut dicit Ysidorus, *Ethimologiarum* libro 12, capitulo 7(.14-15, 38), "Grues nomen de propria voce sumpserunt, tali enim sono susurrant. Hec dum properant, unam sequntur ordine literato; quod cavendum erit, clamor earum indicat [...] *Ulula* autem a luctu et planctu nominata; cum enim clamat, aut fletum aut gemitum imitatur. Unde et apud augures si lamentetur, fertur ostendere tristiciam; tacens, prosperitatem." Et ut dicitur in Glosa super Ysaiam (13.22; *PL* 113. 1253), est avis "maculis respersa magnitudinis corvine," et sic dicitur quia ut lupus gemit. Et in sacra scriptura (e.g. Lev. 11.18) vocatur onocrotalus, vulgo "[butor]." *Bubo* autem, sicut dicit Ysidorus ubi prius (12.7.39), "a sono vocis compositum nomen habet, avis feralis, onusta quidem plumis, sed

but slowed by the weight of its fat. Ovid says of it, 'He (Aesculapius) is turned into a repulsive bird, the very harbinger of grief, the lazy screech owl.'" A philosopher very prettily says the same thing, "The owl, prophet of misery, was singing in advance psalmodies of funeral grief."

In this allusive way Valerius gives his first curbing reason, as it were, "I hate these birds, the crane, the bittern, the owl, and other like birds because with their mournful calls and their crying they predict that a harsh winter is coming. And you too will hate me and sneer at my words, because I predict harsh evils for you, coming to you surely if you stick to your intention to marry. Therefore lest I incur your hatred, *I am forbidden to speak*, because if I speak I will be an *augur* or prophet *of truth, not pleasure*." For the truth engenders hatred. In this sentence he uses the rhetorical trope that Cicero in the *Ad Herrennium*, 4.19 calls *traductio*, and Isidore, properly, paronomasia: when two words sound very much alike but differ in meaning: "*vera* si perse*vera*s."

Of course you should realize that neither these birds nor any other brainless creatures have any conscious knowledge that enables them to know the future; rather, the celestial body produces various impressions in them in accordance with the various dispositions of their bodies, and once they receive these impressions they reveal them by certain signs, as the crow caws when it is about to rain because it feels a new impression produced in its body. And the reason why such an impression occurs in some bodies and not in others is the variety of receiving bodies, just as fire works a different effect on wood than on water, a difference that can have nothing to do with the fire.

Then, at *luciniam* he gives a reason for opposing Rufinus, that is, a reason spurring him to write. You should know that according to Isidore in the same chapter,

cundum Ysidorum β. 112 **feralis** funeralis κL. 113 **Unde** de qua DgMChβ. 113-14 **Unde . . . bubo** J *inserts* que (unde) . . . omen, *Ridewall* 28-35. 113 **fit** sit ADgChDλ. 114-16 **Idem . . . precinebat** *om.* U. 114 **Idem** *om.* DLU*; illud E. 115 **unus** quidam MChκL. **unus philosophus** J *adds* scilicet Alanus de p.; E *corrects* Alanus. **psalmodias** psalmodicis A; psalmodiam Dg; psalmodizat MChL; psalmodinat D; psalmodicat *corrected* psalmodias E. 116 **precinebat** prenosticum MChDL; prenosticum *corrected* prenosticat E. 118 **et**^{2} *om.* JDgChDL. **alias aves** avium MChκL; *om.* U*. 119 **similium conditionum** consimilium condicionem κL; similes U. 120 **pronosticant** prenosticant κL; predicunt U. 121 **predicam** predico JDgChκL. 124 **quia** tamen JChEL; *om.* D. 125-28 **Utitur . . . perseveras** *om.* ChU. 126 **in . . . 4** libro secundo rethorice κL. **proprie** *om.* JME. 129-38 **Pro . . . potest** *om.* κ. 129 **noticia** *add* in MChU. 132 **ea** eis JMChλ. 132-34 **quibus . . . clamat** *om.* MCh. 135 **aliquibus corporibus** aliqua corpora MChU; *om.* κL. 136 **aliquibus** aliqua CM; quare Ch; *om.* κL*. 138 **potest** J *inserts* Est . . . futurorum, *Ridewall* 36-60. 139 **Deinde . . . luciniam** In ista parte JCh; *om.* M*; Hic EL; Deinde ibi luciniam U. 141 **assumpsit** sumpsit

gravi semper detenta pigricie. Unde Ovidius, 'Fedaque fit volucris venturi nuncia luctus,/ ignavus bubo' (*Met.* 5.549–50)." Idem etiam pulchre dicit unus philosophus, "Bubo propheta miserie psalmodias funeree lamentationis precinebat" (Alanus, *De planctu*, 2.167).

Istis ergo alludens Valerius ponit primam rationem retrahentem, quasi diceret, "Istas aves, gruem et ululam et bubonem et alias aves similium conditionum, ego odi, quia luctuose clamantes ululatu suo gravem hiemem futuram pronosticant. Eodem modo facies tu odiendo et subsannando me et dicta mea, quia predicam tibi gravia mala veraciter tibi futura si perseveres in proposito ducendi uxorem. Ideoque ne scilicet odium tuum incurram, *loqui prohibeor*, quia si loquar ero *augur* id est predicator *veritatis non voluptatis*." Veritas enim odium parit. Utitur hic colore rethorico quem vocat Tullius in *Secunda Rethorica* libro 4 (.14.20) traductionem, et proprie apud Ysidorum (1.36.2) vocatur paronomasia: quando in diversa significatione ponitur dictio multum similis ut hic, *Vera si perseveras*.

Pro isto hic dicto sciendum quod nulla est scientia vel noticia istis avibus vel quibuscumque intellectu carentibus per quam futura precognoscere possunt, sed corpus celeste secundum diversas dispositiones corporum diversas in ea inpressiones facit, quibus inpressionibus receptis, illas aliquibus signis ostendunt, sicut corvus contra pluviam clamat quia sentit unam inpressionem novam in corpore suo factam. Quare autem in aliquibus corporibus sit talis inpressio et in [aliquibus] non, causa est diversitas in corporibus patientibus, sicut ignis aliter agit in lignum, aliter in aquam, que diversitas ex parte ignis esse non potest.

Deinde cum dicit *luciniam*, ponit racionem ad oppositum, scilicet moventem ad scribendum. Circa quod sciendum quod secundum

"the *luscinia* is so called because it sings at daybreak, as it were 'the way for light' *(luci via)*." Papias says it is the same bird as the *philomena*, and Ambrose seems to mean that too when he says, "Luscinia, the wakeful guard, soothes the sleepless toil of the long night with her sweet song, which enables it, I think, to animate the eggs it is hatching as much by its sweet rhythms as by the warmth of its body." Thus Ambrose. But what Ambrose says is the nature of the *luscinia* is clearly the nature of the *philomena*, so it appears plainly that both Ambrose and Papias consider *philomena* and *luscinia* the same bird. But that is in fact not Isidore's opinion—and it is not Valerius's either. For the nature of the *luscinia* as Isidore gives it is not the nature of the *philomena*. Nothing, in fact about the *philomena* is to be found in Isidore, and Valerius here obviously distinguishes between the two. Therefore, following the intention of this author, which I think is right, I say that *luscinia* is the bird that we call the goldfinch, since both its name and the etymology of its name fit the goldfinch better; and the *philomena* is the bird we call the nightingale.

The blackbird. The *merula* according to Isidore is so called "because it modulates. Although it is black everywhere else, in Achaia it is white." And as is said in the *De natura rerum*, "it gives forth the modulations of its song particularly when it senses that spring is coming; for in winter it is silent, or only stutters, and can scarcely fly because it is too fat. And although it is black and filthy, it moves itself to delight by the pleasantness of its song." Thus *De natura rerum*. And we call it the throstlecock.

You should know that *Gnatho* was the name of a man who was a very great flatterer, and consequently other flatterers are called Gnathos, just as from Cato who

JDgMChDU. 142 **suo** *om.* ML. **exortum** exordium ChU; ortum κL. **via** Jλ *add* Et est nomen compositum (Alii dicunt quod componitur λ) de lux, -cis et cano, -is (*adds* unde lucinia λ) quasi cantrix lucis (lucem canens λ); *for* quasi luci via M *substitutes* unde lucinia per n quasi lucem canens vel precinens; alii libri habent luciviam per v, et tunc dicitur lucivia quasi luci via. Sed prior exposicio videtur melior. 143-55 **Papias . . . veram** *om.* MCh. 144 **Ambrosius** *add* in suo (*om.* U) Examerone DgU. 149 **lucinie** luciniam CJA; *om.* MCh*λ*. 155 **dico** dicendum est ADgκ (E *om.* est); *om.* Ch*λ. 156 **apud nos** apud nos lingua moderna Dg; ab aliquibus Ch; anglice U; *om.* L*. 156-58 **quia . . . nythegale** *om.* MChL. 157 **apud nos** anglice U. 158 **nythegale** ny3tyngale JDg; nightgale D; nichale E; *om.* MCh*. 159 **Merula autem** *om.* CA; autem Dg; merula β. 159-61 **sic . . .est** J *substitutes* Et hec est avis . . . reperitur, *Ridewall* 72 (merula est avis)-75. 161 **natura** naturis DgMChEL. 162-63 **prospexerit** perspexerit CAMκ; conspexerit Dg; *om.* L*; perspexit U. 163 **In hieme** tunc DgML; *om.* Ch. 166 **apud nos** anglice U. **throstelkoc** a prostelkok Ch; *om.* Dg*E*; throstel LU. 167 **unius** *add* viri JCh. 170 **vocantur** vocarentur β. 170-87 **Et . . . Tullius**

Ysidorum ubi prius (12.7.37), "Lucinia inde nomen assumpsit quia cantu suo significare solet diei surgentis exortum, quasi 'luci via.'" Papias (s.v. *philomena*, p. R6vb) dicit ipsam esse philomenam. Idem videtur velle Ambrosius sic dicens (*Hexaemeron* 5.85; *PL* 14.239): "Lucinia, pervigil custos, insompnem longe noctis laborem cantilene suavitate solatur, quo possit non minus dulcibus modulis, ut mihi videtur, quam fetu corporis ova que fovet animare." Hec ille. Constat autem quod hec est natura philomene, quam dicit Ambrosius esse [lucinie]. Unde videtur plane quod Ambrosius et Papias volunt eandem esse avem philomenam et luciniam; tamen secundum rei veritatem non est opinio Ysidori, nec etiam Valerii hic. Quia illa natura quam recitat Ysidorus de lucinia non est natura philomene. De philomena autem nichil in Ysidoro invenitur, et Valerius hic manifeste distinguit inter eas. Unde prosequendo intentionem huius auctoris, quam puto esse veram, dico luciniam esse avem que apud nos vocatur "goldfinch," quia huic magis nomen et ethimologia nominis concordat; philomenam vero que apud nos vocatur "nythegale."

Merulam. [Merula autem] secundum Ysidorum (12.7.69) sic dicta "eo quod modulet [...] Hec cum in omnibus locis nigra sit, in Achaia candida est." Et ut dicitur in libro *De natura rerum* (5.88), "vocis modulos reddit maxime cum tempus vernum iminere [prospexerit]; nam in hieme tacet aut balbutit. In hieme namque vix volare potest propter pinguedinem. Cumque nigra sit et turpis [f. 63v], in delectationem movet seipsam per vocis amenitatem." Hec ibi. Et vocatur apud nos "throstelkoc."

Sciendum quod *Gnato* fuit proprium nomen unius qui fuit maximus adulator, unde tractum est quod alii adulatores vocarentur

was very wise other wise men are called Catos. Whence Cicero calls Socrates a Cato. And this idea about Gnatho also comes from Cicero, near the end of his *Friendship*, where he says, "What can be as flexible, as shifting, as the soul of a man who changes to suit not only the mind and will but even the look and nod of another?" And taking on the role of a man of this sort, Cicero immediately adds, "He says no, I say no; he says yes, I say yes; in short, I got myself to agree with him in everything." That is, I who am a flatterer of this sort make up my mind to back up everything that might be said by agreeing with it. Cicero continues, "As Terence says, but he (said it) in the character of Gnatho"; and then, reproving such a mode of friendship, adds, "and to show that kind of friendship is utterly trivial," that is, to love thus is of small value, for it does more harm than good. And the greater the authority of the man who practices it, the more harm this friendship does, for he goes on, "However, (there are) many like Gnatho, though they are his superiors in station (that is, rank), fortune (that is, wealth), and fame. Their yessing is dangerous when they have authority to back up their insincerity." Thus Cicero.

You should know too that *comedians* (the second syllable is long, as in Martial's line, near the end, "Dic mihi simpliciter comedis et citharedis"), are poets who, as Isidore teaches in *Etymologies* 8, "treat happy subjects and the doings of private persons, so called from comessation: men used to come to listen to them after dinner," when they are most in the mood to be flattered.

You should know further that according to Isidore in the same book, Chapter 23, "*Circe* was a notorious witch who changed Ulysses' crew into animals." Ovid gives

om. Ch. 172-87 **ubi . . . Tullius** *om.* M; **Quid . . . Tullius** *om.* L. 173 **non tantum** tantummodo CJ; *om.* Dg; quoddammodo κ; modo U. 174 **convertitur** convertit CJDgκU. 176 **imparavi** paravi DgκU. **postremo** a postremo CJ. 184 **Gnatoni** gnatonibus CJA; gnatones DU. 187 **Tullius** J *inserts* Alius expositor sic ait gnatones . . . venditores, *Ridewall* 84-90, *then* Valerius . . . Circen, *Ridewall* 81-84. 188-90 **secundum . . . citharedis** *om.* ChU. 190 **8** libro 8 MChκU. 194 **adulandum** J *inserts* Unde . . . puritatem, *Ridewall* 92-119. 195-274 **Sciendum . . . ista** *om.* M. 206-270 **Multa**

gnatones, sicut a Catone qui fuit valde sapiens alii sapientes Catones vocantur. Unde apud Tullium Socrates Cato vocatur. Et ista etiam sententia de Gnatone habetur a Tullio *De amicicia* versus finem (25.93) ubi sic dicit: "Quid potest esse tam flexibile, tam devium, quam animus eius qui ad alterius [non tantum] consensum et voluntatem, sed etiam vultum atque nutum [convertitur]?" Et personam illius indicens qui huiusmodi est, statim subdit, "Negat quid, nego; ait, aio; imperavi [postremo] egomet omnia mihi assentari" [Terence, *Eunuchus* 2.2.21]. Id est, ego qui huiusmodi adulator sum statui mecum quecumque dicantur assensu meo confirmari. Unde sequitur, "Ut ait Terencius, sed ille in Gnatonis persona (scilicet, dixit)," et tale genus amicicie consequenter reprobans subdit, "quod amicicie genus adhibere omnino levitatis est," id est, sic diligere est levis precii, quia magis nocet quam prodest. Et tanto magis nocet ista amicicia quanto eam exercens maioris est auctoritatis. Unde sequitur, "Multi autem [Gnatoni] similes (scilicet, sunt), cum sint loco (id est, dignitate), fortuna (id est, diviciis), fama superiores. Horum est assentatio molesta cum ad vanitatem accessit auctoritas." Hec Tullius.

Sciendum etiam quod *comedi* (producta media, secundum illud Valerii Marcialis versus finem [14.215.1], "Dic mihi simpliciter comedis et citharedis") sunt poete, ut docet Ysidorus 8 Ethimologiarum (.7.6), "res letas et de privatarum personarum gestis predicantes, dicti a comessatione. Solebant homines post cibum ad eos audiendos venire," quo tempore magis inclinantur ad adulandum.

Sciendum etiam secundum Ysidorum eodem libro, capitulo 23 (8.9.5; 11.4.1), *Circe* fuit "maga famosissima que socios Ulixis mu-

an account of the transformation in *Metamorphoses* 9: when Ulysses was wandering over the sea on his way home after the Trojan war, he was driven finally to an island where a goddess named Circe lived, the daughter of the sun, who by means of spells and potions used to change her guests into various animals. And she had changed Ulysses' crew, who had been sent on ahead to her; but before Ulysses came, Mercury had given him a white flower that made him immune to transformation.

Many wonders of this kind are told these days. In the book *The Marvels of Ireland* it is told that a priest was going through a wood with the Eucharist and a wolf received the Eucharist and was immediately changed to the form of a man, though he had looked like a wolf before. And don't we read, and believe, that Nebuchadnezzar was changed to the form of an ox? And Augustine tells many like tales in *The City of God*, and many other authors, too. Thus Gerald in *The Marvels of Ireland* tells how the wolf that had a human nature appeared nakedly to the priest and uttered human speech, and so finally he agrees with Augustine in *The City of God* that things sometimes are not what they seem, and that demons cannot change the natures of things, but only God, who turned Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, and truly turned bread into his own body.

But how will such a transformation have been possible? I say it is not possible for any created being to change the substance or specific nature of a man or any accidental quality dependent on his species, that is, inhering in man as a specific principle. Thus they can change whiteness or color and common qualities of that kind, and figure and movement and smallness and bigness and common accidental

. . . sensus *om.* U. 206-15 **Et . . . tandem** Nota mirabile de sacerdote in specie lupi etc. Ch. 206 **Et** J *inserts the complete story of the priest and the wolf from the Topographia Hibernica, 2.19.* 209 **accepit** ab eo accepit E; ab eo abstulit DL. 210 **videbatur** erat κL. 213-50 **Unde . . . conservationem** *om.* κL. 217 **mutare** mutari JCh. 218 **statuam** veram statuam DgCh. 230 **quia** *om.* ACh. 238

tavit in bestias." Modum autem transformationis fingit Ovidius Metamorphosios libro 9 (14.248-307), sic: Ulixes post bellum Troianum, cum redeundo ad propria per mare vagasset, tandem appulsus est ad quandam insulam in qua manebat dea quedam, filia solis, Circe nomine, que per carmina et potiones consuevit hospites suos in diversas bestias mutare. Socios etiam Ulixis qui ad ipsam premissi fuerant mutaverat; Mercurius vero Ulixi priusquam ibi veniret dederat florem album, quem custodiens non poterat transformari.

Multa etiam huiusmodi mirabilia narrantur hiis diebus. Et in libro *De mirabilibus Hibernie (Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 1867: 5.101-6) narratur quod cum sacerdos quidam transiret per nemus quoddam cum corpore Christi, lupus corpus Christi accepit, et statim conversus est in effigiem humanam, qui prius lupus videbatur. Nonne etiam Nabuchodonozor in effigiem bovinam mutatus legitur et putatur? Et multa similia narrat Augustinus *De civitate Dei* (18.17-18), et alii multi. Unde Giraldus *De mirabilibus Hibernie* (p.106) narrat quendam lupum naturam humanam habentem nudum sacerdoti apparuisse et vocem humanam edidisse, et sic tandem sententiat cum Augustino *De civitate Dei* (18.18) quod res quandoque non videntur sicut sunt, nec demones possunt naturas mutare, sed solus Deus, qui uxorem Loth in statuam salis convertit, et vere panem in corpus suum convertit.

Quomodo autem talis transformatio fuerit possibilis? Dico quod inpossibile est quod aliquid creatum mutet substantiam vel speciem hominis, vel accidens aliquod consequens speciem, id est, inherens homini ex principiis speciei. Unde albedinem vel colorem et huiusmodi qualitates communes, et figuram et motum et parvi-

qualities of that kind; though others say the opposite, I say they cannot change their essential nature and still be human. The reason for this is that two substantial forms cannot be in the same thing. But if a man were changed to a wolf, I mean one substance into another, it is certain that the form by which he is a man would remain, for otherwise he would have to be called dead, not changed, and the form would remain by which he was a wolf. And from this it follows, according to the principle that substantial form remains the same, that he cannot be deprived of his own essential nature, for that is essential which is proper to all and each and always, as is here said of essential nature. Notice also here that God can maintain, in a body with the outward shape of an ass, the same complex of essential features that he maintains in a body with the outward shape of my body. And it is not good logic to argue, "he has the bodily form of an ass, therefore he is an ass," nor vice versa—but it is good logic to argue, "he is a man, therefore he can laugh." Therefore the ability to laugh, which is an accidental quality proper to man, cannot be changed. And therefore if a man who was changed into the semblance of a horse made the sound a horse makes when it neighs, someone who knew of the change ought not on that account to say he neighs, but laughs, just as many men when they laugh make the same sound a horse makes when it neighs. Therefore the variation in sound does not make a variation in proper accidental qualities.

Notice too that an intellectual soul might as well be introduced into a monstrous shape as into a circle or square. Thus it is clear that a particular predetermined shape is not required for the receiving of an intellectual soul, nor, it follows, for keeping it. Therefore in my view this change is made, and can be made, in three ways: really, by nature; deceptively, by appearance; or half-and-half: partly by nature, partly by

asini asinini ACh. 242 **facit** faceret ACh. **deberet** non deberet C. 247 **curva** communi DgCh. 250-73 **Fit . . . tertio** Hec autem mutatio forme (forte E) est possibile secundum rei figuram tantum, et (*om.* D) non secundum naturam, per aliquas pociones vel causandum speciem in oculo per sparsionem pulveris vel per aliquid consimile arte confectum κL. 257 **sparsionem** per asper-

tatem et magnitudinem et huiusmodi accidentia que sunt communia mutare possunt; licet aliqui dicant oppositum, propria mutare non possunt, dico homine manente. Et huius ratio est quia due forme substantiales non sunt in eodem. Si autem mutaretur homo in lupum, ita quod substantia in substantiam, certum est quod maneret forma per quam est homo, quia aliter deberet dici mortuus, non mutatus, et maneret forma qua esset lupus. Et ex isto sequitur, secundum quod quia forma substantialis manet eadem, non potest privari suo proprio, quia proprium est quod convenit omni et soli et semper, sicut hic loquitur de proprio. Hic etiam advertendum quod [f. 64] eandem complexionem potest Deus servare in corpore figurato ad modum corporis asinini quam servat in corpore figurato ad modum corporis mei. Nec est ista consequentia bona: "habet formam corporis asini, ergo est asinus," nec e converso—et tamen sequitur de necessitate, "est homo, ergo est risibilis." Unde risibilitas que est proprium accidens mutari non potest. Unde si ille qui fuit mutatus in equi effigiem faceret illum sonum quem facit equs hinniens, non propter hoc a sciente illud [deberet] dici hinnire sed ridere, sicut multi homines quando rident eundem sonum faciunt sicut equs hinniens. Variatio igitur in sono varietatem accidentium propriorum non facit.

Aliud superest advertendum quod ita bene in figura monstruosa inducitur anima intellectiva sicut in figura curva vel recta. Ex quo patet quod determinata dispositio figure non requiritur ad receptionem anime intellective, et per consequens nec ad conservationem. Fit ergo sicut mihi videtur ista mutatio, et fieri potest tripliciter: scilicet realiter per naturam; vel sophistice per apparentiam; vel mixtim, partim scilicet per naturam, partim per apparentiam.

appearance. Really by nature, as by giving a potion or by impressing a passive state on a body, of which the consequence is the new shape. Apparently, as by changing what is seen, by causing certain appearances to the eye or eyes that in fact are not there, like a sprinkling of dust in the medium or on the body that is seen—seen, I mean, in a general way as a body, not this or that particular body. For it seems to me impossible that it can actually be in the eye without first being outside it. Indeed, this mode is not merely apparent, for the truth is that such appearances are in effect really in such dust, and more intentionally in the medium, and specifically in the eye, and thus the medium is really changed, just as in other changes when some other thing is seen truly. But this kind of change is deceitful and by appearance to this extent, that such and such a body does not exist in such essence as it is represented to exist. But a change is half-and-half when something that causes such-and-such a motion, or some accident, is impressed that is not proper to the species to which this individual appears to belong, though it does not. And, as for other accidents that are proper and unchangeable, there is deception of the mind or the sense.

That change might be made in the first way by anyone except God appears to be contrary to the thinking of Augustine in book 18 of *The City of God*, but changes can be made in the second and third ways. The truth of the matter here is that Circe was a famous witch, as we know from Isidore, Book 8, the chapter on wizards, and on account of her knowledge and power in working magic she is figured to be a goddess, and on account of her beauty she is said to be the daughter of the sun. She lived on an island that belonged to the kingdom of Thrace, whose king was Ulysses, as Alfred on Boethius teaches. Mercury is so called as if "mercatorum kyrios," "lord of merchants," and therefore is feigned to be the god of prudence, because prudence is

sionem DgCh. **pulverum** pulveris ACh. 257-73 **Viso . . . tertio** etc. Ch. 267 **aliquod** aliquod tale JDg. 273 **Veritas . . . quod** Nota quod M; Veritas de Circe est quod κL. 274 **famosa** famosissima κL. 277 **esse dicitur** *om.* DgMCh. **Inhabitavit** inhabitabat DgD. 278 **regni** regis CJADg; *om.* U*. **docet** dicit MCh. 279 **kirios** kysios Dg; kyros κL; *om.* U*. 281 **prudencia**

Realiter per naturam, sicut dando aliquam potionem vel aliquam passionem in corpus inprimendo, ad quam inpressionem sequitur talis figura. Apparenter, sicut in mutando visum, causando aliquas species in oculo vel oculis rerum que in veritate rei ibi non sunt, sicut sparsionem pulverum in medio vel in corpore viso. Viso, dico, sub generali ratione corporis, non talis corporis vel talis. Et inpossibile mihi videtur quod fiat in oculo nisi prius fuerit extra. Et iste modus non est tantum apparenter, quia in rei veritate iste species sunt in virtute realiter in talibus pulveribus, et magis intentionaliter in medio, specialiter in oculo, et ita realiter inmutatur medium, sicut in aliis mutationibus quando aliud veraciter videtur. Sed pro tanto dicitur ista mutatio sophistica, et secundum apparentiam, quia corpus tale sub tali esse non est sub quali est representatio facta. Mixtim autem est mutatio quando aliud inprimitur causans motum talem, vel aliquod accidens, quod non est proprium speciei de qua tale individuum esse apparet cum non sit. Et quantum ad alia accidentia que sunt propria que mutari non possunt, est illusio phantasie vel sensus.

Quod primo modo possit ab aliquo citra Deum fieri mutatio videtur contra mentem Augustini, 18 *De civitate Dei* (.18), sed secundo modo possunt et etiam tertio. Veritas autem huius quod modo tangitur est ista, quod *Circe* fuit maga famosa, ut patet per Ysidorum libro 8(.9.5), capitulo de magis, unde propter scientiam et potentiam in operationibus magicis fingitur dea, et propter pulchritudinem filia solis esse dicitur. Inhabitavit autem quandam insulam [regni] Tracie, cuius rex erat Ulixes, ut docet Alvredus super Boecium. Mercurius vero dicitur quasi mercatorum kirios, id est dominus, et ideo fingitur deus prudentie, quia mercatoribus max-

particularly necessary for merchants. And so because Ulysses was on his guard against her embrace, he is feigned to have received the white flower from Mercury, for he prudently kept his chastity. But the transformation of Ulysses' crew is thought by many to have really taken place. Varro is of the opinion, as we know from *The City of God*, 18.7, and it seems to me possible in the way I have described, and I consider it true.

So much for transformation; let us turn back to our text. He says, then, *the goldfinch*, etc., that is, "I agree with you to the extent that I too love delightful things. For *I love the goldfinch* because it sings pleasantly at break of day, and even more I love *the throstlecock*, because it sings pleasantly all day long, and *I love the nightingale* most of all, which sings pleasantly day and night. *Nor am I deceived*, that is, in judging these to be lovable because they are delightful, or in judging the same of you. But you do likewise: *you love the Gnathos*, that is, your flatterers who *whisper of sweet enticements to come*, that is, foretell a sweet marriage, as in the *Declamations*, 'How happy married women are! I shall die unless marriage is sweet.' And *you especially love Circe*, that is, the woman you intend to marry, *who pours you out aromas full of joy*, that is, promises full joys of *sighed-after sweetness*, that is, of the pleasure you are sighing for with too much desire, in which, though, it will turn out *that you may be deceived, that you may become a pig or an ass*." And truly that is so, as Boethius says in the *Consolation*, Book 4, prose 3: "If you see a man transformed by vices, you cannot think him a man.... For a man who is dull, stupid, and lazy lives an ass," that is, like an ass, "a man who wallows in foul and unclean lusts is caught in the rut of a swine," that is, of a filthy pig. "Thus it happens that a man who by abandoning righteousness has abandoned his humanity, since he cannot pass into the condition of God, is turned into a beast." Thus Boethius. And so the first curbing argument goes like this: "I should not lose you who are my friend, but by speaking the truth I will lose you my friend, that is, your friendship. And the opposite argument goes likewise: I should not lose you who

om. MCh. 282 **precavit** se abstinuit Ch; presentavit D; se preservavit EL. **accepisse** recepisse JDgκL; *om.* U★. 283-87 **Transformatio . . . litteram** *om.* ChU. 285-87 **et est . . . litteram** *om.* M. 285-86 **et . . . verum** *om.* κL. 287 **transeundum est** redeundum est Dg; transeamus κL. 289 **enim** autem CJA. **principio aurore** principio amoris CA; aurora JMChκL. 290-91 **et maxime . . . amene** *om.* MCh. 292 **iudicando** indicans MCh; in dicendo L. 295 **dicitur** Senece dicitur metrice; *margin* versus Dg. **nupte** nupti MCh; nupcie Dg. 297-98 **id est . . . suspirate** *om.* κL. 299 **suspiras** aspiras DL. 300 **Consolationis** de consolatione ChEλ. 301 **viciis** vestiis M; bestiis ChκL. 302 **aut stupore** ac stupidus AU; ac stupore M. **asinum** ut asinus M; asinus ChL; asinine E. 303 **qui** que DgD. 303-4 **sordidi porci** sordibus porci Dg; porcinis sordibus MChκL; sordide U. 305 **cum** *om. (erasure)* C; *om.* Dg; si JChκL; tamen U. 308 **id est** quia MκL.

ime necessaria est prudencia. Ideoque quia Ulixes ab amplexu istius precavit, fingitur a Mercurio florem album accepisse quia castitatem prudenter servabat. Transformatio autem sociorum Ulixis creditur a multis veraciter contigisse. Varro enim est illius opinionis, ut patet *De civitate Dei*, libro 18, capitulo septimo (18.17), et est ut mihi videtur modo predicto possibile, et estimo quod verum.

Hiis suppositis, transeundum est ad litteram. Dicit ergo *luciniam,* etc, id est, "In hoc convenio tecum quod amo delectabilia. Ego [enim] amo *luciniam*, quia in principio [aurore] cantat amene, et magis *merulam*, quia tota die cantat amene, et maxime *philomenam*, que die et nocte cantat amene. *Nec fallor*, scilicet iudicando ista amabilia quia delectabilia, vel iudicando idem de te. Similiter autem facis tu: *diligis Gnatones*, id est adulatores tuos qui *dulces presusurrant illecebras*, id est, predicant nuptias dulces, sicut in *Declamationibus* (Seneca, *Controversiae*, 6.8) dicitur, 'Felices nupte! moriar nisi nubere dulce.' Et *precipue* diligis *Circen*, id est, illam quam intendis ducere *que tibi perfundit aromata plena gaudio*, id est, promittit plena gaudia *suavitatis suspirate*, id est, voluptatis ad quam pre nimio desiderio suspiras, ex quo tamen continget *ut fallaris, ut sus fias vel asinus*." Et vere ita est, ut dicit Boecius, 4 *Consolationis*, prosa 3: "Evenit ut quem transformatum viciis videas hominem estimare non possis [...] Qui enim segnis aut stupore torpet asinum vivit," id est, asinine, "qui fedis immundisque libidinibus inmergitur, suis" id est sordidi porci "voluptate detinetur. Ita fit ut qui probitate deserta homo esse desierit, [cum] in divinam condicionem transire non possit, vertatur in beluam." Hec ibi. Prima ergo ratio retrahens est talis: "Non debeo te perdere amicum meum, sed dicendo veritatem perdam te amicum, id est amicitiam tuam. Ad oppositum per idem medium:

are my friend, but if by keeping quiet I allow you to marry, I will lose you, because marriage will turn you into a beast." And notice that this rejoinder tips the balance a little, because in the first loss only friendship is lost, in the second both friendship and Rufinus's very humanity.

The ministers of Babel furnish you. This is the second part of the first chapter; in it Valerius first puts a curb, then a spur at *I know that at the last*. As for the curb, you should know that he alludes to a passage in Jeremiah 25, where it says, "I will punish the king of Babylon," and then it says, "Take the cup of wine of this fury at my hand, and thou shalt make all the nations to drink thereof." He also alludes to one of Solomon's proverbs, Proverbs 25, where, speaking of wine, he says, "it goeth in pleasantly, but in the end it will bite like a snake, and will spread abroad poison like a basilisk." Know too that according to the book *De natura rerum*, the *tirus* or *tiriacus*, which is the same thing, "is a snake in parts of Jericho harmful to birds and other animals. Its meat, when prepared in a concoction with certain other ingredients, will drive out any poison; and they call this concoction *tiriaca*, (in English 'treacle'). Many people say that before Christ's passion there was no remedy for its bite, and that it was particularly harmful to man; but on the day of the passion a most harmful specimen was caught, as it happened, near Jerusalem and hung on the cross by Christ's side, and from that day onward that whole species of snake took on healing power against every venom; and yet treacle is no good against the venom of the tirus itself." Thus *De natura rerum*.

He says, then, that *the ministers of Babel* (or confusion), that is, your flatterers, *furnish you honeyed poison*, that is, sweet venom; that is, they suggest to you that pleasure is sweet. And note that both the curb and the spur depend on these two words

311 **est hic** hic est CJ; est Ch; hic E; *om*. U*. **quod** quam DgDL. **caute** cauta AM; *om*. Ch. **responsio** racio ChD. 312 **amicicia** amicus CA; *om*. U*. 314-15 **Hec . . . primo** Hic Ch; *om*. U. 323 **natura** naturis DgMU. 325 **aliis** *om*. κL. 326 **aliis** *om*. DgMChκL. **expellunt** expellit κL. 327 **dicunt . . . triacle** vulgo tyricam dicunt, gallice triacle Dg; dicunt tiriacam κL; vocat vulgo tiriacam U. **Ferunt** fertur κL. 327-28 **nonnulli hunc** nonnulli M; quidam Ch; *om*. κL. 329 **fuisse** *add* tunc κL. 336 **de** ex M; *om*. Ch; ab κL. 339 **delectatione** dulcedine κL. 340

Non debeo te perdere amicum meum, sed si tacendo permittam te nubere, te perdam, quia per hoc in bestiam mutaberis." Et advertendum [est hic] quod caute ista responsio preponderat, quia in prima perditione perditur [amicicia] tantum, in secunda amicicia et humanitas debita.

Propinant tibi. Hec est secunda pars huius capituli, in qua Valerius primo ponit rationem retrahentem, secundo moventem, ibi *Scio quod in novissimo*. Circa primum sciendum quod alludit uni processui verborum Ieremie capitulo 25(.12), ubi sic dicit: "Visitabo super regem Babilonis," et sequitur (25.15), "Sume calicem vini furoris huius de manu mea, et propinabis de illa cunctis gentibus." Alludit etiam cuidam proverbio Salomonis, Proverbiorum 25 (23.31-32), ubi loquens de vino sic dicit: "Ingreditur blande, sed in novissimo mordebit ut coluber, et sicut regulus venena diffundet." Sciendum etiam quod sicut dicitur in libro *De natura rerum* (8.43), tirus vel tiriacus, quod idem est, "est serpens [f. 64v] in partibus Ihericho [...] infestus avibus et aliis animalibus [...] Huius carnes confecte cum aliis quibusdam admixtis omne toxicum expellunt; quam confectionem dicunt tiriacam (vulgo 'triacle'). Ferunt autem nonnulli hunc ante Passionem Christi nullum habuisse remedium, maximeque fuisse hominibus infestum; ipso vero die passionis, unum ex eis infestissimum circa partes Iherusalem fuisse casu conprehensum, et ad latus Christi in cruce suspensum, atque ex illa die totum illud genus serpentis accepisse virtutem [contra omne venenum]; tamen contra venenum ipsius tiri, tiriaca nichil valet." Hec ibi.

Dicit igitur *ministri Babel*, id est confusionis, scilicet adulatores tui, *propinant tibi mellitum toxicon*, id est dulce venenum, hoc est, suggerunt tibi voluptatem esse dulcem. Et notandum quod de istis

"honeyed" and "poison," and so because it is honeyed it *goes in pleasantly and pleases you*, that is, their suggestion is heard with delight, so that you are drawn to it by the force of your spirit, and therefore *I am forbidden to speak*.

At *I know*, etc., he puts the spur: I know that it is poison *that in the end will bite like a snake*, for, as Boethius says in the *Consolation*, 3.m7.1–2, "Pleasure drives its followers with prods." *And it will inflict a wound beyond any healing antidote*. That is, no snake can inflict such a wound, because a snake can only poison the body; pleasure poisons the soul. And so Boethius, speaking of vices in Book 4, says well, "These venoms draw a man to themselves more powerfully.... though they do no harm to the body, they go wild (that is, make you wild) by wounding the mind." Therefore the curb goes like this: "I shouldn't try to deprive my friend of the thing he delights in, but by speaking the truth I will deprive you, or at least try to deprive you, of the thing you delight in because it is honeyed; *therefore I am forbidden to speak*. Conversely: I shouldn't allow my friend, if I can help it, to fall into mortal danger, but by suppressing the truth I will allow you to fall into mortal danger, because it is into poison, that is, a wound; therefore *I cannot be silent*." Here again you should notice how this second reason, the spur, tips the balance: for the idea that he would be depriving him of only an apparent pleasure actually spurs him to speak out about the danger of a real, imminent sin, and thus speaking wins out.

You have many advocates, etc. This is the third part of this chapter, in which once again he first puts a curb, a reason not to write, then a spur at *The voice of the goose was condemned*. The curb goes like this: "Where there is no hearing, there is no sense wasting speech; but if I write or speak, I shall not be heard; *therefore I am forbidden to speak*." He proves the minor premise by the principle that the voices of many make it

prohibeor J *inserts* Propinant . . . mortifera, *Ridewall* 120–39. 341 **ponit** hic ponit JDgMDL; sic U. 341–59 **ponit . . . est** *om.* U. 341 **moventem** *om.* Ch*κL. 342 **coluber** Ch *inserts* Coluber dicitur quasi colens umbras. Et omnis qui male agit lucem odit. Coluber eciam cervum fugit et leonem interficit, ut dicit Papias. *Cf. Ridewall* 141. 343 **hoc** hec C; *om.* Ch*E*. 345 **nullus** *om.* DE*L. 345–46 **inprimere . . . posset** imprimet quo non DL; *om.* E*. 347 **bene** *om.* DgMCh*κL. 348 **detrahunt** detrahent DmL. **sibi** si CJADgM; *om.* ChU. **nec** ut κL. 351 **veritatem** *om.* DmL. 355 **in mortis periculum** *om.* Dg*Ch*κL. **in toxicon** in toxicationem M; intoxicatio EL. **id est** et JADgMκL; *om.* Ch*. 357 **movens** *om.* Ch*κL. 358 **non** *om.* Ch*κL. **iminentis** *add* ad non tacendum κ; movet ad tacendum L. 359 **est** J *inserts* Coluber est serpens . . . voluptatis, *Ridewall* 140–50. 361 **secundo** *add* rationem DgL. 365 **audiri non potest** audiri non potest vel possit

duobus verbis *mellitum* et *toxicon* dependet utraque ratio, ista scilicet et sequens, unde quia *mellitum blande ingreditur et delectat*, id est cum delectatione auditur, ut scilicet impetu spiritus in illud feraris, et ideo *loqui prohibeor.*

Scio, et cetera, ponit rationem ad oppositum moventem: scio scilicet quia toxicum est *quod in novissimo mordebit ut coluber*, quia, ut dicit Boecius, 3 *Consolationis* (m7.1-2), "Habet [hoc] voluptas omnis:/stimulis agit fruentes." Sequitur *et vulnus inprimet inpar omni tiriaco*. Hoc est, nullus tiriacus tale vulnus posset inprimere, quia non posset nisi corpus intoxicare; voluptas autem animam intoxicat. Unde Boecius, libro 4 (m3.35-39), loquens de viciis dicit bene sic: "Hec venena potentius/detrahunt hominem [sibi]/ [...]; nec nocentia corpori/mentis vulnere seviunt," id est, sevire faciunt. Eius igitur ratio retrahens talis est: "Non debeo niti subtrahere ab amico id in quo delectatur, sed dicendo veritatem subtraham, vel saltem subtrahere nitar, illud in quo delectaris, quia mellitum; *ideo loqui prohibeor*. Ad oppositum: Non debeo permittere amicum, quantum possum, incidere in mortis periculum, sed tacendo veritatem permittam te incidere in mortis periculum, quia in toxicon, id est, vulnus; *ideo tacere non possum*." Et hic advertendum quomodo ista secunda ratio movens preponderat: movet subtractio dulcis tantum apparentis ad non tacendum periculum veri discriminis iminentis, et hoc maius est.

Multos habes persuasores, etc. Hec est tertia pars huius capituli, in qua primo similiter ponit rationem retrahentem ne scribat, secundo moventem, ibi, *Reprobata est*. Est ergo ratio retrahens talis: "Ubi non est auditus, non est effundendus sermo; sed si ego scribam vel loquar, non audiar; *Ideo loqui prohibeor*." Minorem probat quia

impossible for the voice of one to be heard—that is the point of the words *You have many most eloquent advocates of your desire, who turn your head* (that is, away from your salvation), *and you have me alone*, etc. And notice that the antithesis is really beautifully done here: "They are many and I am alone; they are most eloquent and I am tongueless; they are advocates of present pleasure, I am a herald of the bitter truth of the future—and therefore you are sickened by me, that is, you loathe me"; and so the reading is *quem nauseas*. (Some texts have *quam nauseas*, and then the antecedent is truth, which is sickening because it is bitter.)

The voice of the goose, etc. Now he makes the case for speaking out. You should know that, as Isidore says in the *Etymologies*, 12.7, "The duck (anas) gave the name of the goose (anser) because they both swim. The goose declares its wakefulness at night by honking continually. No animal is as sensitive to the scent of a human, and so it was through its honking that the Gauls were caught trying to scale the cliff of the Capitol." For it woke up the Roman sentries when Belinus, King of Britain, and his brother Brennius, king of the Allobroges, had overrun Gaul and taken Rome, too, except for the Capitol. One night while the Capitol guards were asleep they made an effort to take it, but geese woke up the sentries with their honking. (Valerius claims here that the geese did what they did before the city was taken, which I consider the truer version, since Ambrose is of the same opinion, for he says, "You owe it to geese, Rome, that you rule. Your gods were asleep, and the geese were awake. You should have offered sacrifice to them, not to Jove. Your gods give way to geese, for they know that it was by them that they were kept from being seized by enemies, and the city from being burnt." It is plain that once they did capture the city they burnt it and plundered it immediately, as is told in *The Deeds of the Britons*.)

sive non audiatur J; non audiatur vel audiri non possit M; non audiatur Ch. 367 **tuam** *om.* κLU*. 372 **Aliqui** alii AJ; *om.* Ch*U*. **habent** dicunt JM. 373 **amara** J *inserts* Multos . . . suum, *Ridewall* 152-60. 374 **Ponit** Hic ponit JDgMDL. 375 **sicut . . . Ethimologiarum** secundum Ysidorum Ethimologiarum DL; secundum Ysidorum EU. **libro** *om.* κL. 376 **anas** a nas CJ; *om.* Dg (*space left*) Ch*. 377 **testatur** *add* ut dicit Ysidorus 12 Etimologiarum capitulo 7 M; Ysidorus capitulo 7 Ch. 379 **Capitolio** capitolium JDgMCh. 384 **excitabant** excitaverunt MCh; excitabat Dg. **hec** hoc JDgMκL; *om.* Ch*U*. 387 **deberes** debes Chλ. 388 **Cedunt** cedant ML. 389 **hostibus** hoste DgMChβ. **raperentur** caperentur DgCh. **civitatem** civitas DgCh; civitate E. 392 **libro**

voces multorum faciunt quod vox unius audiri non potest, et hoc est quod dicit *multos habes persuasores voluptatis tue in caput tuum facundissimos* (id est, contra salutem tuam), *me solum*, etc. Et nota quod hic pulcherime est antithesis quia "Illi multi et ego solus; illi facundissimi et ego elinguis; illi persuasores, scilicet respectu presentis, ego preco de futuro; illi voluptatis, ego amare veritatis—et ideo me nauseas", id est detestaris; et sic littera est *quem nauseas*. (Aliqui habent *quam nauseas*, et tunc refertur ad veritatem, que ideo nauseatur quia amara.)

Reprobata, etc. Ponit rationem ad oppositum, circa quam sciendum quod, sicut dicit Ysidorus *Ethimologiarum* libro 12, capitulo 7 (.51-52), "anseris nomen [anas] dedit eo quod natandi similitudinem habeat. Iste vigilias noctis assiduitate clangoris testatur. Nullum enim animal ita odorem hominis sentit. Unde et clangore eius Gallorum ascensus in Capitolio deprehensus est." Excitavit enim Romanos vigiles quando Belinus, rex Britannie, et Brennius frater eius, rex Allobrogum, superatis Gallis Romam etiam ceperunt preter Capitolium. Quadam autem nocte, dormientibus custodibus Capitolii, moliti sunt capere illud, sed anseres clamore suo vigiles excitabant. (Valerius hic vult quod ante urbem captam anseres hec fecerunt, quod ego reputo verius, quia etiam eiusdem sententie est Ambrosius sic dicens, "Merito anseribus debes, Roma, quod regnas. Dii tui dormiebant, et anseres vigilabant. Illis potius deberes sacrificare quam Iovi. Cedunt enim dii vestri anseribus, a quibus sentiunt se esse defensos, ne et ipsi ab hostibus raperentur, et civitatem ne incenderetur" [*Hexaemeron*, *PL* 14.225]. Et planum est quod capta civitate eam statim incenderunt et diripuerunt eam, sicut patet ex libro *De gestis Britonum* [3.9].) [f. 65]

Olor, oloris, the penult long, like *color, coloris*, and either masculine or common gender. Isidore (same chapter) has this to say of its nature: "*Olor* is just another name for the swan, from *olon*, 'whole,' because they are wholly white. They sing sweetly because they have a long, curved neck, and the voice as it struggles its long and sinuous way out necessarily makes various melodies." Thus Isidore. And as Iorach says, "The swan takes very little delight in its sweet melodies, and when it sings loudest it signifies that it is near death." Martial says in book 13: "The swan is the cantor at its own funeral, singing sweet hymns with its dying tongue." It is the swansong that he means by *among swans*, at least swans who are *taught*, that is, know how, *only to please*, that is, to cause such great pleasure. *The voice of the goose was condemned as empty*, that is, judged empty by men since it does not know how to please. And yet that goose's voice *taught the senators*, or consuls, who at that time were Gabius and Porsenna, *how to save the city*, that is, the houses in the city, *from fire*, and so on. You should realize that this saving took place before Belinus and Brennius were able to take Rome. Once they took it they did all those things after all. *Perhaps you, too, like the senators, will understand because you are wise*, (he compliments him to entice him better) that *the swans*, that is, your advocates, *boom forth your death like an organ*. He is alluding, in my view, to the words of an old philosopher who said, "The swan, herald at its own funeral, prophesies the cutting off of life on its organ of sweet music." And you will likewise understand that *the goose squawks* (that is, noises) *your salvation*, and here he speaks of himself. Thus the spur to write goes like this: "It is a mark of prudence to understand the truth, not despise it, rudely expressed though it may be. But you, Rufinus, are prudent, or ought to be. Therefore *I cannot keep the truth* from you." And

. . . Britonum Bruto JDgMDL; britone E; *om.* Ch⋆U⋆. 393 **sicut . . . coloris** *om.* MChU. 395 **cigni** *add* dicuntur DgL. 397 **eluctantem** eructuantem M; eructantem Ch; eructuantem κL. 398 **Ysidorus** ille DgM. 399 **Iorach⋆** Ierach CAJE; Iorath Chλ; Ierath D; *om.* Dg (*space left*). 402-23 **Hoc . . . interitus est** *om.* U. 404 **tantum** tantam CADgMChκ. 407 **qui** qui/qui C. **fuerunt** *add* duo DgMCh. **Gabius** Gallus Mκ. 407-10 **id est . . . fecerunt** *om.* ChLU⋆. 408 **domus** domos JMκ. 410 **fecerunt** J *inserts* Reprobata . . . acceptant, *Ridewall* 161-85. 411 **senatoribus** senatore CAJ. 412 **organant vel** *om.* MChL. 413 **unius** cuiusdam JM; *om.* Ch⋆. 414 **sic** *om.* κL. 415 **vite** rite DL. 416 **id est sonat** *om.* MCh. 417 **ad scribendum** *om.* MChλ⋆. 419 **sibi** ei JMCh. 420 **debes** deberes ME. **eam** id est veritatem (*interlinear gloss*) C. **tibi** *om.* β. 422 **ratio,**

Olor, oloris, media producta sicut color, -loris, et generis masculini vel potius episceni, de cuius natura Ysidorus ubi supra (12.7.18-19) sic dicit: "Olores quidem qui et cigni, ab olon quod est totum, quia sunt toti albi. Cantant autem suaviter quia collum longum et inflexum habent, et necesse est eluctantem vocem per longam et flexuosum iter varios reddere modulos." Hec Ysidorus. Et sicut dicit [Iorach], "Olor in dulci modulatione minime delectatur, sed cum fortissime modulatur significat quod morti sue tunc vicinatur." Secundum illud Valerii Martialis, libro 13(.77): "Dulcia defecta modulatur carmina lingua/cantator cignus funeris ipse sui." Hoc est ergo quod dicit *inter olores*, et hoc respectu olorum qui *docti* sunt, quasi scientes, *tantum delectare*, id est [tantum] delectationem causare. *Fatua vox anseris est reprobata*, id est sicut fatua delectare nesciens ab hominibus iudicata. Illa tamen vox anseris *edocuit senatores*, sive consules, [qui] eodem tempore fuerunt Gabius et Porsenna, *urbem*, id est domus urbis *salvare ab incendio*, etc. Sciendum quod quantum ad tempus hoc fuit antequam civitatem Rome Belinus et Brennius capere potuerunt. Capta autem civitate hec omnia fecerunt. *Forsitan et tu cum [senatoribus] intelliges quia prudens es* (commendat eum ut magis alliciat) *quod organant* (vel *organizant*) *tibi olores*, id est persuasores tui *interitum*. Alludit, ut mihi videtur, antiqui unius philosophi dictis sic dicentis, "Olor, sui funeris preco, mellite citharizationis organo vite prophetizat apocopam" (Alanus de Insulis, PL 210.435-36). Et similiter intelliges quod *anser salutem strepit*, id est, sonat, ubi hoc dicit de seipso. Est igitur una ratio movens eum ad scribendum talis: "Prudentis est intelligere veritatem et non contempnere, etsi rudi modo sibi dicatur. Sed tu, Ruffine, prudens es, vel saltem esse debes. Igitur eam tibi *tacere non possum*." Et advertendum hic quod

notice that this reason outweighs the prior one, because the first, the reason to be silent, was merely that Rufinus will be disgusted at what he hears; the second, the reason not to be silent, is to avoid Rufinus's death.

You are completely inflamed by your passion, etc. This is the fourth part of this chapter, and he gives a fourth spur and curb. You should know that according to Isidore, *Etymologies* 11, the last chapter, "the chimera is an imaginary triform beast with a lion's face, a snake's tail, and a wild goat's belly. (According to Papias it is sometimes the name of a ship, but otherwise the monster or beast here described by Isidore, spitting fire from its head and killed by Bellerophontes.) Some writers say it isn't that at all, but rather a mountain in Sicily that in some parts fosters lions and wild goats, in others is burning, and in still others is full of snakes. Bellerophon made this mountain habitable, and so he is said to have killed the chimera." A voluptuary will, before the act, typically abandon shame for boldness—which is just like the lion, for "the lion is mightiest among beasts and does not turn back before any," and so the first part or head of the chimera is said to be a lion. The act itself is smelly, which makes it like a wild goat. Sadness comes along at the end, and a stinging of the heart, which makes it like a snake. As a certain poet said so well:

> They say a whore's a chimera, and they're right: a lion in the face, a goat in the belly, a snake in the tail. And men who haunt Venus become chimeras too: they move in fearlessly, like the lion, to get what they want; they stink, these wanton lechers, like goats; they sting their inmost hearts like snakes.

Then, when he says, *Ulysses was enchanted*, etc., he turns to the opposite argument. You should know that, as Isidore says in the same place, "They say there were three

eum *om.* DE⋆LU⋆. 422-23 **non tacendum** tacendum C; scribendum M; loquendum κL; *om.* Ch⋆U⋆. 424 **et** in qua DgL; *om.* U⋆. 426-27 **libro** *om.* ChDE⋆L. 428 **caprea** capra JADgMCh; capra idest capra silvestris U. 428-31 **Secundum . . . interfecit** *om.* U. 429 **navis** avis DgMD; *om.* U⋆. 429 **id est belua** idest bestia DgMCh; *om.* κLU⋆. 430 **in** et MChκL; *om.* U⋆. 430-431 **beluam** bestiam MCh; *om.* DgU⋆. 432 **et** quibusdam MU. **capreas** capras JADgMChU. 435-46 **Proprium . . . mentis** L *follows* U. 439 **capree** capre JADgMβ; capiti Ch. 440 **quidam** *add* sic metrice DgM. 442 **caper** capra ChE; caprea D. 446 **mentis** J *inserts* Desiderio . . . intelliget, *Ridewall* 188-206. 447 **Deinde cum dicit** Hic JMDL; deinde U; *om.* Ch⋆E. 447-61 **ubi . . . Empedocles** *om.* M. 448 **sicut dicit Ysidorus** secundum Ysidorum DL; *om.* EU⋆. **ibidem** ubi

ista ratio priori preponderat, quia precedens ratio movens eum ad tacendum fastidium auditus, secunda ratio movens eum ad [non] tacendum vitatio interitus est.

Desiderio tuo, etc. Hec est quarta pars huius capituli, et ponit quartam rationem moventem cum ratione retrahente. Circa quod sciendum quod chimera secundum Ysidorum *Ethimologiarum* libro 11, capitulo ultimo (11.3.36) "fingitur triformis bestia: ore leo, postremis partibus draco, media caprea. (Secundum Papiam [p. D8va] aliquando est nomen navis, alias monstrum, id est belua, ut hic describitur ab Ysidoro, in capite vomens ignem, quam beluam Belloforons interfecit.) Quidam philosophi non sic aiunt esse sed Cicilie montem, quibusdam locis leones et capreas nutrientem, quibusdam ardentem, quibusdam plenum serpentibus. Hunc Belloforons montem habitabilem fecit, unde Chimeram dicitur occidisse." Proprium est voluptuoso ante opus perdere verecundiam et assumere audaciam—quod proprium est leoni, quia "leo fortissimus bestiarum ad nullius pavebit occursum" (Prov. 30.30); ideo prima pars chimere vel caput dicitur esse leo. Ipse actus fetet, quod proprium est capree. Dolor in fine comitatur, et punctio cordis, quod proprium est serpenti. Ideo bene dixit versificator quidam:

> Digne revera meretrix est dicta chimera:
> Parte leo prima, media caper, anguis in ima.
> Hanc speciem retinent Venerem quicumque frequentant.
> Ut leo non trepidant, pergunt implere quod optant.
> Fetent ut capri petulantes luxuriosi;
> Ritu serpentis pungunt penetralia mentis. (Wltr, *Vers.* 4473)

Deinde cum dicit *Delectatus*, etc., arguit ad oppositum, ubi sciendum quod sicut dicit Ysidorus ibidem (11.3.30–31), "Sirenas (vel

Sirens, part virgin, part bird with wings and claws. One sang, one played the tibia (that is, pipes), one the lyre; they charmed sailors with their song and enticed them into shipwreck. In fact, however, they were whores who impoverished traveling men and were said fancifully to have shipwrecked them, and to have had wings and claws because love is volatile and wounding, and to have dwelt in the sea because the sea gave birth to Venus." Thus Isidore. The fiction is that Ulysses had himself tied to the mast of his ship and his shipmates' ears stopped with pitch, lest they go to the Sirens, enticed by sight or hearing, the two senses that stir the sexual appetite. *You vow down* (devoves, with short penult) is the same as "you swear against" or "you refuse." On *Circe*, see above. On *Empedocles*: you should know that he was a philosopher who thought he could pass through fire unharmed. For he had the idea that nothing can disturb a wise man, as Augustine says in *The City of God*. Wishing to prove his idea, he made his *mausoleum* or grave in Etna, a mountain in Sicily that constantly throws up fire. Empedocles exposed himself to its flames and was swallowed up. Thus the fourth curb goes like this. "A man who is disposed toward something cannot judge well of its opposite, just as, if the eye were colored itself, it could not be a judge of color, and the tongue of a person with a fever does not distinguish what it drinks. *You are inflamed* by lust *with your whole will*, and so you won't hear me if I try to persuade you to be chaste; *therefore I am forbidden to speak*." He adds a further reason for the minor premise, why he is inflamed—namely, because he judges only by appearances, that is, by the face. That is what Rufinus has done, and that is what Valerius adds: *And, seduced by the beauty of a fair head*, etc. But the fourth spur is this: "One hopes

prius JκL; ut prius Ch; *om.* U⋆. 450 **habentes** Habent CAJDgChE; *om.* D⋆U⋆. 451 **id est tubis** *om.* ChEU⋆. **canebat** cantat κL; *om.* U. 451-54 **Que . . . naufragia** L *follows* U. 451 **illectos** electos ChD. 453 **quos** *om.* JM⋆Chλ⋆. 457**sociorum** suas et sociorum CAJDg; *om.* M; suas et, *corrected* Ch; suas ac κ; scilicet et Lo. **eius** suorum JChE; *om.* DgM⋆Dλ. 461 **Empedocles** ipse Dg; *om.* β. 463 **turbatio** turbatio aut passio JChκ. 466 **que** qui JChEL. 468 **retrahens** movens CAJDgκ. 468-76 **Dispositus . . . nobilitate** *om.* U. 470 **colore** coloribus DgM. 475 **Et hoc** sicud MκL; quod Dg. **Ruffinus** Olofernes et Rufinus JCh; Olofernes MκL. 476 **movens** retra-

Sirenes, quod idem est) tres fuisse fingunt, ex parte virgines, et ex parte volucres [habentes] alas et ungulas, quarum una voce, altera tibiis (id est tubis), tertia lyra canebat. Que illectos navigantes sub cantu in naufragium trahebant. Secundum autem veritatem meretrices fuerunt que transeuntes quos deducebant ad egestatem, hiis ficte sunt inferre naufragia. Alas autem habuisse et ungulas quia amor et volat et vulnerat, que ideo in fluctibus commorasse dicuntur quia fluctus Venerem creaverunt." Hec ibi. [f. 65v] Fingitur autem quod Ulixes fecit se ligari ad malum navis et aures [sociorum] eius pice obstrui fecit, ne scilicet ad eas pergerent, illecti visu vel auditu. Isti autem duo sensus concupiscentiam movent. *Devoves*, media correpta, idem est quod execraris vel recusas. De *Circe* dictum est prius. De *Empedocle* sciendum quod Empedocles philosophus fuit cuius opinio erat quod potuisset indempnis transire per ignem. Fuit enim illius opinionis quod in virum sapientem non cadit turbatio, sicut recitat Augustinus *De civitate Dei* (cf. 9.4). Iste, opinionem suam probare volens, fecit mausoleum suum, id est sepulchrum, in Ethna. Ethna mons est in Sicilia que semper evomit ignem, et huius incendiis exponere se remansit in medio Empedocles. Consistit igitur quarta ratio [retrahens] in isto: "Dispositus una dispositione non potest de contrario bene iudicare, sicut organum visus, si esset coloratum, non iudicaret de colore, nec lingua febricitantis de potu iudicat. Sed *tu toto desiderio inflammaris* voluptate, et per consequens non senties si suadeam tibi de castitate; *ideo loqui prohibeor*." Ponit aliam rationem minoris, quare scilicet inflammatur—quia scilicet iudicat tantum secundum id quod apparet, id est secundum faciem. Et hoc fecit Ruffinus, et hoc est quod subdit Valerius: *Et speciosi nobilitate,* etc. Quarta autem ratio [movens] est ista: "Magis speran-

that a prudent man will imitate the prudent rather than the foolish; but you are a prudent man, or at least should be, and so I hope that you will imitate wise Ulysses rather than foolish Empedocles; therefore *I cannot be silent"*—and so he says, *You are completely inflamed*, etc.

Fifthly, when he says, *Finally*, he gives the fifth curb and the argument against it. Here you need to know that *conniveo* is the equivalent of "shut the eyes," that is, as a sign of approval or encouragement. Thus he means, "The fire of sexual desire or lust, which is what my adversaries are pressing on you, is stronger, perhaps, than the fire of love with which you love me. A greater flame will naturally attract a smaller flame to it; thus people who have suffered a burn will touch the burnt area afterwards to fire in the hope that that fire will draw out the fire in them. And if I write to you on this subject I may be swallowed up like that and perish; and therefore *I am forbidden to speak*." But then, at *To speak in the spirit*, he gives the spur, the last one. "Lovers commonly lose all self-control before the greatness of love. As a poet says, `I know not what love is, I have never experienced love's knot; but this I know: a man in love knows no moderation.' And therefore what they do ought to be easily forgiven. But however it stands between your flatterers' love and my love, that is, whether or not their love outweighs and outdoes mine, I am yours, that is, I love you, with all my heart, and therefore I don't care what I risk for myself, it's for you that I do it, and therefore *I cannot be silent*." This is the argument in short: "a fervent lover cannot see his beloved in danger and be silent; but I love you fervently; therefore *I cannot be silent*." And for Valerius this argument is conclusive. (*Trutina* and *libra* both mean a balance; *statera* is the balance-beam, *lanx* is the pan—what we call *scutella*.)

The first wife of the first Adam, etc. This is the second main section, the "execution" or "executive section." It has three parts: first he teaches, by means of true stories

hens CAJDgκ; aliciens U. 477 **prudentes** *add* magis JMCh. **imitetur** imitatur MDL. 478 **quare** quia CJ; ergo Dg; ideo MκL; quod Ch; igitur U. 480 **etc.** J *inserts* Delectatus . . . libro 14, *Ridewall* 207-46. 482 **conniveo, -ves*** Ch *only*; connivo, -vis CJELo; connivio, -vis AD; connivio, connives Dg; convivere M. 487 **conbusto** conbusti DgMCh; adustum U. **uno** alico MDL; aliquod Dg; aliquo E; *om.* U*. 489 **Deinde ibi** sed MChκL. 492 **sencio nodum** nescio modum C; nescio nodum Dg; sencio modum M; nescio nodum, *corrected* sencio nodum E. 494-502 **Sed . . . scutella** *om.* U. 496 **quam** sive DgDL; et Ch; sed E. 497 **curans** curas CJACh; *om.* Dg*. 499 **amati** amanti ChDmL. 501 **Et . . . concludit** *om.* ChE. 501-2 **Trutina . . . scutella** *om.* J; Trutina . . . libre *om.* Ch. 503 **vocatur** dicitur κL. 504 **executio sive pars** *om.* Dgβ. **quia** *om.* β. 505

dum est quod vir prudens prudentes imitetur quam fatuos; sed tu prudens es, vel saltem esse debes; [quare] magis sperandum est mihi quod Ulixem sapientem quam fatuum Empedoclem imitaberis, *et ideo tacere non possum*"—dicit ergo *desiderio*, etc.

Quinto cum dicit *tandem*, ponit quintam rationem retrahentem, cum ratione ad oppositum. Ubi sciendum quod [*conniveo, -ves*] idem est quod claudere oculos, quod fit quasi favendo vel suadendo. Vult ergo dicere, "*Validior* forte *est ignis* concupiscentie et luxurie, quam tibi suadet *pars adversa*, quam ignis amoris quo me diligis. Et natura ignis maioris est quod trahat ad se minorem, in cuius signum homines conbusto uno membro applicant post igni ut ignis ignem ad se trahat; quod forte ego incurram scribendo tibi de ista materia, et per consequens peribo; *ideo loqui prohibeor*." Deinde ibi, *ut spiritu loquar*, ponit rationem ad oppositum, et finalem talem: "Mos est amantium seipsos non posse regere pre amoris magnitudine. Sicut quidam ait, 'Nescio quid sit amor, nec amoris [sencio nodum];/Sed scio: si quis amat, nescit habere modum' (Walther, *Spr.* 16532; *Vers.* 11741). Et ideo faciliter remitti debet eis quod agunt. Sed qualitercumque fuerit de amore adulatorum tuorum et amore meo, id est sive preponderet et maior sit amor eorum quam amor meus, ego toto spiritu tuus sum, id est te amans, et ideo non [curans] quicquid mihi pro te in periculum vertatur, et *ideo tacere non possum*." Breviter igitur ratio est ista: "Ferventer amans periculum amati tacere non potest; ego autem sum te ferventer amans; *ideo tacere non possum*." Et hec ratio Valerio concludit. (Trutina idem est quod libra; statera est lingua libre; *lanx, -is* est pars libre que dicitur scutella.)

Prima primi, etc. Hec est pars secunda principalis, que vocatur executio sive pars executiva [f. 66], et dividitur in 3 partes, quia

from Scripture and fables of the pagans, that it is risky for a man to marry; secondly, he apologizes for using pagans as examples (chapter eight, *Friend, does it shock you*); and thirdly he explains why he has made this dissuasion so earnestly (*I do not want you to become Venus's husband*). The first part is twofold: first he exemplifies his thesis through various men, then through women (chapter six, *Lais the Corinthian*). And that first of these two parts is itself fourfold: he urges Rufinus to heed him by instancing first the greatest men in Holy Scripture, which is true; then the greatest men in the pagan myths, which are empty lies (chapter three, *Jupiter, an earthly king*); third, the greatest men among the rulers of the Roman republic (chapter four, *Julius Caesar*); fourth, the greatest men in the pursuit of wisdom (at *After Cicero*).

And this first part is also fourfold: first he proves his thesis by him who was the first of men in point of birth; then by him who was the first of kings, or at least the one preeminent in grace; third by him who was the first of men in bodily strength; fourth by him who was the first of men and preeminent in wisdom. Of these, the second part is at *Truth, which cannot be deceived*; the third at *Will a woman be harmless*; the fourth at *Solomon the sun of men*. His intention then in this chapter is to extend this witty couplet:

> Adam, Sampson, Solomon, and David were duped by woman. Who will now be safe?

As for the first, you need to know that *parentare* has two different meanings depending on whether the first syllable is long or short. If it is long, it means "to attend regularly (that is, perform rites or sacrifice or minister) to the shades or tombs of the dead." This is the meaning Papias gives, but it is not the meaning here. Here it

scripture *add* sacre DgL. **gentium** gentilium JDgMChβ. 506 **de hoc** de D; *om.* EL. 507-24 **tertio. . .hominum** *om.* E. 508 **ibi** capitulo nono ibi JMChβ. 509 **Prima** prima pars adhuc Dg; prima pars M; prima adhuc β. **2** duas partes β. 509-10 **diversos*** duos CAJ; ipsos DgMChβ. 510 **ipsas** *om.* β. **Lais** Thais MCh. 511-24 **Prima. . .hominum** L *follows* U. 511 **Prima** *add* pars DgM. 513-14 **secundo . . . tercio**[1] *added in margin by original scribe* C. 514 **sive vanitatem** *om.* DgMκ*L; sive vanitates JCh. 517 **Cithero** *add* prima pars [*om.* D] adhuc dividitur in 2 partes: in [quia D] prima [primo D]; *add* parte Ch ostendit quomodo mulieres seduxerunt homines, in secunda [secundo ChD] quomodo deos, capitulo tertio ibi [*om.* MCh] Jupiter [*om.* Ch] JMChD. 518 **Prima . . . 4** primum ostendit per quattuor M; membrum primum currit per quattuor Ch; primum ostendit tripliciter D. 519 **qui** *add* secundum scripturam JDMCh; per scripturam D; *om.* E*L*. 520 **vel saltem** et MCh. 522 **omnium** *add* regum MCh. **et precipuus** *om.* MCh. 523 **pars**[2] *om.* JMCh. 525 **dicit** dixit κ. 528-36 **duplicem . . . hic** idest quasi parentos imitari Ch. 531-32 **id est . . . ministrare** *om.* κ. 532 **et . . . Papias** *om.* DgM; secundum Papiam λ. 534-36 **et . . . hic** L

primo docet per historias scripture et gentium fabulas periculosum esse ducere uxorem; secundo se excusat de hoc quod gentiles traxit in exemplum, ibi, *Amice miraris*, 8 capitulo; tertio causam assignat quare tam diligenter istam fecit dissuasionem, ibi, *Veneris te nolo*. Prima dividitur in 2, quia primo ostendit propositum per [diversos] viros, secundo per ipsas feminas, ibi, *Lais Corinthia*, 6 capitulo. Prima adhuc dividitur in 4, quia primo hortatur ad audienciam per viros qui fuerunt maximi secundum scripture sancte veritatem, secundo per viros qui fuerunt maximi secundum fabularum errorem sive vanitatem, ibi, *Iupiter rex*, capitulo tercio; tercio per viros qui fuerunt maximi per reipublice gubernationem, ibi, *Iulius*, 4 capitulo; quarto, per eos qui fuerunt maximi per sapientie studiositatem, ibi, *Cithero*.

Prima pars adhuc dividitur in 4, quia primo probat propositum per eum qui fuit omnium hominum primus in natura, secundo per eum qui fuit omnium regum primus, vel saltem precipuus in gratia; tertio per eum qui fuit omnium primus in corporea fortitudine; quarto per eum qui fuit omnium primus et precipuus in sapientia. Secunda pars ibi, *Veritas que non,* etc. Tercia pars ibi, *Numquid non nocens*. Quarta ibi, *Sol hominum*. Intendit ergo in isto capitulo tractare quod unus versificator bene dicit,

> Adam, Sampsonem, sic David, sic Salamonem
> Femina decepit. Quis modo tutus erit? (Walther, *Spr.*, 519).

Circa primum sciendum quod "parento, -tas" duplicem habet significationem, secundum quod prima sillaba potest produci vel corrupi. Si enim producitur prima, sic idem est quod "umbris vel tumulis mortuorum frequenter parere, id est, obsequi, sacrificare, vel ministrare"; et sic accipit Papias (p. Q4ra). Sed non sic accipitur

is taken in another sense, with the first syllable short, meaning, "Do like your father or mother," deriving from *pario*, as Hugutio says in his entry under *pario*. This, again, is the meaning used here, and the sense is: she *parented disobedience*, that is, handed it down to all whose parent she was so that they would do like her. Thus he says, "*The first wife of the first husband*, etc. *ended*, that is, broke, *the fast* and so she, Eve, *parented* or handed down *disobedience*, etc. And this disobedience, or the penalty for it, *will not cease*, that is, while the world lasts will never fail *to overcome women*, because this penalty will last: 'In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children and thou shalt be under thy husband's power.'" The second is universally true for all women, but not the first. "And they, women, *will always be indefatigable*, that is, tireless *in dragging out to its full consequences*, that is, making a habit out of, *what they first drew from their mother*, Eve—namely, egging (their husbands) on to sin." He concludes, "*Friend, a disobedient wife is a rebuke*, that is, a cause of rebuke, as if to say: a disobedient wife, or one that eggs her husband on to sin, is a rebuke to him, that is, a cause of rebuke; but all wives are so, as if none could put off what she has inherited from her primal mother; therefore, *look out*!"

Secondly, at *Truth, which may not be deceived*, he gives his second example, of the king who was preeminent in grace, namely David: 2 Kings. The story is clear. Thirdly, at *Will a woman be harmless*, he gives his third example, of Samson. This is divided into two parts: first he touches briefly on the story of Samson, the strongest man; then he mingles the two stories by returning in the same clause to the story of David in order to conclude. The stories are well known. He means, then, that Dalila, Samson's wife, did him harm by her eloquence, and intended to. Bathsheba, Uriah's wife, did harm to David, who fell in love with her and killed her husband in order to have her; she did him harm by her *beauty*, though *she was not trying*; and so the

follows U. 535 **-is** *om.* AM. 536 **in ista significatione** sic ME. 538-40 **Dicit . . . pena** *om.* Ch. 538-44 **Dicit. . .Que** *om.* L. 538 **ieiuniam*** *om.* αβ. 539 **traduxit** introduxit κ. 540 **pena** *add* inflicta DgMκ. 541-44 **expugnare . . .femine** *om.* Ch. 542 **paries** *add* filios DgM. 543-44 **Quantum . . . primum** *om.* Ch*κL*. 546-57 **scilicet². . .patent** *om.* Ch. 547-48 **causa . . . diceret** *om.* MCh*β. 548 **vel** et Mβ. 548-49 **viri . . . contumelie** est causa contumelie viri Mκ; est contumelia viri L. 549 **quasi** quia vix JM; quia DgL; *om.* Ch*. 550 **traxit** traxerunt Mκ. 551-52 **Secundo . . . Regum** L *follows* U. 552 **scilicet** *om.* JM. **David** *add* sicut patet JDgMκ. 556 **in eadem clausula** ad eandem clausulam EL. 557-66 **Vult. . .non** Ponit hic duo exempla quod mulier semper nocet, sive nolens sicut Bersabee que sola pulcritudine nocuit, sive volens sicut dalida que fraudilencia deficit Ch. 557 **Dalila** dalida AJDgMChL. 559 **qui** sed nolens quia κ; nolens quia L. **captus** raptus DL. 560-66 **nocuit. . .non** L *follows* U. 564 **id est pulcritudo**

hic. Alio modo accipitur hic secundum quod prima est brevis, et est idem quod "patrem vel matrem imitari," et sic descendit de pario, paris, sicut patet ex Hugutione, capitulo de pario, -is (P.22.5-8); et in ista significatione sumitur hic. Et est sensus: *parentavit*, id est, traduxit *inobedientiam* in omnes quorum fuit parens ut eam imitarentur. Dicit ergo, "*Prima primi,* etc. *solvit*, id est, fregit, [*ieiuniam*] et ideo *parentavit*, scilicet Eva, id est traduxit *inobedientiam*, etc., que inobedientia, id est pena inobedientie, *non absistet*, id est, non desistet dum mundus durat *expugnare feminas* quia semper durabit illa pena: 'In dolore paries, et sub viri potestate eris'" (Gen. 3.16). Quantum ad secundum est universaliter verum, licet non quantum ad primum. "*Que*, scilicet femine, *semper erunt indefesse*, id est, non lasse ut trahant *in consequentiam*, id est, consuetudinem *quod a matre sua*, scilicet Eva, *traxerunt*, scilicet incitare ad malum." Et tunc concludit ibi, "*Amice contumelia*, etc., id est, causa contumelie, quasi diceret quelibet uxor inobediens vel ad malum incitans viri est contumelia, id est causa contumelie; sed quelibet est talis, quasi nulla possit dimittere quod a prima matre traxit; ideo *cave tibi*."

Secundo, ibi, *Veritas que non potest*, ponit secundum exemplum, de rege qui fuit precipuus in gratia, scilicet David: 2 Regum. Et est historia plana. Tercio ibi, *Numquid non nocens*, ponit tercium exemplum de Sampsone. Et dividitur in duas partes, quia primo tangit breviter historiam illius qui fuit fortissimus, secundo intermiscet redeundo in eadem clausula ad historiam David ut concludat. Historie patent. Vult ergo dicere quod Dalila, uxor Sampsonis, fuit nocens per eloquentiam et volens [f. 66v]. Bersabee, uxor Urie, nocuit ipsi David, qui eius amore captus pro ea virum interfecit; nocuit igitur per *formam*, id est pulcritudinem, etiam *nolens*; et hoc

sentence *Will a woman be harmless* really means, yes, any woman will be very harmful *who strives*, that is, tries to win intentionally *with sweet talk, like Samson's* wife *Dalila*, or who strives *with her beauty*, that is, whose beauty tries to win, even if she *was not trying, like Bathsheba*—as if to say, obviously it's true. It's obvious that she does harm whether she wants to or not.

Fourthly, at *Solomon, the sun of men*, he gives his fourth example, of Solomon the wisest man. This has three parts: first he alludes to the historical story in Sacred Scripture, mixing in a fable; then, as if taking the chance this offers him, he brings in genuine history by itself, with no mixing of fable (*Lucretia and Penelope carried the banners*); and thirdly (at *Nisus's Scylla and Cinaras's Myrrha have advanced*), he gives a fable with a similar point (to the story of Solomon). The first part has itself two parts; first he gives the story, then he draws a conclusion from it at *Friend, if you are not wiser*. About the first you should know that he alludes to a fable of Ovid's, for which you should know that Phoebus and Apollo are one and the same, a Titan who is feigned to be the sun. This is the fable. Apollo was Jove's son, and he had a son named Paean, or Phaethon as Ovid calls him, and surnamed Aesculapius. One day he was out for a walk and saw a basilisk and a shepherd struggling with each other; he was amazed, since a basilisk can kill a man just by looking at him. Eventually he noticed that the shepherd was holding a garland of flowers, and right away he guessed that there was a herb in the garland that had the power to keep him from being overcome by the basilisk. Phaethon snatched away the garland and immediately the shepherd died. Then he put each herb one by one to the shepherd's mouth, and at the touch of one of them he came back to life. Later Phaethon called back Hippolytus and others from death with that herb. Jupiter, envious—or, as another fable tells it, angry—that Phaethon wanted to revive yet more people, told his smiths, the Cyclopes, to make a lightning bolt and strike him with it, and they did. Apollo killed the Cyclopes in

contendit idest DgMκ. 565 **nocet** *add* femina JM. 567 **Quarto ibi** *om.* Chβ. 569 **in scriptura sacra** *om.* Dg⋆ChL. 572-73 **Prima . . . sapientior** *om.* β. 573-92 **Circa. . .rex** *om.* M. 576-601 **Hec. . .diaboli** L *follows* U. 576 **nomine** *add* proprio Dgκ. 578 **dimicare** dimicantem Chκ. 583 **unius** eiusdam Dg; cuiusdam Chκ. 585 **narrat** dicit Dgκ; *om.* Ch⋆. **plures** *add* a morte DgE.

est quod dicit *Numquid non nocens*, id est, valde nocens erit mulier quecumque *que contendit*, id est nititur vincere, *eloquentia, ut Dalida* uxor *Sampsonis*, et hoc volens, vel que contendit *forma*, id est, cuius forma id est pulcritudo nititur vincere etiam si ipsa sit *nolens, ut Bersabee*—quasi diceret, constat quod sic. Patet ergo quod nocet sive nocere intendat, sive non.

Quarto ibi, *Sol hominum*, ponit quartum exemplum de Salomone qui fuit sapientissimus, et dividitur in 3 partes, quia primo tangit historiam in scriptura sacra, admiscens fabulam; secundo quasi huius occasione tangit historiam solempnem per se, non admiscens fabulam, ibi, *Vexilla*; tercio ibi, *Ingresse sunt*, ad idem similem ponit fabulam. Prima pars dividitur in 2 partes, quia primo historiam ponit, secundo ex ea concludit, ibi, *Amice, si non es sapientior*. Circa primum sciendum quod tangit hic unam fabulam Ovidii, ubi sciendum quod Phebus et Apollo idem sunt, et Titan qui fingitur esse sol. Hec est fabula. Apollo fuit filius Iovis, qui habuit filium nomine Peonem, vel Phetontem sicut hic dicit, cognomine Esquilapium, qui dum iret spaciatum vidit basiliscum cum pastore dimicare. Et mirans, quia basiliscus solo visu interficit hominem, tandem percepit pastorem habere sertum de floribus et statim estimavit aliquam herbam esse in serto cuius virtute non posset a basilisco superari; qui sertum rapuit et statim pastor occubuit. *Pheton* singulas herbas singillatim in ore pastoris posuit, et ex tactu unius herbe surrexit pastor. Unde Pheton illa herba Ypolitum a morte revocavit et alios. Iupiter, invidens vel, ut alia fabula narrat, iratus quod plures voluit suscitare, dixit fabris suis qui vocantur Ciclopes quod fabricarent fulmen et Phetontem fulminarent, quod et factum est. Et ideo Apollo iratus interfecit Ciclopes, et Iupiter [de hoc] iratus priva-

anger, and Jupiter, angered in turn at that, stripped Apollo of his godhead, and, thus forced into servitude, Apollo *was made King Admetus's shepherd* for avenging the fall of his son Phaethon. Thus the fable. Papias says that this Admetus was a shepherd; others say he was a king. This, then, is what Valerius says: that Solomon, who was first Ecclesiastes, preacher and spokesman of God, and then a poor slave of women, *was thrust down a still greater precipice* than Phoebus, who was first all but on a par with the chief god Jove, and then was made a shepherd. The reason for this is that Phoebus had somebody above him when he fell, that is, Jove who was his superior; not so Solomon. Furthermore Apollo was enslaved to a king, Solomon to not just one woman but many women. Thus he says, *The sun of men*, etc., a sentence whose meaning is plain. *Crassus* is "thick"; *fuscatus*, "blackened"; *Baalim*, the idol; *Zabulus*, the devil.

Friend. Here he concludes, and this part is divided into three parts; first he concludes that Solomon was vanquished by women, without specifying whether by good women or bad women; then he concludes from that that no matter how good a woman is, she will act this way; and thirdly he concludes this *a fortiori* of the general run of women. The second part starts at *the best of women*; the third at *But evil women*. And therefore he says, *Friend, there is a moral*, etc., which is clear. *Fascinari* properly is to be deceived, or bound imperceptibly, or to be enchanted, as Virgil says, "I don't know who is fascinating my tender lambs with his eyes."

The best of women. Here he touches on the nature of the phoenix. The phoenix is one single bird in Arabia, big as an eagle, crested, gold about the neck, and purple toward the back, except for the tail, which is said to have a rosy and bluish shimmer. The nature of the phoenix is that when it has lived five hundred years it is said to cremate itself on its nest, and from its own ashes the phoenix is born again. But since there is only one phoenix in the whole world, to say that a good woman is rarer

589 **deitate** divinitate Chκ. 592 **quod** *om*. ME. 597 **qui maior erat** *om*. DgMCh⋆κ. 598-99 **non . . . multis** non sed femine (mulieri M), et non solum uni femine (*om*. M) sed multis JM; servivit femine sed Salamon non solum servivit uni femine sed etiam multis Dg; mulieri et non uni tantum sed multis Ch; uni non sed feminis multis D; non sed feminis multis E. 601 **diaboli** J *inserts* Tangit valerius historias . . . federe se abstinere, *Ridewall* 253-318. 602-10 **Amice . . . agnos** *om*. Ch. **et dividitur . . . agnos** *om*. L. 602-08 **et dividitur . . . Amice, etc.** quod vinci potuit sicut Solomon κ. 602 **3** 2 CA; *om*. Ch⋆β⋆. 610 **oculis** oculos AE. 611 **Hic . . . fenicis** J *substitutes* Hic valerius . . . fenicem, *Ridewall* 319-21; *om*. M⋆; hic probat conclusionem per locum a maiori et tangit naturam fenicis β. 612 **in Arabia** *om*. DgM⋆Chβ. 613 **colore** fulgore roseo vel colore J; fulgore DgChβ; *om*. M⋆. **postera** postrema β. **purpureo** purpurea β. 616 **iterato** J *inserts* et non generatur . . . Exameron, *Ridewall* 322-24. **unica** una Mβ; *om*. Ch⋆. 616-17 **dicitur** dicit

vit Apollinem deitate, et sic servire coactus *factus est pastor* ovium *Admeti* regis quia casum Phetontis filii sui vindicabat. Hec fabula est. Papias (p. A5ra) dicit quod iste Admetus fuit pastor ovium, alii dicunt quod fuit rex. Hoc est ergo quod dicit: quod Salomon fuit *detrusus maiori precipicio*, qui prius fuit *Ecclesiastes*, concionator et disputator Dei, et postea quasi miser et victus a feminis quam Phebus, qui prius fuit quasi par maximo deo, scilicet Iovi, et postea factus pastor ovium. Et huius causa est quia Phebus habuit maiorem eo quando cecidit, scilicet Iovem qui maior erat. Non sic Salomon. Et similiter Apollo servivit regi, Salomon non solum uni femine sed multis. Dicit ergo *Sol hominum,* etc. Historia est plana. *Crasso*, id est spisso; *fuscatus*, id est denigratus; *Baalim*, id est illo idolo; *Zabuli*, id est diaboli.

Amice. Hic concludit, et dividitur ista pars in [3] partes, quia primo concludit quod Salomon vincebatur a mulieribus, non specificans utrum a bonis vel malis; secundo ex hoc concludit quod quantumcumque bona sit mulier, hec faciet; tercio per locum a multofortiori concludit hoc de communitate omnium mulierum. Secunda pars ibi, *Optima feminarum que rarior* [f. 67], tercia ibi, *Male autem*. Dicit ergo *Amice,* etc., et patet. *Fascinari* est proprie decipi, vel ligari inperceptibiliter, vel incantari, de quo poeta: "Nescio quis teneros oculis mihi fascinet agnos" (Vergil, *Ecl.* 3.103).

Optima. Hic tangit naturam fenicis. Fenix autem est avis unica in Arabia ad modum aquile magna, cristato capite, circa collum colore aureo, postera parte purpureo, preter caudam cuius nitor roseus ac ceruleus dicitur, cuius natura est quod cum 500 annis vixerit seipsam in nido cremare dicitur, et ex cinere suo nascitur fenix iterato. Sed cum non sit nisi unica fenix in mundo, quare di-

than the phoenix is a hyperbole, as is said of the sons of Benjamin that "they built an altar immensely great," that is of an exceedingly great size; thus here "rarer than the phoenix," that is, exceedingly rare. And note the three things that dog married men: *fear* of losing (eternal) life, *worry* about keeping one's wife in peace, and *one mishap after another* from loss of temporal goods. There is a pun here, and the same pun in the next sentence (*But evil women)*. *Swarms* are, properly, groups of bees, who live together in very great numbers. Everything else is self-evident. And so he says, *Friend, there is an ethical*, that is, a moral *adage, "Be careful to whom you give*," at the beginning of Cato, from which he infers a more necessary adage, as is plain in the text.

Next at *The banners of modesty* he brings in examples from illustrious true stories, three right together. Here you should know that Sabina is a city next to Rome, whose women are called Sabines. Remus and Romulus, the founders of Rome, took them by force, and from them came the noble Roman matrons, as Ovid tells in the *Fasti*. *Lucretia*, of whom Augustine speaks again and again in the first book of *The City of God*, was a most chaste matron, the wife of Collatinus, whom Tarquinius, the son of Tarquinius Superbus, king of Rome, raped. She stabbed herself to death in her grief over her lost chastity. *Penelope*, as many books tell, was the wife of Ulysses who waited for her husband in chastity through the ten years of the Trojan War and then for ten more years after that. *Trophies* (*trophea*, the middle syllable long) are, properly speaking, spoils taken from those in flight, from *tropos*, which is "a turn," because then the enemy is turned to flight. A triumph is a victory over an enemy who has been killed; a trophy, a victory over an enemy who has been routed. He says then, that *Lucretia, Penelope, along with the Sabine women, bore*, that is, carried *the banners of chastity* and *carried back the trophies*, that is, singular praises for their chastity, *in a very*

DgM; *om*. Ch★. 618 **de filiis Beniamin** rubenitis et gaditis L. 620 **rara** J *inserts* Patet ergo . . . avis fenix, *Ridewall* 324-31. 622 **de** in DgMChD. 622-23 **et . . . est** L *follows* U. 623 **apum** *add* anglice swarm Mβ; *om*. Ch★. 624 **Amice** A *ends*. 625-26 **in principio . . . necessarium** L *follows* U. 627 **pudicicie** J *inserts* pro rufini informacione, *Ridewall* 332. **veris** variis DL. 628 **inducit** adducit Jκ; hoc M; *om*. Ch★L. 628-38 **Ubi . . . finitum** L *follows* U. 629-31 **quas . . . rapuerunt** J *substitutes* de raptu quarum . . . uxores, *Ridewall* 337-53, *then adds* secundum alios sabinas rapuerunt remus et romulus a quibus roma inicium habuit. 633 **Dei** J *adds* et titus livius, *Ridewall* 355. 634 **Collatini** Circipitrini C; *om*. *phrase* Jκ. **Tarquinius** tarquinus DgMCh; tarquionus E. **Tarquinii** tarquini DgMCh. 635-36 **Unde . . . interfecit** J *substitutes* que statim . . . mencionem, *Ridewall* 357-60. 635 **ipsa** *add* pre DgMChκ. 637-38 **que . . . finitum** J *substitutes* de cuius pudicia . . . De Ponto, *Ridewall* 365-67, *but adds* seu in bello troiano *from Trivet after* in obsidione Troie, *Ridewall* 362. 641 **tropheum** tropheus Mβ; *om*. Ch★. 643 **id est portaverunt** *om*. ChL; idest reportaverunt M. **et** cum Sabinis et C; idest (scilicet β) signaliter diligendo pudiciciam MChβ.

citur quod bona mulier rarior est fenice yperbole est, sicut dicitur de filiis Beniamin, quod "edificaverunt altare infinite magnitudinis" (Josh. 22.10), id est, valde magne magnitudinis; sic hic *rarior fenice*, id est, valde rara. Et nota tria que secuntur uxoratos: *metus* de vita perdenda, *sollicitudo* de uxore in pace custodienda, *frequens infortunium* de re temporali amittenda, et hec est traductio. *Male autem*: hic idem color est. *Examina* sunt proprie societates apum, quia in maxima multitudine simul habitant. Cetera sunt plana. Et ideo dicit, *Amice ethicum*, id est, morale est, *videto cui des*, in principio Catonis, ex quo infert magis necessarium, ut patet in littera.

Deinde ibi, *Vexilla pudicicie*, adducit exempla de historiis veris et solempnibus et inducit tria simul. Ubi sciendum quod Sabina civitas est iuxta Romam, cuius mulieres dicte sunt Sabine, quas tamen Remus et Romulus, a quibus Roma inicium habuit, rapuerunt, ex quibus processerunt nobiles matrone Romane, sicut narrat Ovidius *De fastis* (3.167–258). *Lucretia*, etc., de qua Augustinus loquitur diffuse primo *De civitate Dei*, fuit una castissima matrona, uxor [Collatini] quam vi oppressit Tarquinius filius Tarquinii superbi qui fuit rex Rome. Unde ipsa dolore castitatis amisse seipsam cultello interfecit. *Penolope*, ut habetur ex multis historiis, fuit uxor Ulixis que virum suum Ulixem in bello Troiano morantem per 10 annos expectavit in castitate et per 10 annos post bellum finitum. *Trophea*, media producta, sunt spolia ablata a fugientibus proprie loquendo, a tropos quod est conversio quia tunc hostes convertuntur in fugam. Triumphus est victoria de hoste occiso, tropheum victoria de hoste fugato. Dicit ergo *Lucretia et Penolope cum Sabinis tulerunt*, id est portaverunt *vexilla pudicicie* [et] *retulerunt trophea*, id est, singulares laudes pro castitate *cum paucissimo comitatu*, quia pau-

tiny troop, for there are very few such as they—indeed, as he says, there is *no one*; and the literal sense is clear.

Scylla and Myrrha have advanced. He brings in stories to the same point, touching on two. You should know that Minos was a king of Crete who sent his son Androgeos to Athens to school—where he so outshone all his classmates that in their envy they killed him with their pens. Minos, outraged, gathered an army and laid siege to Athens. But Nisus, the king of Athens, had a golden lock of hair that made him invincible as long as he kept it. He also had a daughter named Scylla who fell in love with Minos and cut off her father's golden lock, and he was conquered right away. But Minos later rejected her love, and then she was turned into a lark and her father into a sparrow-hawk. This is a true story except that Nisus's golden lock is made up: in fact what he had was a lot of gold, which Scylla took and gave to Minos; without it, he was conquered. The change of Scylla to a lark and her father to a sparrow-hawk simply means that she became poor and miserable, and he became a robber and tormented her. So a versifier says, "The daughter of Nisus is not safe except with the sparrow-hawk." Note that *alietus, smerillus, nisus*, and *spervarius* (French *esperver*) are all words for the same bird. Papias speaks of another Scylla who is irrelevant here.

Myrrha, also mentioned here, was the daughter of Cynaras. With the help of a nurse she went to bed with her father, who realized it and wanted to kill her, but she escaped and was changed into the tree that bears her name—a fiction derived from the fact that she hid in a woods full of myrrh-trees. He says, then, *Scylla and Myrrha have advanced*, etc. Construe the sentence in this way: *Nisus's Scylla*, that is, Scylla the daughter of Nisus, *and Myrrha*, the daughter of *Cynaras, have advanced* like a *battle-line on the Sabines*, that is, against the Sabines, who are few. *And great multitudes have pursued them* (Scylla and Myrrha), etc. He alludes immediately to the history of the rape of

645 **nulla** nulle β. **et** ut DgL; *om*. M⋆. 646 **Ponit . . . duas** J *substitutes* Valerius . . . regis, *Ridewall* 368-69. **et tangit** *om*. Chβ. 650 **peremerunt** *add* et de quadam turri precipitaverunt et idem (istud κ) tangit (om. E) Ovidius de bursariis (bursarus Ch, lourfariis D). **Minos** *add* rex CDChβ. 653 **Scillam** Scilla C. 654 **diripuit** disrupit et sibi dedit Dg; rapiens Minoi dedit M; dirupit E. **statim** *add* pater DgM; *add* pater eius Nisus L. **devictus** victus DgMCh. 656 **fingitur** fingit ChD. **Nisus** Nisum regem D; Nisum Mκ; virum Ch. 657 **copiam** habundantiam DgMChβ. **Scilla** *add* filia eius DgL; filia E. 659 **nichil aliud** non MCh. 660 **pauper** paupercula JM. 661 **cum** sine JCh. 662-63 **Et . . . sunt** *om*. ChEL; Nisus idem est quod esperverius D. 662 **smirilius nisus et** et smirilius nisus C; et furmellius et smirilius nisus J; nisus et Dg; furmillus nisus et M. 662-63 **Gallice esperver** anglice sparhauk Dg. 663-64 **Tangit . . . propositum** *om*. ChL. 664 **propositum** J *inserts* vult . . . flagiciose, *Ridewall* 370-72. 665-67 **Mirra . . . fugit** J *substitutes* De Mirra . . . evasit, *Ridewall* 383-88. 665 **Cinare** *add* que MCh. 666 **eo** ea CDg; patre ML; eo, *changed to* ea Ch. **auxilio cuiusdam nutricis** similando se meretricem MChβ. 668 **mirre abundabant** mirra habundabat Dg; copia huius habundabat M. 669 **latitabat** J *inserts* Dicit ergo quod acies . . . ducende, *Ridewall* 358-63. **Sic construatur . . . id est** *om*. Dg⋆MChβ. 672 **Et**

cissime tales sunt—immo, ut dicit, *nulla*, et patet in littera.

Ingresse sunt. Ponit ad idem fabulas et tangit duas, ubi sciendum quod Minos fuit rex Cretensis qui filium suum Androchium misit Athenas ut ibi addisceret. Androchius autem ibidem existens, omnes socios suos in scientia superavit; unde ipsi ducti invidia ipsum stilis peremerunt. Unde Minos, iratus, collecto exercitu Athenienses persecutus est. Sed Nisus, Rex Athenarum, crinem habuit aureum unde non potuit vinci quamdiu illum haberet. Habuit etiam filiam nomine [Scillam] que Minoem amavit, et crinem patris aureum diripuit, et statim devictus est. Minos vero postea amorem suum sprevit, et tunc ipsa mutata est in alaudam et pater in nisum. Istud historicum est [f. 67v], excepto quod fingitur Nisus habuisse crinem aureum; ideo hoc dicitur, quia habuit copiam auri, quam Scilla rapuit et dedit Minoi; quo subtracto, devictus est. Quod autem Scilla mutata est in alaudam et pater in nisum, nichil aliud est nisi quod ipsa facta est pauper et misera, et ipse predo ei inferens persecutionem. Unde versificator ait, "Non est tuta nisi cum niso filia Nisi." Et nota quod alietus, smirilius, nisus, [et] esperverius (Gallice esperver) idem sunt. Tangit autem Papias (p. U2rb) de alia Scilla, de qua nichil ad propositum.

Mirra autem, de qua hic loquitur, fuit filia Cinare. Concubuit autem cum [eo] auxilio cuiusdam nutricis quod ut pater percepit, voluit eam interficere, et ipsa fugit, et mutata est in arborem sui nominis; quod ideo fingitur, quia in silvis ubi mirre abundabant latitabat. Dicit ergo, *Ingresse* etc. Sic construatur: *Scilla Nisi*, id est Scilla filia Nisi, *et Mirra* filia *Cinare, ingresse sunt* velut *acies in Sabinas*, id est, contra Sabinas, que pauce sunt. *Et eas*, scilicet Scillam et Mirram, *secute sunt turbe multe*, etc. Et statim alludit historie qua

the Sabine women by the Romans, because the Romans let some of the Sabines' husbands live, and brought on them *moans and sighs*, and some they killed, and they are said to have made *hell* for them. So too bad women, who are beyond counting: some bring their husbands to death, some to many sorrows. And so he concludes, *lest you become a prey*, etc., for whoever was in the way of the Romans when they raped the Sabines found them merciless. He says the same here of all women, universally, calling them (though the word is masculine) *merciless plunderers*—and in fact an angry woman does lack mercy: as the proverb goes, "Nothing is worse than to be at the mercy of a woman or a slave."

Jupiter, an earthly king. This is Chapter Three, in which he turns to examples to show that even the gods (according to the myths) were made fools of by women. And this part has two parts: first and chiefly, he insinuates that idea; secondly and incidentally, at *Pallas was rejected*, he excuses himself for his crude manner of speaking, that is, in this chapter. The first of these parts has three parts: first he shows how the greatest god of all was made a fool of by a woman, then the wisest god of all (at *Phoebus*), then the strongest god of all (at *Mars*).

His first example, then, is about the god reputed most glorious. If you are going to understand this section, you must know that, as we learn from *The Itinerary of Clement*, from *The City of God* very fully, and from *Etymologies* 8.25 (8.11.4), "There were certain heroes and founders of cities of whom, after their deaths, men who loved them made likenesses, hoping to find solace in looking at them; but bit by bit, and egged on by demons, there crept into succeeding generations the error of

statim hic MCh. 672-73 **alludit . . . viros** racioni (racionem L) historice (historie L) alludit iam tacte (tacite L) et hoc est quod (quia EL) vires β. 676 **numerum** matrimonium MCh. **alique**[1] aliquos DgMChκ. **alique**[2] aliquos DgMChL; aliquas D. 677 **concludit** *add* dicens (*om.* Ch) amice DgMCh. 678 **iacebant** latebant MCh; iacebat DL. 679 **inveniebant** invenerunt DgMCh. **idem** ideo ChDL. **hic** *add* Valerius β. 680 **universaliter** *om.* β. 680-81 **licet . . . loquatur** *om.* DgMCh. 682 **in proverbio communi** commune proverbium est (*om.* Ch) DgMChβ. 685 **sunt** dicuntur MCh. 686 **partes** *om.* DMCh⋆κ. **quia** *om.* DL; nam E. 687 **principaliter hoc insinuat** propositum (*add* suum E) manifestat β. **incidenter** incidentaliter DgE; *om.* M Ch⋆. 688-89 **etc . . . quia** *om.* Chβ. 689 **3** *add* partes JM. **ostendit** *add* tripliciter β. **quomodo** per hoc quod D; primo per hoc quod E; nam primo ostendit quod L. 693-94 **Ponit . . . dicuntur** Quantum ad (Circa L) primum sciendum β. 696 **diffuse** *om.* β. 701 **sola** solo CDg. 702 **colerent** L *adds a*

Romani Sabinas rapuerunt, quia viros aliquos Sabinarum illarum vivere permiserunt, et illis intulerunt *gemitus et suspiria*, et quosdam occiderunt, et illis dicuntur fecisse *infernum*. Ita mulieres male, que numerum excedunt, alique viros ducunt ad mortem, alique ad multos dolores. Et ideo concludit, *ne preda fias*, etc., quia quicumque iacebant in via Romanorum quando rapuerunt Sabinas quasi inmisericordes eos inveniebant. Et idem dicit hic de omnibus mulieribus universaliter, vocans eas (licet in genere masculino loquatur) *inmisericordes predones*, quia secundum veritatem mulier irata misericordia caret. Unde in proverbio communi, "Nichil peius quam indigere misericordia mulieris vel servi."

Iupiter rex. Hoc est tercium capitulum, in quo prosequi incipit exempla per que ostendit quod etiam dii (secundum fabulas) sunt per mulieres infatuati. Et dividitur ista pars in duas partes, quia primo principaliter hoc insinuat; secundo incidenter, de rudi modo loquendi se excusat, ibi, *a falso*, etc., scilicet isto capitulo. Prima dividitur in 3, quia primo ostendit quomodo deus omnium maximus sit a muliere infatuatus; secundo quomodo deus omnium sapientissimus, ibi, *Phebus*; tercio quomodo deus omnium fortissimus, ibi, *Mars*.

Ponit itaque primum exemplum de deo qui reputatur gloriosissimus. Hic igitur sciendum ad intellectum eorum que hic dicuntur quod, sicut docetur in *Itinerario Clementis* (*PG* 1.1434–35), *De civitate Dei* diffuse (7), et *Ethimologiarum*, libro 8, capitulo 25, "Fuerunt quidam viri fortes aut urbium conditores, quibus mortuis homines qui eos dilexerunt simulacra finxerunt, ut haberent aliquod ex ymaginum contemplacione solacium; sed paulatim hic error suadentibus demoniis ita in posteros irrepsit, ut quos priores pro

taking as gods men their ancestors had honored purely to keep the memory of their names, and worshipping them."

But I am passing briefly over the origin of the gods and myths, for I intend to treat that subject at length elsewhere—and Fulgentius has done it anyway. As for the matter before us, you should know that Jupiter was a king of Crete who had such energy that the people called him a god, Europa was the daughter of King Agenor of Tyre, and Jupiter changed himself into the form of a bull to seduce her, and on her he sired his successor Minos. In fact he seduced her on a ship whose emblem was a bull. But it certainly seems strange to me that Valerius says he was a man *of incomparable elegance of mind*, since history presents him as a wicked man, and the myths report the same thing in their veiled way. Thus Isidore: "He is called Jupiter as it were *iuvans pater* (beneficial father), that is, above everyone and everything, and he also had the epithet 'best'—when in fact he was unchaste with his relations and promiscuous with strangers as well. In one story he is a bull, raping Europa; in another he is trying to bed down Danae by means of a golden shower (which merely signifies that he corrupted her with gold); in another he is an eagle, debauching the boy Ganymede; and other things he does aren't figurative at all, but just plain sins. To believe that such beings, who scarcely deserve to be called men, were gods was disgraceful." You should realize, then, that Valerius doesn't mean to assert that Jupiter is a god, since he himself in the ninth of his books dedicated to Tiberius Caesar, Chapter One, writes thus of lust: "What is filthier, what more destructive, than those vices by which virtue is worn away, victories fall off, glory sleeps and is turned to infamy, strength of mind and body is overcome—to the point that you don't know if it is worse to be captive to an enemy or to them." Thus one must say that he brings

long passage on the pagan gods from U. 703-5 **Sed. . .spectat** *om.* Ch; Sed . . . fecit *om.* ML; transeo originem deorum quantum ad presens κ. 706 **a . . . est** appellatus est MCh. 708 **Minoem** minonem ChE. 709-30 **Sed . . . Iupiter etc.** *om.* Ch. 709 **certe** *om.* β. 710 **mihi** *om.* β. **virum** *om.* Mβ. 711 **incomparabili*** mirabili CJMβ; *om.* Dg. 712 **referunt** dicunt DgM. **tegumento** integumento JDgMD. 715 **incestus** incestuosus JDgMκ; *om.* Ch*. 720 **plane** plana DgκL. 721 **debeant** *add* Nota quod hic videtur expositor velle quod ille Valerius qui scripsit hanc epistolam fuit Valerius Maximus, quod non videtur verum, sicut in principio tractatus deducit JM. 721-28 **Unde . . . habendum** *om.* L. 723 **Cesarem** imperatorem DgMκ. **ita** sic DgMκ. 724 **ergo** est J; inquit Dg; est inquid M; igitur E. **fedius** fetidius ME. 727 **an¹** *om.* DgMκ. **an² ab illis** aut

[sola] nominis memoria honoraverunt, successores deos estimarent et colerent" (*Etym.* 8.11.4).

Sed transeo breviter originem deorum et fabularum, intendens alias diffusius tractare quod tamen Fulgentius fecit. Sed quantum ad presens spectat, sciendum quod Iupiter fuit rex Crete qui propter strenuitatem suam a populo dictus est deus; Europa fuit filia Agenoris regis Tiri; et Iupiter mutavit se in speciem tauri ut eam deciperet, de qua genuit Minoem heredem suum. Quod ideo fingitur, quia eam decepit in navi cuius insigne erat taurus. Sed certe mirabile videtur mihi quod Valerius dicit eum fuisse virum *elegantia* [*incomparabili*] *mentis*, cum historie tradant eum fuisse virum scelerosum, immo fabule hoc idem referunt sub tegumento. Unde Ysidorus (8.11.34-36): "Vocatur enim Iupiter quasi iuvans pater, hoc est, omnibus prestans, quem etiam optimum vocaverunt, dum fuisset incestus in suis, inpudicus in extraneis. Quem modo taurum fingunt, propter Europe raptum; [...] modo Danes per imbrem [f. 68] aureum appetisse concubitum (ubi intelligitur pudiciciam mulieris ab auro fuisse corruptam); modo aquilam, quia Ganimedem puerum ad stuprum rapuit; et multa alia que figure non sunt, sed plane de veritate scelera. Unde turpe erat tales deos credi, quales homines dici non debeant." Unde sciendum quod Valerius hoc non dicit volens asserere quod ita sit, quia ipsemet libro nono ad Tiberium Cesarem, capitulo 1 (*Facta et Dicta Mem.*, 9.1. Ext. 1) ita scribit loquens de luxuria: "Quid ergo hiis viciis fedius, quid etiam dampnosius, quibus virtus atteritur, victorie relanguescunt, sopita gloria in infamiam convertitur, animique et corporis vires expugnantur—adeo ut nescias an ab hostibus an ab illis capi perniciosius sit habendum." Ideo dicendum quod hoc dicit propter eos qui

up the story for the sake of those who believed such things, and that Rufinus knew that the core of meaning underneath the myths was true. So he says, *Jupiter*, etc.

Then at *Phoebus* he gives the second example, about the god reputed wisest. Here you must know that Apollo was actually a man, a wise seer and a physician, and because he was as it were uniquely wise, they pretended he was the sun—shining alone, as it were—and for the same reason they named him Phoebus, which means a young man; for the sun is painted as if it were a boy who rises daily. Leucothea was the daughter of King Orcanus. In order to deceive her, Phoebus made himself look like her mother, who gave her consent for him to sleep with the girl—the point of the fiction being that Phoebus promised he would be as good as a mother to her. Afterwards Leucothea's father buried her alive—perhaps actually he shut her inside to watch her better. Phoebus was punished by means of an eclipse of his light—that is, the fame of his wisdom was much darkened among men, just as the light of the sun sometimes seems to our sight to fade. Alexander in his *Letter to Aristotle*, speaking of the priest of the trees of the sun and moon, says, "The priest said, as we later saw clearly for ourselves, that in an eclipse of the sun and moon the holy trees are moved to copious tears, for they fear for the condition of their divinities." This suggests that their light actually did fail, which I don't believe, unless it happened through a miracle, as at the death of Christ and the like. "Take heed, therefore, that the light, etc," Luke 11—the literal meaning; and similarly, Matthew 6, "If then the light that is in thee be darkness: the darkness itself how great shall it be!" So he says, *Phoebus*, etc.

Thirdly, at *Mars* he gives his third example, about the god reputed bravest. Here you must know the meanings of several words. Papias defines *satyrs* as "a race of apes

amabiliter κ. 730 **Iupiter, etc.** J *inserts* Valerius . . . binomia, *Ridewall* 397-409. 731 **Secundo** *om.* JDgMChDL. 733 **unus** *om.* ChL. **quasi** *om.* MCh. 735 **quod**[1] *om.* ChL. 737 **autem** J *inserts* captus amore istius puelle, *Ridewall* 415. 739 **promisit** *add* sibi Dgβ. **beneficus** benefica Dgκ. 740 **Leuchotoen** *om.* Ch; puellam β. **propter hoc** *om.* ML. 741 **quia . . . inclusit** quod forte dicitur quia eam propter meliorem custodiam inclusit Dg; *add* hoc eam ad *after* propter M; *add* eam *after* forte Ch. 743-53 **apud . . . erunt** *om.* Ch. 744-53 **Alexander . . . erunt** *om.* L. 751-53 **littera . . . erunt** *om.* D. **11 . . . erunt** *om.* E. 752 **habetur similiter** *om.* DgM. 753 **erunt** J *inserts* de morte . . . deus, *Ridewall* 418-24. 755 **Tercio ibi** *om.* DgMChDL. 756 **ubi** unde Ch*E.

talibus crediderunt, et Ruffinus scivit quod res significata sub hiis fabulis vera fuit. Dicit ergo *Iupiter*, etc.

Secundo ibi *Phebus* ponit secundum exemplum, de deo qui reputabatur sapientissimus; ubi sciendum quod Apollo fuit ad litteram unus homo, sapiens divinator et medicus; quia igitur quasi singularis erat sapientia, fingebatur esse sol—quasi lucens solus—et ex eodem vocatus est Phebus, quod idem est quod adolescens; sic enim pingitur sol quasi puer qui cotidie oritur. Leuchotoes fuit filia regis Orchani. Phebus autem ut eam deciperet mutavit se in speciem matris puelle, cuius consensu concubuit cum puella, quod ideo fingitur quia promisit Phebus quod foret puelle beneficus sicut mater. Quam Leuchotoen pater suus postea propter hoc fodit in terra vivam, quia forte propter meliorem custodiam inclusit. Ipse etiam Phebus punitus est per eclipsim sui luminis, quia fama sapientie sue multum denigrata fuit apud homines, sicut etiam sol aliquando patitur defectum luminis quo ad visum nostrum. Alexander in *Epistola Aristoteli directa* (ed. Boer, 1973, p. 44, 5–7), de sacerdote arborum solis et lune loquens, sic dicit, "Antistes referebat, sicut postea evidenter agnovimus, quod in eclipsi solis et lune, uberrimis lacrimis sacre arbores commoventur, de numinum suorum statu timentes." Ubi videtur quod fuerit verus defectus in ipsis quod michi credibile non est, nisi per miraculum, sicut in morte Christi et similibus. "Vide igitur ne lumen, etc," littera est Luce 11 (.35), et etiam Matteus 6 (.23) habetur similiter: "Si ergo lumen quod in te est tenebre sunt, ipse tenebre quante erunt?" Dicit ergo *Phebus*, et cetera.

Tercio, ibi, *Mars*, ponit tercium exemplum de deo qui reputabatur fortissimus; ubi sciendum de significationibus vocabulorum,

with nice-looking faces, constantly making mimic gestures." And as Hugutio says in his chapter on the adverb *satis*, they are so called from satiety, for they are lustful and lecherous; whence satyriasis, "a constant desire for sex"—and it is used in that sense here. There are other satyrs of whom Isidore speaks in book 11, chapter 4: "satyrs are little men with hooked noses, with horns on their foreheads and feet like goats' feet. Saint Anthony saw one in his solitude, and when God's servant questioned him he is supposed to have answered, 'I am a mortal, one of the desert-dwellers, whom the pagans, deluded by manifold errors, call fauns and satyrs.'" *Loripes*, according to Papias, means "having feet twisted like a thong."

Then you should know that Mars was a warlike king of Thrace and the son of Jove, and so is feigned to be the god of war—as it were male, for among the Romans the male is the fighter, and braver in battle; and yet among the Amazons women fight, and among the Scythians both. Or, better, he is called Mars from death (*mors*), which he causes. The story is that though Mars was good he was captured by Vulcan because he lay with Vulcan's wife Venus. Vulcan made an invisible net and put it in his wife Venus's bed and pretended to leave the house; Venus immediately sent for Mars and when they went to bed together they were captured by the invisible net. Vulcan brought all the gods home to laugh at Mars, and the satyrs took Vulcan's side and cheered because he had done what he wanted to do. And Vulcan cut off Mars's testicles. Vulcan is supposed to have been brought up by apes, and to have been lame and dirty and therefore called a smith, and therefore also turned away from the banquet of the gods. He tried to seduce Pallas; she threw a cloud between them, and in the cloud, from the seed of Vulcan, was born Erichthonius, who was part

757-58 **gratum** grata MCh; ad modum grata κ. 758 **gesticulatis** testiculatis C; gestulantibus Ch; gesticulantibus κ. **inquietum** inquieta MChκ. 759 **adverbio** adverbium Mκ; *om.* L; *add* satiri DgL. 760 **unde satiriacis** saturati JMCh; saturitatis D; saturatus E. **iuge** iugi JMCh; iunge D. **desiderium** desiderio JMCh. 761 **Alii** filii MCh. 764 **qualem** quales JMChβ. **qui etiam** qui JCh; quorum unus Mκ; quorum L. 765 **servo** *add* quis esset DgM. **sum** *add* unus DgMβ. 780 **autem . . . Vulcanus** *om.* MCh. **Marti** martis DgD. 782-804 **Ipse . . . ibi** *om.* Ch. 782-83 **interpellavit Palladem** *om.* CD (*space left*); genivit, *then space* M; *om.* Ch★EL★. 787 **libro** *om.* DgM.

quod sicut dicit Papias (p. U1ra), *Satiri* "genus simiarum facie gratum, [gesticulatis] motibus inquietum." Et ut dicit Hugutio, capitulo de satis adverbio (S.53.16-17), "dicuntur a saturitate, quia lascivi et luxuriosi sunt, unde satiriacis, iuge desiderium Veneris"; et in ista significatione sumitur hic. Alii sunt satiri de quibus Ysidorus, libro 11, capitulo 4 (11.3.21), "satiri homunciones sunt aduncis naribus, cornua in frontibus habentes et pedes caprarum pedibus similes, qualem in solitudine Sanctus Antonius vidit, qui etiam interrogatus a Dei servo respondisse fertur: 'Mortalis ego sum, ex accolis heremi, quos vario delusa errore gentilitas faunos satirosque vocat.'" [f. 68v] *Loripes* dicitur secundum Papiam (p. M5va) "tortos habens pedes ad similitudinem lori."

Sciendum igitur quod Mars fuit rex Tracie bellicosus, filius Iovis, unde fingitur esse deus belli—quasi mas, per mares enim apud Romanos pugnatur, et est fortior pugna; apud Amazones, per feminas; apud Scitas, per utrosque. Vel melius Mars a morte quam efficit nuncupatur. Iste Mars ut fingitur licet esset probus, captus est a Vulcano quia cum uxore Vulcani Venere concubuit. Nam Vulcanus fecit laqueos invisibiles et posuit in lecto Veneris uxoris sue et finxit se abire a domo; et Venus statim misit pro Marte, et cum essent pariter in lecto, capti sunt illis laqueis invisibilibus. Et Vulcanus duxit omnes deos ad hospicium suum in derisionem Martis, applaudentibus satiris quasi amicis quia Vulcanus quod voluit effecerat. Vulcanus autem abscidit Marti testiculos. Fingitur etiam quod Vulcanus nutritus fuit a simiis, et quod ipse fuit claudus et turpis et ideo faber dictus est, et ideo repudiatus a convivio deorum. Ipse etiam [interpellavit Palladem] de stupro, et ipsa nubem interiecit, et in illa nube ex semine Vulcani natus est Erictonius qui in parte fuit draco et in

dragon and part man (because he was lame); thus (in part) Isidore. In order to hide his clubfoot he invented the two-horse chariot. What Isidore says in the *Etymologies*, Book 18, chapter 8, is this: "Erichthonius, who was king of Athens, is said to have invented the four-horse chariot—according to Virgil, who says 'Erichthonius first dared to join chariot and four horses, and rode to victory on its swift wheels.' He was the son of Minerva and Vulcan, conceived, as the fable goes, of seed that fell to the ground, a demoniac monster, indeed a devil, who first dedicated the chariot to Juno. Such was the inventor of the four-horse chariot." Thus Isidore; and in Book 8, in the chapter on the pagan gods, he says further of Vulcan: "They call fire Vulcan, and the name Vulcan is as it were 'flying singer,' or as it were 'birdlike,' since it flies through the air. For fire is born of clouds. Thus also Homer says that Vulcan was thrown from air to earth, since lightning falls from the air. And Vulcan is feigned to have been born from Juno's thigh, because lighting bolts come from the inner depths of the air. And Vulcan is said to be lame because by its nature fire never goes straight but has the look and motion of a lame man. And so they say that Vulcan is at work in the forges of smiths, since without fire no metal can be melted and hammered out." Thus Isidore.

Then Valerius alludes to a phrase in Leviticus 11, which says, "Whatsoever hath the hoof divided and cheweth the cud, among the beasts, you shall eat." And why such animals are not prohibited, the Universal Doctor Thomas teaches us beautifully in the First Part of the Second Part, Question 102, Article 551 overall; but it is more pertinent here to say that, as Augustine teaches in his book *Against Faustus*, "the dividing of the hoof represents discrimination of good from evil; chewing the cud,

796 **cantor** candor DgL; ante E. 798 **ad** in β. 805 **quod dicitur** *om.* ML. 806 **ubi sic dicitur** *om.* DgChβ. 807 **pecoribus** *add* non DgE. **non*** *om.* αβ. 815-16 **comparatus est** *om.* JDgMD*E.

parte homo, quia claudus fuit; hec Ysidorus (18.34) pro parte. Ut autem Erictonius podagram suam celaret, adinvenit primo bigam. De Erictonio, *Ethimologiarum* libro 18, capitulo 8 (18.34), Ysidorus dicit sic: "Erictonius autem, qui regnavit Athenis, primus 4 equos iunxisse fertur; sicut Vergilius est autor dicens: 'Primus Erictonius currus et quattuor ausus/Iungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor' (*Georg.* 3.113–14). Fuit autem Minerve et Vulcani filius, de caduca in terram libidine, ut fabule ferunt, procreatus, portentum demoniacum, immo diabolus, qui primo Iunoni currum dedicavit. Tali auctore quadrige producte sunt." Hec ibi. Libro quoque 8, capitulo de diis gentium (8.11.39), dicit de Vulcano sic: "Vulcanum vocant ignem; et dictus Vulcanus quasi volans cantor, vel quasi volicanus, quod per aerem volet. Ignis enim de nubibus nascitur. Unde etiam Omerus dicit eum precipitatum de aere ad terras, quia omne fulmen de aere cadit. Idcirco autem Vulcanus de femore Iunonis fingitur natus, quod fulmina de imo aere nascuntur. Claudus autem dicitur Vulcanus, quia per naturam numquam rectus est ignis, sed quasi claudus eiusmodi speciem motumque habet. Ideo autem in fabrorum fornace Vulcanum auctorem dicunt, quia sine igne nullum metalli genus fundi extendique potest." Hec ibi.

Alludit etiam Valerius hic cuidam dicto quod dicitur Levitico 11 (.3), ubi sic dicitur: "Omne quod habet divisam ungulam et ruminat in pecoribus, comedetis." Quare autem [non] prohibita sunt talia animalia, pulcherrime docet Communis Doctor Thomas prima secunde, questione 102, articulo in universo 551 (*Sum. Th.* 1a2ae.102.6, responsio 1): tamen quantum nunc pertinet, dicendum quod sicut docet Augustinus in libro *Contra Faustum* (cf. Aquinas, *ibidem*), "fissio ungule significat discretionem boni et mali: rumi-

meditation on the truth and a clear grasp of it." And surely these two above all block the sexual urge, as the Psalm says, "Man, when he was in honor did not understand: he is compared to senseless beasts," etc. This is the literal meaning: "animals that chew the cud and divide the hoof have well-digested humors, and a moderate complexion: for they are not too moist, which the hoofs show, nor too earthly, which is shown by their having a divided, not an integral, hoof." And so Valerius says well that it *saves*, for such an animal is a healthy food. And surely sex destroys that complexion in a man, for it makes him dry and cold.

While the blind cheer: He calls blind Rufinus's flatterers looking on at him, and others like them who saw it all and yet fortified it in advance by threatening him (Valerius). And so he says *Mars*, etc.

Then at *Pallas was rejected*, etc., he digresses to excuse himself for not speaking as profoundly and eloquently as he would like to. Here you should know that when the three goddesses Juno, Pallas, and Venus were sitting by a fountain in the forest of Ida, the goddess of Discord threw a golden apple in the fountain with the words "a present for the fairest" written on it. They fought over who should get it, then asked Paris to be the judge—Paris, also called Alexander, the second son of King Priam of Troy by Hecuba. Paris gave the apple to Venus as the fairest. In the poets Juno is sometimes Jove's wife, sometimes his sister. Pallas is feigned to be a virgin born from Jove's brain; Venus is feigned to be born from blood that flowed from the genitals of Saturn's father, for it is feigned that Saturn castrated his father and the blood dripped into the sea, and the blood caused the foam of the sea to clot, and Venus rose from it. Therefore we can take Juno to stand for peace and the prosperity of peace;

816 **sic** *om.* MChκL⋆. 824 **adulatores suos videntes** *om.* CDg. 825 **premuniebant** preminebant MCh. 826 **Dicit . . . etc.** *om.* MChκ. **etc.** J *inserts* Mars. . .coniugem, *Ridewall* 425-64. 827 **Deinde . . . dicit** *om.* JDgMChDL. 829 **sederent** sederunt Chκ. 831 **quo** *add* pomo DgMChκ. **pulchrioris donum** pulcriori detur vel sic pulcrioris donum J; pulcriori detur MCh. 832 **deberetur** debebatur Mκ. 834 **dedit** *add* pomum JDgM. 835-36 **fingitur** dicitur MCh. 839 **concreta** procreata JCh; producta M; commutata E. 840 **pacis** *om.* MCh. 844 **id est estive** *om.* JE; idest

natio, meditationem veritatis sanumque intellectum eius." Et certe hec duo maxime impediunt luxuriam, sicut dicitur in Psalmo (48.13, 21): "Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit, comparatus est, etc." Potest etiam ad litteram exponi sic: "quia animalia ruminantia et findentia ungulas habent humores bene digestos, et sunt medie complexionata: quia nec sunt nimis humida, quod significant ungule, nec nimis terrestria, quod significat quod non habent ungulam continuam, sed divisam" (Aquinas, *ibidem*). Et ideo bene dicitur quod *salvat*, quia cibus sanus est. Et certe luxuria istam complexionem destruit in homine. Reddit enim hominem siccum et frigidum.

Dum tibi applaudunt ceci: cecos vocat [adulatores suos videntes] se, et similes qui illud videbant et illud ei comminando premuniebant. Dicit ergo *Mars,* etc.

Deinde incidenter cum dicit *A falso*, etc., excusat se quod non ita profunde et eloquenter loquitur sicut vellet. Ubi sciendum quod cum in Ide silva sederent tres dee ad quendam fontem, scilicet Iuno, Pallas, et Venus, dea Discordie pomum aureum in fonte proiecit, in quo scribebatur "pulchrioris donum." Cumque certarent cui deberetur pomum, elegerunt iudicem Paridem, qui alio nomine dictus est Alexander, secundus filius Priami Regis [f. 69] Troiani ex matre Hecuba, qui Veneri tanquam pulchriori dedit. Iuno apud poetas aliquando dicitur uxor Iovis, aliquando soror; Pallas fingitur virgo nata de cerebro Iovis; Venus fingitur nata de sanguine fluente de genitalibus patris Saturni, quia fingitur quod Saturnus abscidit genitalia patris et sanguis fluxit in mare, et ex illo sanguine spuma maris est concreta, et surrexit Venus. Ideo per Iunonem possumus intelligere pacem et prosperitatem pacis; per Palladem,

Pallas, for chastity; and Venus for sexual pleasure. And Paris did indeed prefer sexual pleasure to the other two, as is clear in Homer's story. He rejected Pallas because she had little use for the sexual pleasure that he so loved. Pallas devised a flute (*estive* in French), put it to her mouth and blew into it, looked at the puffing and twisting of her mouth in the river Triton (the source of her epithet "Tritonia"), and threw the flute away on account of the puffing of her mouth. "I don't want a twisted mouth for the pleasure I get out of the flute," she said. "A straight mouth does me more good than the flute brings me pleasure." Valerius, therefore, uses this metaphor, saying, "I'm afraid that, just as Pallas was spurned because she took no pleasure in the flute, so I'll be spurned because I take no pleasure in eloquence." But surely Paris judged badly, for which he and nearly all his race were destroyed. *Friend*, he says, *Aren't you too about to judge the same way*, taking more pleasure in the sweet style of Scripture than in its usefulness?

You anticipate the schemes, that is, figures of speech, and *in vain while this*, that is, until the muddy water recedes and clear water takes its place. Papias says "struma" is a synonym for "hump"; so "strumous" means "not pleasing." So there is *unevenness of style* when some fault impedes easy and clear enunciation, as when one word ends with a vowel or *m* and the next word starts with a vowel, or when a word starts with the same consonant with which the word before it ends. Then he uses the image of a tree, which is bare when it lacks both fruit and leaves but is still a healthy tree, fruitless when it has leaves but does not bear fruit, and sterile when it cannot bear at all. *Love* is *bare* when someone loves with a heart not wrapped in false words; *fruitless*, when it is asserted in words but not shown in deeds; *sterile* when it can bear no fruit.

fistulam sive estuve; anglice stive MCh; gallice un eltyn D. **quam apponens ori** *om.* MCh. 846 **Tritonis** triconis CJMChDL; tricionis E. **a quo** et aqua CJ; unde aqua Dg; a quo ME; aqua D; *om.* L⋆. **Tritonia** triconia CJDgCh; *om.* L⋆. 847 **pro delectacione** propter delectacionem DgMκ; propter inflacionem Ch. 848 **prodest** proderet ChD. 852 **fere** sicut Dg; *om.* MChκL⋆. **inquit** *om.* DgChκL⋆. 856 **turbata** turbida Jκ; feculenta idest fecibus plena vel turbida M. 857 **idem est quod** dicitur D; est EL. 862 **nuda** arida MChD. 863 **vivam** et vitam MCh. 864 **infecunda** *add* tum JCh, tamen Dg. 865 **nec ferre** nil ferre J; ferre non MChκ; *om.* L⋆. 866 **aliquis** quis ChL. **tunc** *om.* MChL. 867 **factis** facto β. **potest** possit κ; posset L. 868 **tunc est** sed MDg;

castitatem; per Venerem, voluptatem. Et Paris secundum veritatem pretulit voluptatem utrique, sicut patet in historia Homeri. Ipse autem reprobavit Palladem quia illa parvipendit voluptatem quam ipse amavit. Pallas invenit tibiam, id est *estive*, quam apponens ori et sufflans, perpendit inflationem et distorsionem oris ad fluvium [Tritonis], [a quo] ipsa dicitur [Tritonia], et abiecit tibiam propter inflationem oris dicens, "Nolo distorsionem oris pro delectacione tibie; magis enim mihi prodest os rectum, quam tibia delectatur." Utitur ergo Valerius ista metaphora dicens, "Timeo mihi quod sicut Pallas fuit contempta quia non delectabatur tibia, ita ego quia non delector eloquentia." Sed certe falsum fuit iudicium Paridis, propter quod ipse et totum genus suum fere est destructum. *Amice*, inquit, *numquid et tu sic iudicabis*, ut magis delecteris in scripture suavitate, quam in eius utilitate?

Expectas scemata, id est, ornatus verborum, et *frustra dum hic*, id est, donec turbata aqua recedat et clara succedat. *Struma* secundum Papiam (p. X8vb) idem est quod gibbus; unde strumosa, scilicet non delectabilis. Est ergo *dictionum imparitas* quando est aliquod vicium impediens facilem et distinctam pronunciationem, sicut quando vocalis ponitur post vocalem vel post *m*, vel quando ab eadem consonanti in qua prior dictio terminatur, incipit dictio sequens. Loquitur deinde ad similitudinem arboris, que est nuda quando caret et fructu et foliis licet animam vivam interius habeat, infecunda quando fructum non portat licet folia habeat, sterilis quando nec ferre potest. Sciendum etiam quod *nudus amor* est quando aliquis amat corde non involuto verbis falsis; tunc est *infecundus*, quando ostenditur in verbis licet in factis ostendi non potest; tunc est *sterilis*, quando fructus sequi non potest. *Purpurissum* (vel

Purpurissum according to Isidore, Book 19, chapter 16, is a color from silvery clay, tinged equally with purples; and is, therefore, it seems to me, a shining whiteness splashed here and there with a reddish color. *Cerusa*, as can be gathered from Isidore, Papias, and Hugutio, is the color that we call white-lead or Spanish white. Speech colored with figures of both words and thought he calls the *purple cosmetics of an orator*, and speech colored with figures of words only he calls *ceruse*. And so he writes the paragraph *Pallas was rejected*, etc. Note that we have here the figure by which a writer says he is not doing the very thing he is doing, as when a man prosecuting a homicide says, "I pass over in silence that he killed his master; I demand the things he stole." Cicero in the fourth book of the *Second Rhetoric* calls it "preoccupation."

Julius Caesar. This is Chapter Four, in which Valerius exhorts Rufinus to listen to his advice by giving examples of the most eminent men in government of the Roman republic. It has three parts, three examples, each of a different ruler. The second part is at *Phoroneus*; the third, at *Valentius*. The first part also has three parts: in the first he gives the example; in the second he digresses from it to his purpose, at *You bend your ear*; in the third he comes back and concludes, at *Friend, the tamer.*

In the first part you should know that the name Caesar started with Julius, who in the course of the Civil War became the first man to rule Rome alone. According to Papias the name derives either from the incision in his mother's womb, which is how he was born, or because he was born with a full head of hair (*caesaris*); all Roman emperors after him are called Caesars. This Julius, having been refused tribute, invaded Rome and subjugated it as he had already subjugated the rest of the world, and the Romans hated him for his prowess. So the consuls Brutus and Cassius stabbed him twenty-four times, in the Capitol. But Tongillius had warned

om. β. 869 **purpurissam** purpurissa JL. **secundum Ysidorum** Ysidorus C. 871 **interim serto⋆** interim mixto, vel serto *added above* mixto C; intermixto JMCh; interim mixta Dg; interserto β. 874 **sive . . . Hispanie** *om.* DgChE; gallice blancplum M; plum blanc D; depuratum L. **Orationem** questionem C. 878 **qua** quando DL. **dicit** dicat ML. 879 **occidit** occiderit DL. 881 **preoccupatio** J *inserts* A falso . . . perniciem, *Ridewall* 465-84. 885 **Secunda** *add* pars DgL. 886 **Valencius** Valentinus β. **adhuc** *add* dividitur JDgMDL; *om.* Ch⋆. **3** *add* partes quia DgMDL; *om.* Ch. 887 **digrediens adaptat** digreditur adaptans DL. 890 **Romanum** *om.* β. 891 **Dictus autem** dictus est (*om.* Dg) autem (*om.* Chβ) Cesar DgMChß. 893 **Romani** Romanorum JDgMβ; *om.*Ch⋆. 894-95 **sicut .. subiugaverat** *om.* ChL; sicut totum orbem fecerat κ. 896 **24** 14 CDgκ;

purpurissam) [secundum Ysidorum] libro 19 capitulo 16 (19.17.15) [f. 69v] genus coloris ex terra argentaria, et cum purpuris pariter tingitur; est igitur, ut mihi videtur, albedo splendens, interim [serto] colore rubeo. *Cerusa*, sicut potest colligi ex Ysidoro (19.17.23), Papia (f. D7rb), et Hugutione (C.137.5), est ille color qui apud nos vocatur album plumbum sive potius album Hispanie. [Orationem] igitur que ornatur scematibus verborum et sententiarum, vocat *purpurissam oratoris*; illam que ornatur scematibus verborum tantum, vocat *cerusam*. Dicit igitur *a falso,* et cetera. Nota quod hic est illa figura qua aliquis dicit se non facere quod precipue facit, sicut aliquis agens contra homicidam dicit, "quod occidit dominum, mihi taceo; res ablatas peto"; et vocatur a Tullio, libro 4 *Secunde rethorice* (4.27.37), preoccupatio.

Iulius Cesar. Hoc est quartum capitulum, ubi Valerius hortatur Ruffinum ad consilium suum audiendum per exempla in viris maximis per rei publice gubernationem. Et dividitur in 3 partes, secundum 3 exempla trium regum que ponit. Secunda, ibi, *Foroneus*; tercia, ibi, *Valencius*. Prima pars adhuc in 3: primo, exemplum ponit; secundo, digrediens adaptat, ibi, *Tu vero mihi stilorum*; tercio, revertitur et concludit, ibi, *Amice, humiliavit se*.

Circa primum sciendum quod Cesaris nomen a Iulio incepit, qui bello civili commoto primus Romanum optinuit singulariter principatum. Dictus autem secundum Papiam (p. D7va) a ceso matris utero quo eductus est, vel quod cum cesarie natus sit; a quo sequentes Romani imperatores Cesares dicti sunt. Iste Iulius pro tributo sibi negato Romam invasit et sibi subiugavit sicut et totum orbem subiugaverat, cui Romani invidebant pro probitate sua. Unde a Bruto et Cassio consulibus [24] plagis perforatus fuit

him: he had put a letter in his hand that said they were planning to kill him. The Emperor bowed humbly to Tongillius and took the letter. Tongillius asked him to read it carefully right away, but he didn't, and so he was killed. Afterwards the letter was found in his hand, unopened, unread.

Valerius also alludes here to the poetic myth of the three fatal sisters: one who carries a distaff (French *conoil*, English *rock*), called Clotho; one who spins, that is, pulls the thread, called Lachesis; and one who rolls up and finishes off, called Atropos. Whence a poet: "Clotho holds the distaff; Lachesis pulls; Atropos cuts." They stand for the three stages of life, as is shown in the *Etymologies*, Book 8, the last chapter. They were made up by poets to represent the three dispositions of mutable things that are subject to fate. Mutable things either pass from non-being to being (and this event is assigned to Clotho, who is said to hold the distaff because she gives the beginning of existence—for Clotho means "calling up," for in this disposition they are called up out of non-being to being); or they linger within the long duration of time (and this event is assigned to Lachesis, which means "chance" because temporal life is driven by chance, that is, fortune, whose role is to pull the thread through the long duration); or they pass from being into non-being (which is assigned to Atropos, whose name means "without turning around," and so she is said to cut the thread, that is, break it, for she puts an end to the lingering). He says, then: *Julius Caesar, for whose* (Caesar's) *amplitude*, that is, ample greed, *the world was too narrow*, that is the whole world seemed small, *on the day when too-savage Atropos*, that is, fortune, too cruel because she kills, *dared to cut*, that is, break, *his noble thread,* that is his, Caesar's,

4 Ch; L *follows* U. 897 **Tongilius** Congilius Mκ. 899 **Tongilio** Congilio Mκ. 900 **Rogabat** rogaverat M; rogavit Chκ. **Tongilius** Congilius Mκ. **diligenter** *om.* Chκ. 904 **unam** una ChE; *om.* L⋆. 904-5 **Gallice . . . rokke** *om.* JChκL⋆; Anglice rokke Dg. 905 **secundam** secunda Ch; alteram D; altera E; *om.* L⋆. 905-6 **filat id est** *om.* ChκL⋆. 906 **Lachesis** Lathesis CDgChκ; *om.* L⋆. **terciam** tercia ChE; *om.* L⋆. 907-8 **Unde . . . occat** *om.* DgMChκ; **Lachesis . . . occat** etc. J. 908 **portat** baiulat JL. **Lachesis** Lathesis CDgChκ; *om.* L. 910 **libro** *om.* Chκ. 913 **baiulare** portare sive baiulare E; portare L. 918 **propter** *add* temporis MChβ. 919 **Attropo⋆** Attropos αβ. **que** quod Chκ. 920-21 **permanentiam** per maliam M; per maliciam Ch; per manum E. 921 **cuius** etc. cuius CJ. 924 **occidens** perimens β. 925 **in** *add* sacra DgCh. 928-29

cum stilis in Capitolio. Sed Tongilius premunierat eum: posuit enim litteras in manu sua in quibus continebatur quod intendebant eum occidere. Imperator autem humiliter inclinavit se Tongilio, et litteras recepit. Rogabat eum Tongilius ut eas cito diligenter inspiceret, sed non fecit, et ideo occisus est. Post mortem vero eius inventa fuit littera in manu eius, non adhuc aperta nec lecta.

Alludit etiam hic Valerius cuidam fabule secundum quam poete 3 sorores fatales dicunt fuisse: unam que portat colum (Gallice conoil, Anglice rokke), et illa vocatur Cloto; secundam que filat, id est, trahit filum, et hec vocatur [Lachesis]; terciam, que convolvit et perficit, et hec vocatur Attropos. Unde versificator: "Cloto colum portat, [Lachesis] trahit, Attropos occat" (Walther, *Spr.* 2879b; *Graecismus* 7.45). Et significant 3 etates, sicut patet *Ethimologiarum*, libro 8, capitulo ultimo (8.11.93). A poetis tamen finguntur propter triplicem dispositionem rerum mutabilium que subduntur fato. Res enim mutabiles aut transeunt de non esse ad esse (et iste eventus attribuitur Cloto, que dicitur baiulare colum quia dat principium existendi—Cloto enim dicitur "evocatio," quia hac dispositione evocantur a non esse ad esse); aut permanent in diuturnitate temporis (et hic eventus attribuitur Lachesi que interpretatur "sors," eo quod vita temporalis sorte agitur, id est, fortuna, cui attribuitur filum trahere propter diuturnitatem); aut transeunt de esse ad non esse, quod attribuitur [Attropo], que interpretatur "sine conversione," et ideo dicitur filum occare, id est frangere, quia permanentiam dissolvit. Dicit igitur *Iulius Cesar,* [*cuius*], id est Iulii, *amplitudini*, id est ample cupiditati, *artus fuit orbis*, id est parvus videbatur totus mundus, *die qua Attropos nimis seva*, id est, fortuna nimis crudelis quia occidens, *ausa est occare*, id est, frangere, *nobile filum*, id est

noble life. This manner of speaking is in Scripture, as Hezekiah says, "My life is cut off, as by a weaver."

This Caesar, then, on that day *bent his ear humbly at the doors of the Capitol to Tongillius* (or Zongillius), for there Tongillius handed him a letter that spelled out his death. And that he did it humbly, indeed with great condescension, is clear, since the truth is that with respect to Caesar Tongillius was extremely lowly: Caesar could have looked down on him. In law such people are called "persons to look down on." So Valerius says that Caesar bent his ear humbly to Tongillius, who *although humble,* that is, despicable apparently, was yet in truth honorable, and so he says, *was divine*. "Divine" as it were "filled with God," because he foresees the future, as Isidore says in the *Etymologies*, Book Eight, and so Valerius gives the reason why he calls him divine: *for he predicted the daggers*, that is, told Caesar in the sealed letter, before the fact, about the daggers readied to kill him. To this Tongillius, then *divine for he predicted the daggers, he bent his ear* only; *had he bent his mind as well*, that is, if only he had bent his mind as he bent his ear, Brutus and Cassius his ambushers *would have made amends to him*, Caesar, that is, they would have suffered punishment from him, *to whom he* made amends, that is, from whom he suffered punishment. The manner of speaking is to say that those who suffer punishment give it. Paul uses the same trope of the wicked in 2 Thessalonians, chapter 1 (.9): "They shall give eternal punishment in destruction," where "give" is glossed "suffer." For in some contexts "give" can mean "suffer," as here, since he who suffers punishment "gives" it to the one he has offended.

You bend your ear to me. Here he applies the story, forcing and twisting Rufinus to listen to him. He does this in two ways. First he saddens him, as it were, by accusing him of wrongdoing, so that if he cannot turn him from his purpose by flattery, he

Tongilio vel Zongilio Congilio MChκ; Tongilio L. 928-34 **vel . . . Tongilio** *om.* Ch. 929 **Tongilius** *om.* β. 929-30 **sibi . . . quod** ei literam et β. 931 **patet . . . veritatem** quia β. **Tongilius** Congilius Mκ. 932 **Iulii valde** caesaris β. 933-34 **quod . . . humiliter** humiliavit (humilis E) se β. 934 **Tongilio** Congilio Mκ. 936-37 **coniectat** coniecturat ChL. 937 **libro** *om.* β. 938 **causam reddit** subdit Ch; *om* κL⋆. 940 **ad eum occidendum** quo (quibus EL) perimeretur. **Tongilio** Congilio Mκ. 942 **sicut inclinavit aurem** *om.* β. 943 **id est Iulio** *om.* ChL. 944 **penas**[1] *om.* Chβ. **a . . . penas** passus est β. 944-45 **Modus . . . patiuntur** *om.* β. 946 **Paulus** apostolus ML. **de malis hominibus** *om.* β. **Secunda⋆** prima α; *om.* β. **primo** *add* capitulo DgE. 947 **glossa** *om.* MCh. 948 **sustinere sicut hic** pati β. 948-49 **Qui . . . penas** Unde (*om.* E) versus: Do prebet (precibus L) danti solvit (voluit L) patitur favet infert/concedit profert tibi secum corripit affert κL. 952 **scelus** zelum β. **eum** *om.* DgME. **a proposito** *om.* β.

nobilem vitam ipsius, scilicet Iulii. Et hic modus loquendi est in scriptura, sicut Ezechias ait, "Precisa est velut a texente vita mea" (Isaiah 38.12).

Iste tunc Iulius illo die *inclinavit aurem humiliter Tongilio* (vel Zongilio) *in valvis Capitolii*, quia ibi Tongi[f. 70] lius porrexit sibi litteras indices mortis sue. Et quod humiliter fecit, scilicet ex magna humilitate, patet, quia secundum rei veritatem Tongilius respectu Iulii valde humilis, id est despicabilis, erat. Ita enim in lege persone despicabiles vocantur. Et ideo dicit Valerius quod Iulius inclinavit aurem humiliter Tongilio. *Humili quidem*, id est despicabili secundum apparentiam, et tamen secundum veritatem honorabili, et ideo dicit *sed divino*. Divinus dicitur, quasi Deo plenus, quia futura coniectat, secundum Ysidorum *Ethymologiarum*, libro 8 (8.9.14), et ideo quare vocat eum divinum, causam reddit; *quia predocenti stilos*, id est, ante adventum docenti in littera clausa stilos scilicet Iulio esse paratos ad eum occidendum. Isti inquam *Tongilio divino quia stilos predocenti inclinavit aurem* tantum, *quodsi animum* scilicet inclinasset sicut inclinavit aurem, Brutus et Cassius insidiatores sui *dedissent ei*, id est Iulio, *penas*, id est, sustinuissent ab eo penas, *quibus ipse* scilicet dedit penas, id est, a quibus ipse sustinuit penas. Modus loquendi est quod ipsi dicuntur dare penas qui penas patiuntur. Sicut dicit Paulus de malis hominibus [Secunda] ad Thessalonicenses, primo (.9): "Dabunt penas in interitu eternas"; glossa, id est, sustinebunt. "Dare" enim aliquando sumitur pro "sustinere," sicut hic. Qui enim patitur dat ei quem offendit penas.

Tu vero mihi. Hic historiam adaptat, exigens et quasi vi retorquens audientiam. Et circa hoc duo facit. Primo quasi contristat eum imponendo ei scelus, ut si blandiendo eum a proposito revocare non

may turn him by making him sorry; secondly, at *That has kept you from attacking me*, he replies to the possible objection from Rufinus that the accusations don't apply to him.

On the first: you should know that according to Isidore, "The asp, when it starts to feel the spell of the snake charmer, who calls it with charms designed to lure it from its cave—when it doesn't want to come out, it presses one ear to the ground and stops up the other with its tail, doesn't hear the charm, and doesn't come out to the charmer." Secondly you should know that, as it says in *The Nature of Things*, "The boar is a brave animal that receives no training in how to behave but remains ever fierce and wild. Therefore it scorns the barking of dogs." Thirdly, you should know that the *dipsas* according to Isidore is "a snake so small that people step on it without seeing it. Its poison kills before it is felt, and so brings no pain on its victim. And so the poet: 'Aulus, a young standard-bearer of Etruscan blood, stepped on a dipsas; it twisted back its head and bit him, and he hardly felt the bite.'" You should also know that the sun is in Cancer in summer, in the month of June, at the time of the summer solstice, and the days are hottest then because the sun is at its height. The nature of the dipsas (or any poisonous snake) is that in winter it gets sleepy from the cold, and also at night in summer, and so in winter and at night they coil up into knots, and don't strike unless warmed. The reason for that is that all poison is cold, and the cold coming from outside intensifies the cold within, and cold is a condition of powerlessness.

Note, then, that Valerius accuses Rufinus of five things: first, of slyness and cunning in doing harm, and so he compares him to an asp; second, of a coarse neglect of what is good, and so he compares him to a boar; third, of strong and implacable

955 **libro** *om.* Chβ. 957 **propriis** suis β. **ut . . . educat** *om.* Ch*β. 959 **opturat** *add* et operit β. 959-60 **incantatorem** cantatorem DgE; *om.* M; incantationem Ch. 960 **natura** naturis DgM. 961 **que** qui DgDL. 962 **seva** sevus DgChL. 963-64 **secundum Ysidorum** *om.* JMCh. 969 **quod** *add* cum β. 969-70 **in mense . . . ideo** *om.* β. 970 **illo tempore** tunc M; *om* β. 972 **torpescit** tepescit Dg; torpent M; tapescit Ch. **pre frigore** *om.* β. 973 **de** in β. 975-76 **frigus . . . et frigus est** frigori iunctum multiplicatur est autem β. 978, 979, 980 **et ideo comparat**

possit, contristando revocet; secundo, respondet ad hoc quod sibi posset obici, scilicet de non operatione, ibi, *quod manus*.

Sciendum circa primum quod secundum Ysidorum, libro 12, capitulo 4 (.12), "aspis cum ceperit pati incantatorem, qui eam propriis carminibus evocat ut eam de caverna educat; illa autem cum exire noluerit, unam aurem in terram premit, alteram cauda opturat, atque illas voces magicas non audiens non exit ad incantatorem." Secundo, sciendum quod, ut in libro *De natura rerum* (4.3.1-3) dicitur, "Aper bestia fortis, que nullam bonorum doctrinam recipit umquam, sed semper ferox ac seva est. Parvipendit itaque canum latratus." Tercio, sciendum quod dipsas secundum Ysidorum (12.4.32) est "serpens tante parvitatis ut cum calcatur vix videatur. Cuius venenum extinguit antequam sentiatur, nec inducit tristiciam morituro. Unde poeta (Lucan 9.737-39): 'Signiferum iuvenem Tireni sanguinis album / Torta caput retro dipsas calcata momordit. / Vix dolor aut sensus dentis fuit.'" Aliud etiam est sciendum quod sol est in Cancro in estate, in mense Iunio, quando est solsticium estivale, et ideo sunt illo tempore dies maxime calidi propter ascensum solis. Natura autem dipsadis et cuiuslibet serpentis venenosi est quod in hieme torpescit pre frigore, et etiam de nocte in estate. Unde in hieme et in noctibus convolvuntur in nodos, nec percutiunt nisi calefacti. Causa autem huius est quia omne venenum est frigidum, et frigus superveniens ab extrinseco multiplicat frigus interius; et frigus est qualitas inpotentie.

Nota igitur quod 5 inponit hic Valerius Ruffino: primo, versutam astuciam ad malum, et ideo comparat eum aspidi; secundo, rudem negligenciam ad bonum, et ideo comparat eum apro; tercio, rancoris inplacabilis vehementiam, et ideo comparat eum dipsadi;

resentment, and so he compares him to a dipsas; fourth, of foolish counsel, and so he compares him to Medea. For just as Medea, a deadly witch, because her husband Jason spurned her, killed her own children that Jason had fathered, avenging herself foolishly on her own darlings, Rufinus likewise, as Valerius says, spurned by his reason, which is the husband and the strength of the soul, was disposed to avenge himself on Valerius who was his friend. Fifth, he accuses him of insensibility in listening to himself, and so he compares him to the sea. The sea feels nothing, and therefore is unmoved by the cry of the shipwrecked man, that is, of a man who is in danger because his ship has broken. It doesn't hear him crying, but destroys him. So he says, "Rufinus, *you bend your ear to me who predict your daggers*, that is, to me who predict to you *your daggers*, that is, the stings of the troubles that marriage will bring you, the way *the asp* bends its ear *to the charmers*, namely, by making itself deaf by slyness and cunning. *You give your attention* to my words *as the boar does to the barking* of dogs: it scorns them ignorantly, being (as it were) too unschooled to appreciate those barks, to know that next come bites. *You are as well-filled as the dipsas*, that is, you lay aside your anger the way the dipsas does: it kills instantly, without taking thought." This is how we speak of a resentful man: we say sarcastically that he's as kind as a snake. He does well to add, the dipsas *upon whom the sun has beaten down in Cancer*, since the dipsas's—or any snake's—poison is at its most potent then, as has been said; so he says sarcastically, you are soothed like the dipsas when it hurts most. The dipsas is also called situla, because it kills its victims by thirst. "*You take care of yourself as Medea did when she was rejected* by her husband, for you want to get back at me who am totally yours. *You pity yourself as the ocean pities the shipwrecked*: the ocean doesn't hear what is said to it, and neither do you." Note that he does well to say *you pity yourself*, not pity me, because if Rufinus were to drop his plan to marry he would

comparando β. 982 **que fuit** *om.* β. 983 **interfecit** peremit DL. 985 **et vigor** *om.* DgMChβ. 986 **disponebat** disposuit DL. **sibi** *om.* DgChβ. 996-1080 **sequntur . . . Foroneus** *om.* Dg (*page apparently missing at f. 81*). 996 **sequntur** sequitur JChβ. 997 **que** qui MChκ. 1000 **scilicet dipsadi** *om.* β. 1006 **naufragis** naufragi CJM; *om.* β. 1007 **ita** et MChEL. 1010 **Valerio** Ch

quarto, consilii insipientiam, et ideo comparat eum Medee. Sicut enim Medea, que fuit maga venefica, quia fuit spreta a viro suo Iasone, interfecit proprios filios quos ex ea Iason genuit, insipienter vindicans se in suos—ita, ut dicit Valerius, fecit Ruffinus spretus a ratione que vir est anime et vigor, in Valerium qui fuit amicus suus se vindicare disponebat. Quinto, inponit sibi respectu proprie audientie insensibilitatem, et ideo comparat eum equori, id est, mari. Mare enim nichil sentit, et ideo non movetur ad clamorem naufragi, id est, illius qui nave fracta periclitatur. Clamantem enim non audit, sed perdit. Dicit ergo, "*Tu Ruffine inclinas aurem mihi prenuncio stilorum tuorum*, id est, prenuncianti stilos tuos, id est, aculeos gravaminum futurorum tibi ex uxore nubenda, *ut aspis* inclinat aurem *veneficiis*, qui scilicet astutia versuta facit se surdum. *Adhibes animum* dictis meis *ut aper latratibus* canum, qui eos parvipendit, nesciens tanquam nimis rudis illos latratus ponderare, quia nescit quod morsus sequntur. *Placaris ut dipsas*, id est, ita faciliter remittis iram tuam sicut dipsas, que statim interficit sine deliberatione"; et hic est modus loquendi de homine qui est plenus rancore; dicimus enim derisorie quod ipse est ita benignus sicut serpens. Sed bene addit *cui* scilicet dipsadi *sol incanduit a Cancro*, quo tempore maxime potens est venenum dipsadis et cuiuslibet serpentis, sicut dictum est; et ideo dicit derisorie, ita placaris ut dipsas quando maxime nocet. Dipsas alio nomine dicitur situla, eo quod quemcumque pungit, siti extinguit (Isidore, *Etym.* 12.4.13). "*Consulis tibi ut Medea spreta*, scilicet a viro suo, volens scilicet vindicare in me qui sum totus tuus. *Tibi misereris ut equor* [*naufragis*], qui scilicet non sentit quod sibi dicitur, ita tu." Et nota quod bene dicit *tibi misereris* non mihi misereris, quia si Ruffinus cessaret a proposito, magis misereretur

have more pity on himself than on Valerius because he would be avoiding a greater misery for himself than for Valerius.

Then, at *that has kept you from attacking me*, he replies to what Rufinus might say to him, namely what the crowd in John said to Christ: "You have a demon! Who is seeking to kill you?" He replies: "Surely the desire is in you, but you don't carry it out because you are afraid the king will take vengeance if you do." I think that he has insulted Rufinus here as a favor to him, in order to recall him from his lust. For many a man is revoked from such conduct if he is sufficiently provoked, or when there is too much unpleasantry, as it says in *The Lives of the Fathers*: a man who was often tempted to lust, provoked by his friends who kept asking him whether he was tempted, said, "I can't even live; how can I fornicate?"

Friend, the tamer of the earth humbled himself. Here he returns to his main example of Caesar, but adapts it for a new purpose. He uses a figure of speech that Cicero in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* calls "transplacement"—his second type, "when the same word is used first in one function then in another, as follows: 'Why do you so zealously concern yourself with this matter, which will cause you so much concern?'" He also used the similar figure paronomasia, when two very similar words with different meanings are used together, as Valerius uses "pene" (almost) and "plene" (fully), and again "pene" and therefore "non penitus" (not completely). *Sodes* (please) is an adverb of asking, used playfully or to flatter or to implore, as Papias says. An *asylum* is a house of refuge, in which fugitives were safe. A verse: "The horse-fly bothers bees, asylum comforts the wretched." Gymnasium, properly, is exercise, or a place for exercise; a gymnast is one who uses such a place.

He says, then, *the tamer of the earth*, that is, Julius Caesar, *humbled himself to his faithful servant*, that is, Tongillius, *on this side of perfection*, that is, not perfectly, and *almost*

adds De Medea loquitur Ovidius de transformatis, libro 1 (*sic*): Sanguine natorum per funditur impius ensis/ultraque se mater etc. (*Met.* 7.396-97); Ch *then om. to* Foroneus 1080. 1017 **quando** *om.* β. 1018 **Vitas** vitis JMEL. 1019 **querentibus** redicci? abbati M querenti DL. 1020 **libet** J *inserts* Iulius Cesar . . .. arma, *Ridewall*, 485-548. 1025 **modo**[1] *om.* β. **hac** *add* re CJL. **re** *om.* CE. 1026 **dabit tibi** habet β. 1026-27 **paronomasia** paronomosiam DL. 1029 **vel** *add* verbum Mβ. 1035 **id est . . . perfectum** *om.* β. 1036 **dominator** domitor ME. **Tongilio** Congilio Mκ. 1037 **pedem**

sui ipsius quam Valerii, quia a maiori miseria caveret sibi ipsi quam Valerio.

Deinde ibi, *quod manus*, respondet ad id quod Ruffinus posset dicere, illud Iohannis (7.20) dictum Christo, "Demonium habes. Quis te querit interficere?" Respondet: "Certe velle tibi adiacet, sed perficere non audes quia times regem qui vindicaret hoc si faceres." Estimo quod gratis contristavit Ruffinum ut eum revocaret a concupiscentia. Multum enim revocatur homo ab huiusmodi quando bene provocatur, vel quando habet displicentias, sicut dicitur in *Vitas patrum* (*PL.* 73.810), quidam de luxuria multum temptatus et provocatus a sociis querentibus an temptaretur, ait: "Vivere non licet et fornicari libet?" [f. 70v]

Amice, humiliavit se. Revertitur hic ad principale exemplum de Iulio, adaptans illud. Et utitur uno colore quem Tullius in *Secunda rethorica* (4.14.20) vocat "traductionem." Et est secunda species traductionis, ut ibidem (4.14.21) dicit, "quando idem verbum ponitur modo in [hac], modo in altera [re]. Hoc modo: 'Cur eam rem tam studiose curas, que multas dabit tibi curas?'" Et similiter paronomasia, quando in diversa significatione ponitur dictio multum similis, sicut dicitur "pene" et "plene," et iterum "pene," "et ideo non penitus." *Sodes* est adverbium optandi, scilicet alludentis vel blandientis vel obsecrantis, ut dicit Papias (p. X3vb). *Asilum* est domus refugii in qua confugientes erant securi. Versus: "Turbat asilus apes, miseros confortat asilum" (Eberhard of Bethune, *Graecismus* 12.316). Gignasium est proprie exercicium vel exercicii locus; *gignasius* locum talum exercens.

Dicit igitur *humiliavit se citra perfectum*, id est, non ad perfectum, *dominator orbis*, scilicet Iulius, fideli suo, scilicet Tongilio, et *pene*, id

(pene) withdrew his foot, that is, he would have turned back and been safe, *because he almost (pene) submitted*, that is, obeyed, *and he succumbed to punishment (pene) because he did not obey fully* or completely. *His great humility did not benefit him, because it was not total*. So it is with every virtue: unless it is full it is not virtue. A man is not chaste if he always keeps himself from incest and sometimes fornicates.

Then he says, *What will profit you*. Note that here he accuses Rufinus of lacking virtually any good. Ambrose in his *Offices* divides the good into the honorable, the useful, and the pleasurable. Thus he says, "*What will your inhumanity profit you*, etc., that is, the stubborn crudeness that is robbing you of your innate honor as a man; and *what will your bristling brows profit you*, that is, the tightening in the face that takes place in the angry, and appears in the lowering of the eyebrows. *What then will* this bristling of the face *profit you: you rush unarmed*, that is, without protection, *willfully*, that is, voluntarily, *into an ambush of thieves*, that is, your flatterers who will slyly strip you of your chastity and other virtues, too—or *of thieves*, that is, of the woman you are going to marry." That is what St. Bernard called a woman who was trying to loosen him. Valerius says, in effect, "It won't do anything for you except take away from you the good of pleasure." Wrath and envy appear to be among the more just of the sins, since they always torture those who commit them.

I beg you (that is, come now) then, *humble yourself in the manner of his humility*, that is, Caesar's, *who humbled the whole world to himself, and hear*—listening with your ears humbly without anger—me *your friend. And if you trust that Caesar was wrong because he did not trust counsel*, that is, by going ahead and acting rashly, listen with heart and deed: do what Caesar did not do, and so was wrong, and *listen to and heed what happened to others, so that their harm will help you, for* (he says "for" for "because")

saluus EL *only*; fere pedem salus CDgCh; fere pedem salus vel saltem J; saltem M; salvus D. 1038 **fere . . . obedivit** paruit fere β. 1041 **protigerit** *add* vel attigerit J; attigerit M; pertingerit β. 1042 **custodit** continet β. 1049 **turbacio** perturbatio JM. 1051 **id est sponte** *om.* Mβ. 1053 **aliis** ceteris β. **vel** *om* β. 1054 **Ita enim** hoc modo β. **beatus** *om.* ME. 1055 **nitebatur** *add* ad voluptatem, clamans de nocte latrones, latrones, sicut legitur in vita eius L. **proderit tibi** confert β. 1059-60 **scilicet Iulii** *om.* Mβ. 1060-61 **scilicet auditu auris** *om.* β. 1062 **id . . . perficiendo** *om.* β. 1063 **quod . . . erravit** *om.* β. 1064 **enim . . . quia²** *om.* β. 1065 **quando aliquis** cum

est, fere *pedem retulit*, id est, retulisset [pedem saluus] *quia pene*, id est, fere *paruit*, id est, obedivit *peneque*, id est, tormento *succubuit quia non plene* nec penitus *obedivit*. *Humilitas multa nichil ei profuit, quia non plena* erat. Ita enim est in omnibus virtutibus, quod nulla virtus est quousque protigerit ad plenum. Non enim est castus qui semper custodit se ab incestu et aliquando fornicatur.

Sequitur, *quid tibi conferet*: Et nota quod hic imponit Ruffino carentiam quasi omnis boni. Bonum enim secundum Ambrosium, libro *De officiis* (1.9, *PL* 16.31), dividitur in bonum honestum, bonum utile, et bonum delectabile. Dicit ergo, "*Quid tibi conferet inhumanitas*, etc., id est, obstinata crudelitas que aufert a te honestatem ad hominem pertinentem; *quid enim tibi conferet horror supercilii*, id est, vultus turbacio que solet esse in iratis, et ostenditur in demissione superciliorum. *Quid* igitur *conferet tibi* ista faciei horribilitas *qui inermis*, id est, sine armis existens *ultro*, id est sponte, *irruis in insidias latronum*, id est, adulatorum tuorum qui latenter spoliabunt te castitate et aliis virtutibus; vel *latronum*, id est, illius quam ducere intendis." Ita enim vocavit beatus Bernardus unam mulierem que eum emollire nitebatur. Quasi dicat, "Nichil proderit tibi nisi quod auferet a te bonum delectabile." Inter peccata enim iustiora videntur ira et invidia, que semper suos commissores et possessores excruciant.

Sodes, id est eya, ergo *humilia te ad modum humilitatis eius*, scilicet Iulii, *qui totum mundum sibi humiliavit, et audi*, scilicet auditu auris humiliter sine ira, me *amicum tuum*. *Et si Cesarem errasse credis, quia consilio non credidit*, id est, celeriter perficiendo, *exaudi* corde et opere, implendo quod Cesar non fecit, et ideo erravit, *et attende quid aliis contigerit, ut eorum lesio prosit tibi*, (*enim* pro quia) quia *casti-*

the chastisement that examples bring is painless; that is, when one is chastised by the examples that he sees in others, he is chastised painlessly. He says in effect, "It is better to be chastised painlessly by the examples of others, or in others, than to suffer pain first and be careful later." "Happy he whom others' dangers warn."

I do not know of any refuge in which you are safe, that is, I do not know what refuge you can have in which you can be safe, and I do not know *any asylum where you can relax*, that is, I don't know any asylum in which you can be so secure that you may relax, that is, not heed words so true. *Caesar found* (*repperit*, double p) that *traitors are merciless*, that is, show no mercy, namely the consuls who took his life, *and did not come back out. And if you have ever escaped such gymnasts*, that is, fighters such as those advocates of pleasure of yours, or such as those pleasurable urges that wrestle with virtue, *you have found that wicked men are good*, which is a contradiction. For it is impossible for anyone to do something pleasurable without a stimulus, as has been said.

Phoroneus. This is the second part of this chapter, in which he gives a second example. Here you should know that Phoroneus was a king of Greece who was also a philosopher, and so is said to have *gilded the studies of the Greeks*, for wisdom is like gold. Isidore says of him in *Etymologies* 5.1, "King Phoroneus first made laws and passed judgments for the Greeks"; from his name comes "the noun *forus*, a place for conducting lawsuits"—an example of expressive naming. And thus it appears clearly that it should be written with an F. The story is plain enough by itself.

Valentinus. Other copies have *Valentius*, which is the true reading. This is the third main part of this chapter, in which he gives a third example of a third king. Here you should know that there never was any emperor of that name in whose life

quis β. 1066 **per . . . aliis** aliorum exemplis β. 1066-68 **sine . . . aliis** aliorum exemplis β. 1068 **prius . . . cavere** ipse (ipsa L) dampna (dampnum D) prius operiri (priusquam experiri et L) deinde cavere β. **Nam** *add* versus DL. 1070 **quod** quid J; quo Mβ. 1071 **esse** manere Mβ. **in²** *om*. DL. 1073 **cum duplici p** *om*. Jβ. 1074 **id . . . misericordia** *om*. β. 1075 **vita sua spoliabant** necaverunt Mβ. 1076-77 **ad voluptatem** *om*. β. 1077 **quales . . . voluptatis** ipsi motus libidinosi β. 1079 **ut dictum est** *om*. β. 1080 **Foroneus** DgCh *resume*, Ch *at Ridewall* 549; Ch *has Ridewall from this point on*. 1081 **Circa quam** unde Dg; ergo κ; *om*. L. 1081-83 **quod . . . sapientia** *om*. L. 1082-84 **fuit . . . Foroneus** *om*. β. 1084 **5** secundo C; 4 J; 2 Dg; *om*. κ*. 1085 **iudiciaque** et iura κ; iuraque L. 1088 **Historia . . . plana** *om*. J; J *inserts* Foroneus . . . retrahatur, *Ridewall* 549-61; hec enim historia est cum littera satis plana Dg; est satis plana (*page torn*) M; historia D; littera est satis plana L. 1089 **Valentinus** Valencius JDgM; Valentianus L. 1089-90 **etc. . . . est** *om* . JDg. 1089 **Valentius** Valentinus M; Valencivus D; *om*. J*Dg*. 1090 **principalis** *om*. Dg L*. 1091 **quam** quod DgM. 1092 **nullus . . . fuit** iste non (*om*. E) fuit imperator Romanus β. 1094 **ut . . . videtur**

gatio est indempnis quam exemplaria persuadent"; id est, quando aliquis castigatur per exempla que videt in aliis, castigatur sine dampno. Quasi dicat, "melius est castigari sine dampno per exempla aliorum vel in aliis quam prius experiri dampnum et postea cavere." Nam "Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum" (Walther, *Spr.* 8952).

Nescio quo refugio tutus es, id est, nescio quod possis habere refugium in quo tutus esse possis, et nescio in *quo asilo torpescis*, id est, nescio aliquod asilum in quo possis sic esse securus ut torpeas [f. 71], id est, dicta tam vera non cures. *Cesar repperit*, cum duplici p, *predones immisericordes*, id est sine misericordia, scilicet illos consules qui eum vita sua spoliabant, *et non est reversus. Tu vero si umquam evasisti tales gignasios*, id est, tales pugnatores quales sunt suasores tui ad voluptatem, vel quales sunt motus voluptatis qui virtutes inpugnant, *invenisti pios impios*," quod est contradictio. Inpossibile est enim ut aliquis voluptatis actum exerceat sine stimulo, ut dictum est.

Foroneus. Hec est secunda pars huius capituli, in qua secundum exemplum adducit. Circa quam sciendum quod Foroneus fuit quidam rex Grecie qui etiam philosophus fuit, et ideo dicitur *deaurasse studia Grecorum*. Auro enim comparatur sapientia. De isto dicit Ysidorus, *Ethimologiarum*, libro [5], capitulo 1, "Foroneus rex Grecis primus leges iudiciaque constituit" (5.1.1); a quo "forus, exercendarum litium locus" (*Etym.* 15.2.27) exemplum de verborum significationibus. Et sic apparet manifeste quod debet scribi per "f." Historia et littera est satis plana.

Valentinus, etc. Aliqui libri habent Valentius, et hec littera vera est. Hec est tercia pars principalis huius capituli, in qua adducit tercium exemplum de tercio rege. Circa quam sciendum quod nullus imperator fuit illud nomen habens de quo possit ista histo-

this story could be checked, as anyone will see who looks into the histories of the Romans. And therefore it must be said that many people have inferred that he was king of some specific province, not over the whole world like those who properly bear the title emperor. He was just called emperor in the province where he was king, according to its provincial custom. But I have never known how to find out where he was king. He says, then, "*The emperor Valentinus* or *Valentius, an octogenarian*, that is, eighty years old, and yet *still a virgin* (we read the same of St. Luke), *when he heard recalled*, that is, recited, *on the day of his fate*, that is, his death, *celebration of his triumphs*, that is, praises of his victories *in which he had been most frequent* (to win them)—and so on." It is all plain enough.

Cicero. This is chapter five, in which he tries to dissuade Rufinus from marrying with anecdotes of the men who were greatest in the pursuit of wisdom. It has six parts, since he gives six examples. Part two is at *Canius*; three at *Pacuvius*; four at *Sulpicius*; five at *Cato*; and six at *Metellus*. For the first, you should know that this is the story: Cicero divorced his wife Terentia, and she subsequently married first Sallust, Cicero's enemy, and then Messala Corvinus; this prompted Hircius, a certain nobleman, to offer his sister for Cicero to marry, and he replied in the way alluded to here. And, as it is commonly said, this Cicero is the same man as Marcus Tully, the author of a rhetoric and many other books. He says, then, "*Cicero after the divorce of Terentia*, that is, after he divorced her, *did not want to get married again, saying* to someone who asked him why not, *he could not give the same attention*, that is, care, *both to a wife and to philosophy. Friend, I wish your heart would give you the same answer*, that is, may you desire from your heart to say that to me, and if not from your heart, may you at least desire to say it with your *tongue*, so that I can have some solace, however

follows 950 orbem β. **fuit . . . rex** regnabat. 1095 **orbem** totum orbem β. 1095-96 **sicut . . . imperatoris** *om.* β. 1097 **secundum . . . fuerat** more terre β. **cuius rex fuerat** sue Dgβ. 1098 **fuit** regnavit β. **scivi** potui Dgβ. **Valentinus vel** *om.* JMEL. **vel Valentius** *om.* DgD. 1099 **id . . . tamen** *om.* Dgβ. 1100 **beato luca** beatis luca et ieronimo et multis aliis L. **fati** obitus C; om. Dg★. 1101-3 **recoli . . . etc.** *om.* Dgβ (Dg *om. from* 1100 cum; D *om. from* 1101 id[2]). 1103 **satis** *om.* EL. 1104 **Hic** hoc JM. **est** ponitur β. **Ruffino** *add* Valerius DL. 1105 **accepta a viris** virorum β. 1107 **Caonius** ca nius Dg; Canius D. 1109 **primum** *add* primo EL. **Cithero** *add* qui etiam (et L) Marcus Tullius β. 1110 **et . . . Terentia** que β. 1111 **qui fuit inimicus** inimico β. 1112-18 **in uxorem . . . philosophie** *om.* β. 1113 **et . . . tangitur** quam (*add* ipse L) recusavit et querenti cur hoc faceret respondit se philosophie etc. β. 1115 **conposuit** fecit JDgM. 1118-19 **tibi . . . utinam** *om.* Dgβ. 1119 **sic** hoc β. 1120 **dicere velles** *om.* Dgβ. **aliquam** J aliqualem β. **saltem**

ria verificari, sicut patet inspicienti historias Romanorum. Et ideo dicendum quod iste Valentius, ut multis videtur, fuit aliquis rex in aliqua determinata provincia, non super orbem sicut illi qui proprie nomen habet inperatoris. Imperator autem dictus est in sua provincia secundum morem provincie cuius rex fuerat. Ubi autem fuit rex, nunquam scivi invenire. Dicit ergo, "*Valentinus* vel *Valentius imperator octogenarius*, id est octoginta etatis annos habens, et tamen *adhuc virgo* (idem legimus de beato Luca), *cum audisset die [fati] sui*, id est, mortis sue, *recoli*, id est recitari, *preconia triumphorum suorum*, id est laudes victoriarum suarum *quibus ipse fuerat frequentissimus* ad eas habendum, etc." Littera est satis plana.

Cithero. Hic est capitulum 5, in quo dissuadet Ruffino uxorari per exempla accepta a viris qui fuerunt maximi per studium sapientie. Et dividitur in 6 partes secundum sex exempla que ponit. Secunda pars incipit ibi, *Caonius*, tercia ibi, *Pacuvius*; quarta ibi, *Sensit Sulpicius*; quinta ibi, *Ait Cato*; sexta ibi, *Metellus*. Circa primum sciendum quod ista est historia: Cithero repudiavit uxorem suam, nomine Terentiam, et ideo ipsa Terentia nupsit Salustio qui fuit inimicus Citheronis, et tercio Messale Corvino, et ideo Hircius nobilis quidam optulit Citheroni sororem suam in uxorem, et ipse respondit sicut hic tangitur. Et ut communiter dicitur, iste Cithero [f. 71v] est idem quod Marcus Tullius, qui Tullius rethoricam et multos alios libros conposuit. Dicit ergo, "*Cithero post repudium Terentie*, id est, postquam repudiavit eam, *noluit uxorari, dicens* cuidam querenti quare hoc fecit, *se non posse dare operam*, id est, curam, *pariter uxori et philosophie. Amice, utinam tibi tuus animus hoc responderet*, id est, utinam ex animo sic velles mihi dicere, et si non animo, saltem *lingua* dicere velles, ut aliquam leticiam saltem

brief, in hoping for your salvation"; and so he says, "May your heart or your tongue answer me, and *I wish you would deign to imitate the prince of eloquence*, that is, Cicero, or Tully, who was a very elegant speaker, *at least in saying*, in word only, what he said: that he could not spare the time for both a wife and philosophy, and *may you give me hope, or,* that is even if, *illusory hope* because brief." He wants that because, if Rufinus had said it even without meaning it, Valerius would have had an inroad, as it were, to force him to act according to his own words.

Canius. This is the second part of this chapter, and gives a second example. You should know that the writing is more difficult because it is taken from Livy, a Carthaginian and a master stylist who wrote the history of Rome. This part contains a conversation between the Spaniard Canius and Livy the Carthaginian or African. For Carthage is a city in Africa, in the province of Libya, as Isidore says in Book 9 of the *Etymologies*, in the chapter on the names of nations. This Canius was very eloquent, like Livy, but lustful; Livy was eloquent and not lustful; Livy got married, Canius had many lovers. This part has three parts. First comes Livy's charge; then Canius's reply; and then these are combined into something better than both. The second part starts at *Canius answered*, the third at *Friend, I approve*.

On the first, you should know that Cadiz is a boundary-marker that Hercules put at the far western tip of Spain after he had conquered the whole western world; it is a kind of stone column high over the ocean. You should also know that he alludes here to a story that is given in the fourth book of the Metamorphoses. Tityos, the story goes, tried to sleep with Latona, Apollo's mother; he was shot to death by

licet β. 1121 **habere . . . tuam** sperare β; *om.* tuam M. 1123 **qui et Tullius** *om.* β. 1124 **saltem loquendo** ut saltem β. **tantum** *om.* Mβ. 1124–25 **illud . . . dixit** *add* mihi denuncies J; mihi denuncies idest M; *add* scilicet Dg; id mihi denuncies te β. 1125 **non . . . et** ut β. 1126 **vel** *om.* DgMβ. **id est saltem** veram vel β. **quia brevem** *om.* β. 1126–28 **Ideo . . . dicta** Vana foret quia brevis si solummodo voce tenus pateret β. 1129 **Caonius** caconius Dg; canius Mβ. **secunda** tertia EL. 1133 **Caonium** caconium Dg; canium Mβ. 1135 **libro** *om.* β. 1136 **Caonius** caconius Dg; Canius Mβ. 1137 **Livius . . . lascivus** *om.* D; livius E; et L. 1138 **Caonius** Canius Mβ. 1139 **Titus** *om.* DgMβ. 1140 **dedit** fecit β. **Caonius** canius MEL; sanius D. 1141 **Caonius** canius M. 1145 **mundum** orbemi β. 1146 **hic uni** cuidem β. 1147 **in** *om.* MDE*L. **libro** *om.* β. 1148 **ut**

brevem possem habere, sperando salutem tuam"; et ideo dicit, "*Ut tuus animus vel tua lingua respondeat mihi, et utinam digneris imitari principem eloquentie*, scilicet Citheronem, qui et Tullius, qui fuit rethor ornatissimus, *saltem loquendo*, vocetenus tantum, illud quod ipse dixit: pariter uxori et philosophie non posse vacare, et *facias mihi spem vel*, id est saltem, *vanam*, quia brevem." Ideo hoc optat, quia si Ruffinus hoc tantum verbo dixisset, habuisset Valerius quasi viam necessitandi eum ut faceret secundum propria dicta.

Caonius. Hec est secunda pars huius capituli, in quo ponitur secundum exemplum. Et est sciendum quod ista littera est difficilior, quia accipitur a Tito Livio, qui fuit Cartaginensis eloquentissimus, et historias Romanorum scripsit. Continet igitur ista pars collationem inter Caonium Hispanum et Livium Cartaginensem sive Affricanum. Nam Cartaginensis civitas est in Affrica de provincia Libie, ut patet per Ysidorum libro 9 *Ethimologiarum*, capitulo de vocabulis gentium (cf. 9.2.115-16). Iste autem Caonius fuit similiter multum eloquens sed lascivus. Livius eloquens non lascivus, tamen unam duxit; Caonius plures amavit. Et dividitur ista pars in 3 partes. Primo introducitur reprehensio quam fecit Titus Livius; secundo, responsio quam dedit Caonius; tercio, colligitur ex hiis utroque melius. Secunda pars incipit ibi, *Cui Caonius*; tercia ibi, *Amice, utriusque*.

Sciendum circa primum quod *Gades* sunt mete quas Hercules posuit in ulterioribus finibus Hispanie in Occidente postquam totum mundum Occidentalem devicit, et est quedam turris lapidea altissima supra occeanum. Sciendum etiam quod alludit hic uni fabule que talis est, ut patet in Methamorfosios libro 4 (cf. 4.457-58). Ticius, ut fingitur, voluit concubuisse cum Latona matre Apolinis;

Apollo with arrows, and chained in hell, and there a vulture eats his liver. The truth is that Tityos was a philosopher who was so desirous to know the future that he practiced the art of divination. That is why he is feigned to have tried to sleep with Latona: Latona is as it were "latito-na," and stands for the uncertainty of time that lies hidden from men: this uncertainty is the reason why the art of divination was invented, and so it is called the mother of Apollo, who is feigned to be the God of divination. Tityos is "killed by Apollo's arrows" because as he focuses his mind on various methods of divination he is swallowed up, as it were, in study. And that is also why it is said that a vulture, that is, the intensity and hunger of desire, eats his liver, for according to Isidore, book 11, the chapter on man and his parts, and other authorities, desire is seated in the liver; as the saying goes, "the liver drives love."

He says, then: *Canius*, who was *from Hercules' Cadiz, a clever poet of frivolous eloquence, was rebuked by Livy the Punic*, that is Carthaginian, *sober*, that is, in morals, or *weighty*, that is, authoritative, and *married*, and a *historian*—for he wrote the history of Rome "with an eloquence pure as milk," as Jerome says—*because he rejoiced in the loves of many*, that is, women, because he was with many women. These were Livy's words: *You cannot share our philosophy while you are shared by so many* (women). *Tityos does not love Juno with the liver that many vultures* (that is, many worries) *are tearing in pieces*, as if to say Tityos, whose liver many vultures are eating, did not love *Juno* (or Latona) with the liver with which you—that is, with as much desire as the desire with which you—love many women. The point is that Tityos died, and his liver is being eaten, because he desired many women—and it will be the same with you.

fingitur *om.* β. 1149 **Appoline** apollinis ME. **interfectus** paremptus β. 1150 **devorat** devoravit M; iugiter redit D; iugiter rodit EL. 1152 **quod voluit concubuisse** voluisse concumbere DL; voluisse concubuisse E. 1154 **que** hec DL. **quia** que β. 1155 **Apollinis** Herculis CDgκ. 1157 **quasi** *om.* β. 1158 **voluntatis** voluptatis Dgβ; voluntas M. **et aviditas** et aviditatis Dg; *om.* β. **vorat** devorat M; redit D; rodit EL. 1163 **Caonius** Canius Mβ. 1164 **Livio** Livo C. **id est** in JMβ. 1165 **gravi** *om.* β. 1167 **gauderet** gaude C; gaudebat DgM. 1167-68 **amoribus . . . tractavit** idest voluptabatur DL; idest delectabatur voluptabatur L. 1168-69 **Et . . . ista** hiis verbis β. 1169 **Titi** ticii DgM. 1169-70 **participare . . . participaris** etc. β. 1170-71 **Iunonem . . . vultures** etc. CJ. 1171 **id . . . cure** *om.* β. **in . . . devellunt** *om.* CJβ; divellunt in multa Dg. 1172-73 **cuius . . . amavit** non β. 1173 **tali** *om.* M; tam fervida β. 1173-76 **quo . . . te** ut tu vel quanta tu voluptate iam (*om.* D) amas (amabas D) at tamen eum idest ticium vel illud idest iecur multi vultures (ulceres D) idest multe cure in multa divellunt quanto ergo plures cure te in plura divellunt β. 1177

unde ab Appoline sagittis interfectus est, et in inferno religatus, et iecur eius vultur devorat. Veritas est quod Ticius philosophus fuit qui, in inquisitione futurorum intentus, artem divinationis exercuit, et ideo fingitur quod voluit concubuisse cum Latona. Latona dicitur quasi "latitona" que significat incertitudinem temporis que homines latet, que quidem incertitudo, quia est causa inveniendi artem divinationis, dicitur mater [Apollinis] qui fingitur deus divinationis. Hic sagittis Apolinis occiditur quia diversis divinationis speciebus intentus studio quasi absorbetur. Et ideo dicitur quod vultur, id est, voluntatis cura et aviditas, iecur eius vorat, quia secundum Ysidorum libro II, capitulo de homine et partibus eius (11.1.25), et etiam secundum philosophos, voluntas in iecore viget, sicut dicitur, "Cogit amare iecur" (Eberhard of Bethune, *Graecismus*, 19.107).

Dicit igitur, *Caonius* qui fuit de *Gadibus Herculis, poeta facundie levis et iocunde reprehensus est a [Livio] Peno*, id est, Cartaginensi, *gravi*, id est, moribus, vel *gravi*, id est, auctentico, et *uxorato et historiographo* quia scripsit historias Romanorum "lactea eloquentia," ut dicit Ieronymus (*Ep.* 53, *PL* 22.541) *quia [gauderet] amoribus multarum*, id est, mulierum, quia tractavit cum multis mulieribus. Et fuerunt verba Titi ista: *Nostram philosophiam participare non poteris dum a tot*, scilicet mulieribus, *participaris. Non enim eo iecore [Iunonem amat Ticius quem multi vultures]*, id est multe cure, *[in multis devellunt]*, quasi diceret [f. 72]: Ticius, cuius iecur multi vultures devorant, non amavit eo iecore, id est tali voluntate, *Iunonem* vel Latonam quo tu scilicet, id est quali voluntate tu, diligis multas mulieres. Est ergo sensus: Ticius mortuus est, et devoratur iecur eius, quia pluribus intendebat; sic erit de te.

Canius answered. Here he gives Canius's answer, the gist of which is the proverb that "variety is the spice of life," or, "there is a time to embrace and a time to refrain from embracing." And he uses five examples to back this up. First, because just as when a man falls he tries to watch himself better so as not to fall again, so if he, Canius, falls at times into lust, he gets up again stronger. (That is a lie; it is not possible except by accident.) So, he says, *If I slip once in a while*, that is, if I fall again and again, *I get up again stronger*. The second example is, *if I am smothered for a while, I regain my wind more quickly*, that is, more deeply and gladly. For when people are pressed close and feel the air being cut off, they exert all their strength to get air. The third example is because *the changes that night brings* make *the days more cheerful*, that is, day is more delightful because it alternates with night, *but a perpetuity*, that is, a continuation *of darkness would be like hell*. Philosophers have asserted both that hell exists and that constant darkness exists in it. *Instar*, indeclinable, has preposition and noun already in it and so can mean "in the likeness of," but sometimes just means "likeness" without a preposition. For the fourth example you should know that according to Dioscorides, "the lily is hot and moist. There is both a wild lily and a garden lily: the wild lily has a purple flower"—and is called the spring lily here in England, because it is the first flower to appear in the spring—"the garden lily has a white flower, and that has more healing power."

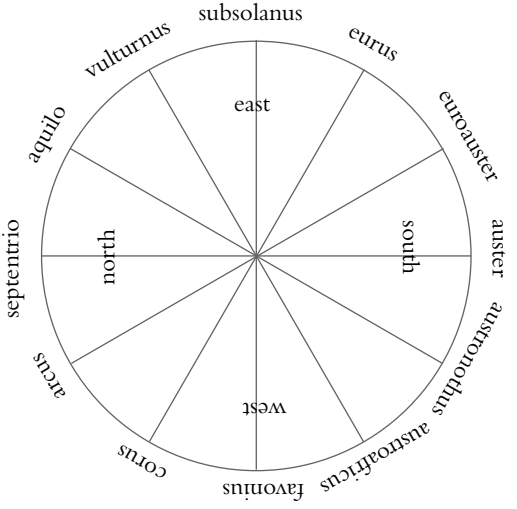
You should also know that he names three winds here, at *now of Eurus*; Euronothus, Zephirus, and Libs. Isidore (and most others) call *Euronothus* Euroauster; he calls

Caonius C; canius M. **Caonii** canii Mβ. 1178 **responsio sua** vis responsionis DL; *om.* E. **ista sententia** hoc β. **alternis** alternatim Dg; communiter DL; quandoque E; *add* dicitur quod (*om.* L) alterius (alternis L) β. 1178-79 **uti sit delectabile** *add* est C; uno uti deinde aliud delectabile est Dg; sit uti est delectabile M; uti delectabile est β. 1179-80 **aliquando . . . aliquando** quandoque amplexandi quandoque β. 1181 **ad hoc persuadendum** persuadendo β. **quia** *om.* β. 1182 **quando cadit** quando cecidit JM; cum cecidit Dg; cadens β. **nititur . . . ne** aliquando cavet sibi discrecius ne β. 1182-83 **ita . . . cadit** sicut et ipse licet quandoque caderet β. 1183 **resurgit** nihilominus surgebat β. 1184-85 **id . . . iterum** *om.* β. 1185 **iterum** aliquando JDgM. **id . . . fortior** etc. β. 1188 **omnes vires** magnam curam β. **capere** resumere β. 1189 **quia** *om.* β. **faciunt . . . letiores** reddit dies letiores DgE; reddit dies etc. D; etc. L. **quod** *om.* DgMβ. 1190 **sunt** *om.* Mβ. 1192 **fuit . . . est** opinabatur infernum esse β. 1192-93 **tenebre perpetue** tenebras parpetuas β. 1194 **tamen** *om.* β. 1196 **Diascoridem** diascoridum C; diastondem D. 1199 **album** candidum β. 1201-2 **ibi . . videlicet** scilicet DgM; *om.* β. 1204 **Austroaffricus** euroaster C; auster

Cui Caonius. Hic ponit responsionem Caonii, ubi sciendum quod responsio sua consistit in ista sententia quod "alternis uti sit [delectabile]" (Walther, *Spr.* 895), et ita: aliquando amplecti, aliquando vacandi ab amplexibus tempus est (cf. Eccles. 3.5). Et utitur 5 exemplis ad hoc persuadendum. Primo, quia sicut homo quando cadit nititur melius se custodire ne iterum cadat, ita ipse si aliquando cadit in voluptatem, resurgit fortior. (Hoc dixit false, quia hoc non est possibile nisi per accidens.) Ideo dicit *si quando*, id est, si iterum, *labor*, id est, cado, *resurgo fortior*. Secundum exemplum ponit, *si paululum opprimor, alacrius*, id est, fortius et iocundius *resumo aerem*. Illi enim qui sentiunt sibi aerem precludi per oppressionem, adhibent omnes vires ut aerem capere possint. Tercium exemplum est, quia *vices noctium* faciunt quod *dies* sunt *letiores*, id est, quod vicissim sunt noctes, facit quod dies sunt magis delectabiles, *sed tenebrarum perpetuitas*, id est, continuitas, *instar inferni est*. Ecce quod apud philosophos fuit opinio quod infernus est, et in eo tenebre perpetue. *Instar*, indeclinabile, includit in se prepositionem et nomen, quia idem est quod "ad similitudinem"; aliquando tamen stat pro "similitudine" sine prepositione. Circa quartum exemplum, sciendum quod lilium secundum [Diascoridem] "calidum est et humidum. Est autem aliud silvestre, aliud domesticum: silvestre purpureum habet florem"—et vocatur hic primevum lilium, quia primum omnium florum apparet in vere—"domesticum album habet florem, et illud est efficacius."

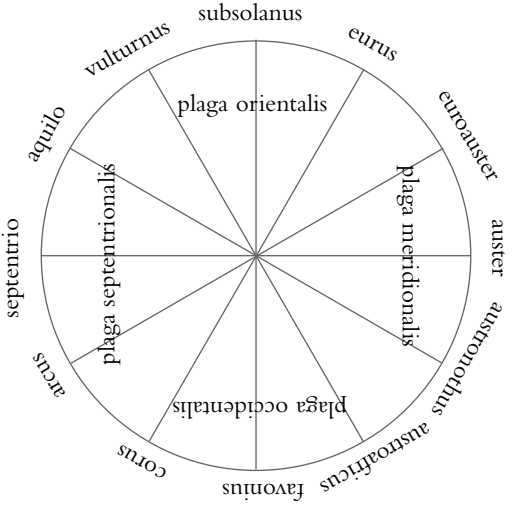
Aliud est sciendum quod nominat hic 3 ventos, ibi, *tum Euronothi*, videlicet Euronothum, Zephirum, et Libem. *Euronothus* ab Ysidoro (*Etym.* 13.11.3, 6) et communiter vocatur Euroauster, *Zephirus* ab eodem vocatur [Austroaffricus]. *Libs* vocatur ab eo-

Zephirus Austroafricus, and Libs Austronothus (usually Africus). There are four chief winds: first Subsolanus, commonly called the East wind, which arises under (*sub*) the torrid zone where the sun (*sol*) always lingers. The wind opposite it is the second chief wind, called Favonius because it is favorable, but usually called the West wind. The third chief wind is called Auster, in English South, because it draws up (hauriendo) water. The wind opposite it is called Septentrio or Boreas. Each of these winds has two side winds. Subsolanus has Eurus to the south and Vulturnus to the north. Favonius has Corus or Circius to the north and Austroafricus or Zephirus to the south. Auster has Austronothus or Africus or Libs to the west, and Euroauster to the east. Septentrio or Boreas has Aquilo to the east and Arcus to the west. All this is easy to see in the figure drawn below.



affricus JMβ. 1206 **ventus** *om.* β. 1207 **moratur** movetur β. 1208 **sibi** ei β. 1209 **Occidentalis** occi/dalis C. 1210 **South** *om.* J*; suth ME; suwth L. 1211 **sibi** ei β. 1220 **prescripta** *only C has the figure, above this statement*; JD subscripta (*in J, space is left under this statement for the figure*; descripta

dem Austronothus, usualiter Affricus. Quatuor autem sunt venti cardinales, primus Subsolanus, qui communiter dicitur ventus Orientalis; iste nascitur sub torrida zona sub qua semper moratur sol. Ventus sibi oppositus est secundus ventus cardinalis, et vocatur Favonius quia favorabilis, usualiter ventus [Occidentalis]. Tercius ventus cardinalis dicitur Auster, Anglice South, ab hauriendo aquas. Et ventus sibi oppositus vocatur Septentrio vel Boreas. Et quilibet istorum habet duos collaterales. Subsolanus versus austrum habet Eurum; versus septentrionem, Vulturnum. *Favonius* habet versus septentrionem Corum vel Circium, quod idem est, versus austrum, Austroaffricum vel Zephirum, quod idem est. Auster versus Favonium habet Austronothum vel Affricum vel Libem, quod idem est; versus Subsolanum habet Euroaustrum. Septentrio vel Boreas, quod idem est, versus Subsolanum habet Aquilonem, versus Favonium Arcum. Sicut manifestius patet sensui in figura prescripta.



And any side wind has many of the properties of the wind it is alongside; thus Euroauster, which is here called *Euronothus*, is rainy like the south wind, because the south wind arises in the zone near the South Pole, which is uninhabitable because of its extreme cold; thus it is naturally cold and dry in its origin, but as it passes through the torrid zone it picks up heat. And because it comes through the south where there is a lot of water, or places full of dew, it picks up moisture, and so in the end it comes out to be warm and moist. And so when it blows the air is full of moist vapor, and it pours rain. Thus it is clear that Euronothus is rainy. *Zephirus*, on the other hand, in my view, is moderately cold and moist, and not excessively so because it is on the south side of the west wind, and the west wind is moderately cold and moist, and because it is on the south side it is a bit drier than the west wind. But *Libs* or Africus, because it is on the west side of the south wind, generates lightning like the west wind, as Isidore teaches, for the reason just given: because it drives the air from a broad zone toward our narrowness, the clouds thicken and are kindled. But Aquilo, because it is on the east side of the north wind, is cold and dry like the north wind, which is born in the northern mountains which are always frozen because they are too far from the sun.

Thus the meaning of the passage is clear: *thus*, that is, by variation, *the lilies of spring*, in French "primerole," *made delightful*, that is, growing delightfully, as it were delighting, *in the times of the spring sun*, that is, in springtime, *take still deeper joy*, that is, fuller joy, *now*, that is, sometimes, from the variety *of Euronothus, now*, that is sometimes, from the variety of Zephirus—but then one bolt of *Libs the lightning-wind brings destruction on them*. For just as they grow in favorable and moderate warmth,

Dg; *om.* M (*space left to right of this statement*) EL⋆. 1221-22 **multum de proprietate** magnam (*om.* E) congruenciam β. 1232-34 **et non .. humidus** *om.* β. 1234 **eo ipso quo** eurus qui M; eo ipso quod β. 1236 **Austri** austro JL. **fulminis** fluminis β. 1241 **congelantur** congellatur D; congelatur EL. 1245 **temporibus** in tempore DgM tempore DL. 1247 **Euronothi . . . varietate** *om.* DOE. 1248 **prono** parvo JMDL; pro Dg. 1249 **calore** colore DL. 1251 **quod** quandoque β. **hominum**

Quilibet autem ventus [f. 72v] lateralis habet multum de proprietate illius cui est lateralis; unde Euroauster, qui vocatur hic *Euronothus*, habet istam proprietatem cum Austro quod est pluviosus, quia ventus Australis oritur in zona iuxta polum Antarticum, qui pre nimia eius frigiditate est inhabitabilis, unde naturaliter est frigidus et siccus quo ad suum ortum, sed dum transit per torridam zonam ibi calorem assumit. Et quia per meridiem venit ubi maior est aquarum copia, vel loca rore plena, humiditatem adquirit; et sic tandem calidus et humidus invenitur. Et ideo ipso flante, aer vapore humido repletur, pluviasque refundit. Sic igitur patet quod Euronothus est pluviosus. *Zephirus* e contra, ut mihi videtur, temperate est frigidus et humidus, et non excessive quia lateralis est Favonii versus austrum, et Favonius temperate est frigidus et humidus, et eo ipso quo est lateralis versus Austrum, est adhuc magis siccus quam Favonius. *Libs* autem vel Affricus, quia lateralis est Austri versus Favonium, est generativus fulminis sicut Auster, ut docet Ysidorus (cf. *Etym.* 13.11.5), propter causam iam dictam: quia scilicet de ampla zona aerem inpellit ad nostram angustiam, condensantur nubes, et inflammantur. *Aquilo* autem, quia lateralis est Boree versus Subsolanum, frigidus est et siccus sicut Boreas, qui nascitur in hiperboreis montibus, qui semper congelantur propter nimiam remotionem a sole.

Patet igitur sensus littere: *sic*, id est, per interpolationem variorum *lilia primeva*, Gallice primerole, *deliciata*, id est, delectabiliter crescentia quasi delectantia, *temporibus verni solis*, id est, tempore veris, *tum lasciviunt, leticia effusiore*, id est, copiosiore, *tum*, id est, aliquando, varietate *Euronothi, tum,* id est, aliquando varietate *Zephiri*, *quibus* tamen liliis unus *Libs fulmineus occasum facit*. Sicut enim prono

so they wither when an excess comes of either cold or heat. This is a metaphorical passage: by similitude the properties of men or animals are applied to plants, so that they are said to *delight*, that is, feel pleasure, or *lasciviate*, that is, enjoy, *deeply*—but that is only said by way of similitude.

Thus Mars. Here he puts his fifth example. For this you must know that, according to Hugutio in his chapter on the word *unguo*, (anoint), the word uxorious means either "pertaining to a wife," or "devoted to one's wife and completely subdued to her will," and is used here in this last sense. Hugutio also says, in his chapter on the word *mulceo* (soften), that *mulceo* is combined either with *ferrum* (steel) or *imber* (rain) to form the name Mulcifer or Mulciber, and he is called both here. Vulcan is called by both of these names. He is Jove's smith, which is why he is called Mulcifer, and he is called Mulciber because he softens the steel with rain. This passage alludes to the story about Vulcan that appears in chapter three above, to which should be added that when the gods were reclining at table, Mars was not allowed to eat with them until his testicles were cut off; but after they were cut off, Vulcan, who had arranged it, was bound by a rope woven together from the small cords by which Mars had been bound before, and thus was bound far worse than Mars had been. And so he says that *many threads*, that is, taking pleasure by turns, *bind more lightly*, that is, more enjoyably, *than a single chain*, that is, than to be bound forever either to indulgence or to continence. Thus he says, "*Thus Mars, with his testicles cut off, reclines at heaven's table as a fellow of those above*, that is, of the gods in heaven, whom he calls 'those above' to distinguish them from the gods in hell; *away from which*, that is, table, or *away from whom*, Mars, *uxorious Mulciber*, that is, Vulcan totally dedicated to his wife, *is tied down by his own rope*, that is, of lust, *by far*, that is, far more, because Mars only

homini Dg; hominis β. 1253 **id est** vel β. **tamen dicitur** tamen dictum est M; dictum est β. 1255 **Hugutionem*** Ysidorum αβ. **unguo** ungo DgMβ. 1255-56 **-a, -um** uxoria etc. Dg; *om.* β. 1256-58 **ad . . . hic** est vir uxori totaliter deditus et est passivum (possessivum D) nomen β. 1257 **subditus*** deditus α; *om.* β. 1259 **vel cum ymber** *om.* β. **hic** *om.* β. 1260 **et . . . -bris** item cum ymber (iber E) at dicitur Mulciber EL; *om.* D. 1260-61 **Utrumque . . . nominum** utroque isto (illo E) nomine β. 1261 **Est enim** qui est β. 1262 **Mulcifer et** *om.* β. 1263 **unam** quendam β. 1265 **et comedentibus** *om.* β. 1268 **Mars²** *om.* C. **prius** *om.* Dgβ. 1268-69 **ligabatur** ligatus erat Dg ligatus est κ. 1272 **testiculis** reticulis DL. 1273 **deorum** *add* supra DL; super E. 1274 **a . . . vel** *om.* CJDgβ. 1275 **totaliter** corporaliter β. 1277 **totaliter** contrarie at

et temperato calore crescunt, ita veniente intemperato vel frigore vel calore marcescunt. Et hec est methaphorica locutio, quia per similitudinem quod proprium est hominum vel animalium accomodatur plantis, ut dicantur *deliciari*, id est sentire delicias, vel *lascivire*, id est, letari, *effuse*; quod per similitudinem tamen dicitur.

Sic Mars: hic ponit 5 exemplum, circa quod sciendum secundum [Hugutionem], capitulo de unguo, -gis (U.42.9), quod uxorius, -a, -um "ad uxorem pertinens" vel "uxori deditus et voluntati uxoris ex toto [sub]ditus" dicitur, et in ista ultima significatione sumitur hic. Item secundum eundem, capitulo de mulceo, -ces (M.143.11), mulceo componitur cum ferrum vel cum ymber et dicitur "hic Mulcifer, -feris" et "Mulciber, -ris vel -bris." Utrumque istorum nominum vocatur Vulcanus. Est enim faber Iovis et ideo dicitur Mulcifer; et Mulciber quia mulcet ymbre ferrum. Et hec littera tangit unam fictionem de Vulcano de quo est habitum 3 capitulo precedente (ll. 773-80); tamen hic addendum est, quod Mars, recumbentibus diis et comedentibus, non est permissus comedere cum eis donec abscinderentur ei testiculi; quibus abscisis, Vulcanus, qui hoc procuravit, ligatus uno fune contexto ex parvis funiculis quibus Mars prius ligabatur, longe peius quam [Mars] prius ligabatur. Et ideo dicit quod *levius*, id est, delectabilius *ligant multa fila*, id est, frequentate per vices voluptates, *quam una sola cathena*, id est, quam ligari semper ad voluptatem vel semper ad continentiam. Dicit ergo, "*Sic Mars ruptis testiculis recumbit conviva in mensa celesti superum* (id est, superorum), hoc est, deorum celestium; hoc dicit ad differentiam deorum infernalium [*a qua*, id est, mensa, vel] *a quo*, Marte, *uxorius Mulciber*, id est, Vulcanus totaliter uxori deditus, *longe*, id est, magis, *religatur suo fune*, id est, concupiscentie, quia Mars

loved by turns and anyhow, and Vulcan totally. *Thus many threads bind more lightly than a single chain*, and (*que* for *et) philosophy brings me treats*, that is, I take philosophy as a treat—for things that you have all the time are not treats, and *for you* in philosophy there is *consolation*, that is, you conduct your life in such a way that only philosophy offers you consolation." But in fact a man has consolation from ordinary food as well as from treats: what Canius means is that his life is better than Livy's to the same degree as treats are better than ordinary food. If "better" is taken as "more pleasurable," he is right.

There follows, then, the third part of this paragraph, *Friend, I approve*, where he summarizes what is good in both and leans more toward the opinion of Canius, suggesting that more suffering comes from marrying one wife from whom there is no parting than to love many, where there can be an interruption of suffering. Thus he says, "*Friend, I prove*, that is, approve *the words of both of these men*, because one said that we are not to love many women, the other, that it is not good to be bound to one woman, but (I approve) *the life of neither*, because both pursued lust; nevertheless, *many illnesses harm less alternating with a turn of safety*, that is, of health, *than does a single disease which will never stop afflicting one*, namely *with irremediate pains*, that is, pains that have no remedy."

Pacuvius. This is the third part of this chapter, on the Greek philosopher Pacuvius; the sense is plain enough.

Sulpicius felt. This is the fourth part of this chapter, on Sulpicius, of whom Jerome says in one of his letters, "We have read that a Roman nobleman, when his friends criticized him for divorcing a beautiful and chaste wife, put out his foot and said, 'This shoe that you see seems new and stylish to you, but nobody knows except me where it pinches me.'" The passage, *Sulpicius felt*, etc., alludes to that anecdote. And

totaliter DgM. 1279 **id . . . philosophia** *om.* CJDgβ. 1280 **semper** *add* non DgM. 1283 **Caonius** caoynus Dg; canius Mβ. 1284 **Titi** ticii DgM; ticti D; tui E. 1285 **dixit** dicit DL. 1286 **ubi** hic DL. 1287 **quid** quod MEL. 1288 **Caonii** Canii Mβ. 1289 **potest esse** est β. 1291 **dicta** verba DL; verbi E. 1291-92 **quia . . . sed** *om.* β. 1292 **vitam** factum β. **scilicet approbo** *om.* β. 1296 **remedium** J *inserts* Caonius a Gadibus Herculis . . . alius non sic, *Ridewall* 568-681. 1297-98 **de . . . Greco** *om.* EL. 1302 **protendisse** *add* fertur ML. 1303 **soccus** seccus? M; soleus β. 1304 **Et**

non amavit nisi per vices, et aliqualiter, et ipse totaliter. *Sic levius ligant multa fila quam una sola cathena*, (*que* pro et) et *delicie sunt mihi a philosophia*, [id est, sic sum in philosophia] sicut in deliciis, quia non sunt delicie que semper habentur; *et tibi* sunt a philosophia *solatia*, id est, ita te habes, quod in sola philosophia sunt tibi solacia." Solacium autem habet homo de cibo communi ita bene sicut de deliciis: vult ergo Caonius dicere quod quanto delicie sunt meliores communi cibo, tanto fuit vita sua melior vita Titi. Si intelligatur melius id quod delectabilius, verum dixit.

Ideo sequitur tercia pars huius paraffi, *Amice, utriusque*, ubi colligitur quid in utroque melius, et magis accedit ad sententiam Caonii, volens quod maior est angustia in ducendo unam uxorem, a qua non potest esse separatio, quam plures amare, ubi potest esse interpollatio angustie. Dicit igitur, "*Amice, probo*, id est, approbo, *dicta utriusque*, quia unus dixit quod plures non sunt amande, alius quod non est bonum uni ligari, sed *neutrius vitam*, scilicet approbo, quia uterque voluptatem sequebatur; *tamen multi morbi interpollati per vicissitudinem salutis*, id est, sanitatis, *ledunt minus quam unicus languor qui non cessat affligere*, et hoc dico *doloribus irremediatis*, id est, non capientibus remedium."

Pacuvius. Hec est tercia pars huius capituli, de Pacuvio philosopho Greco, et est littera satis plana. [f. 73]

Sensit Sulpicius. Hec est 4 pars huius capituli, de Sulpicio, de quo Ieronymus in quadam epistola (*Adv. Jov*. 1.48) sic dicit: "Legimus quendam apud Romanos nobilem, cum eum amici arguerent quod uxorem formosam et castam repudiasset, protendisse pedem et dixisse, 'Hic soccus quem cernitis videtur vobis novus et elegans, sed nemo scit preter me, ubi me premat.'" Et hoc est quod dicit *Sensit*

then he addresses Rufinus: "Friend, look out, etc."

Cato of Utica said. This is the fifth part of this chapter, in which he brings in the authority of Cato. He was called "Rigid Cato" on account of his stern moral sense: he could not be bent to anything wrong. Thus Seneca, in the letter to Lucilius that begins, "Any good man," after urging Lucilius to observe some virtuous man and take him as a model of how to live, adds. "Therefore pick a Cato; if Cato seems too rigid for you, pick a Laelius." This Cato had such prestige on account of his zeal for justice that Lucan, assessing the relative justice of the struggle between Julius Caesar and Pompey, put Cato on a level with the gods, saying in Book One, "The winning cause pleased the gods, but the losing cause pleased Cato." And when he decided it would be wrong to serve Caesar, the invader of the republic, he killed himself at Utica, considering it right not to live after liberty; thus he is called "Cato of Utica." Seneca says of him in his second book to Serenus, "Cato did not survive liberty, and liberty did not survive Cato." He worked out a complete moral philosophy, called "The Ethics of Cato," in which he makes the remark that Valerius quotes here. The book that boys learn to recite in school, "If God is a spirit, etc." is a set of extracts from the *Complete Ethics*.

Valerius says, then, *Cato of Utica*, etc. which is clear enough, and then he applies it: *Cato said nothing except true things*, and what he knew to be true things, *nor does* he or *anyone* else *execrate*, that is, curse *the frivolousness*, that is, the deceits, *of women unless he has been deceived*, that is, fooled, and *knows it* and *feels the pain* they, women, bring. Then he goes on to draw a conclusion; therefore *it is right to have*, that is place, *trust in those*, that is, in such *men, because they speak the whole truth; they know that the pleasure pleases, but the sin*, that is, the punishment for the sin, *stings; they know that the*

. . . dicit dicit igitur β. 1308 **quem habuit** *om.* Dg*Mβ. 1309 **que** qui CM. 1311 **subiungit** subiunxit β. 1315 **comparaverit** comparavit DgMβ. **deis*** deos αβ. 1316 **victa** vita Jβ. 1319 **Serenum*** Severum αβ. 1323 **liber** libellus β. **pueris** *add* qui sic incipit DgDL; scilicet M. 1324 **et cetera** *om.* JDg. 1325 **Dicit . . . satis** et patet littera (dictum E) β. **et tunc** deinde β. 1326 **nec ipse** *om.* β. 1327 **quisquam alius** quisque EL; quilibet D. **id est devovet** *om.* β. **id est illusiones** *om.* β. 1328-29 **et expertus . . . tunc** *om.* β. 1329 **facit conclusionem**J concludit β. 1330 **habere id est** *om.* β. 1331-32 **id est pena delicti** *om.* Dg*Mβ. 1332 **id est noverunt**

Sulpicius, etc. Et dirigit tunc sermonem Ruffino, ibi, *Amice, cave*, etc.

Ait Cato Uticensis. Hec est 5 pars huius capituli, ubi ponit auctoritatem Catonis. Iste Cato rigidus dictus est propter rigorem animi quem habuit, quia ad nichil turpe flecti potuit. Unde Seneca in epistola ad Lucilium [que] sic incipit, *Aliquis vir bonus*, cum suasit Lucilio quod aliquem virum virtuosum observaret et sibi tanquam vivendi exemplum preponeret, subiungit: "Elige itaque Catonem; si hic tibi nimis rigidus videtur, elige Lelium" (*Ad Lucilium* 11.10). Iste Cato propter zelum iusticie tante fuit auctoritatis ut in iudicanda causa que erat inter Iulium Cesarem et Pompeium, Lucanus ipsum diis comparaverit, libro 1, dicens: "Victrix causa [deis] placuit sed victa Catoni" (1.128). Qui cum turpe iudicaret servire Cesari invasori reipublice, semetipsum interfecit apud Uticam civitatem, honestum iudicans post libertatem non vivere, unde Uticensis dictus est. De quo Seneca libro 2 ad [Serenum], "Nec enim Cato post libertatem vixit, nec libertas post Catonem" (*De constantia* 2.2). Iste fecit unam magnam scientiam moralem, que dicitur Ethica Catonis, in qua dicit ea que hic allegat Valerius. Et de illa Ethica Magna extrahitur ille liber qui in scolis recitatur pueris, "Si Deus est animus," etc.

Dicit ergo Valerius, *Cato Uticensis*, etc., patet satis; et tunc adaptat: *Cato non nisi vera* et que scivit esse vera *loquebatur*, nec ipse *nec quisquam* alius *execratur*, id est, devovet, *ludibria*, id est illusiones, *feminarum, nisi delusus*, id est illusus, *et expertus et conscius culpe*, scilicet feminarum. Et tunc facit conclusionem ulterius, igitur *decet habere*, id est, adhibere, *hiis*, id est, tantis viris *fidem, quia cum omni veritate loquntur; hii sciunt quod delectatio placet, et delictum*, id est, pena delicti, *pungit; hii norunt*, id est, noverunt, *quod rosa est flos Veneris*,

rose is Venus's flower, because according to poets it is sacred to Venus, and in the rites of Venus the sacrificial victims were crowned with a rose, just as they were crowned with ivy in the rites of Bacchus, as it says in the book of Maccabees; and fittingly, since *underneath the beauty and the red*, that is, underneath the beautiful red petals, *many thorns hide*, just as underneath the pleasure of Venus, that is, of lust, lie many displeasures.

Metellus. This is the sixth and last part of this chapter, in which he gives his sixth exemplum, an exchange between Metellus, a Roman citizen and treasurer of Rome, and Marius, the Roman consul who defeated Libya. Marius offered Metellus his daughter in marriage, and Metellus didn't want her. Thus Valerius says, *Metellus answered Marius, whose* (Marius's) *daughter, rich in dowry*, that is, well endowed in inheritance or patrimony, *noble in form*, that is, in beauty, *from an excellent family*, because the daughter of a consul—the best thing one could be—*blest with a good name*, that is, well known, *he refused to marry*, and said why: "*I would rather*," that is, I prefer to, "*be mine than hers*," that is, rather be under my own rule than my wife's. *Marius replied, "No, she will be yours*, not you hers," that is, she will obey you, not you her. *And he* (Metellus), "*No, the husband must be the wife's*," that is, at the service of his wife's will, and he proves this by a rule of dialectics, at *the rule of logic is*, etc. But you must know that he did not tell the truth, nor is what he said a rule of logic, but its converse—namely when he says, "*Predicates will be such as their subjects permit*." This is a proposition of Boethius's, in his book *The Trinity*, at the beginning of chapter four. His point is to show that when we say "God is great" or "God is good," no quantity or quality is predicated of Him because the subject, which in such a proposition is God, has no "how much" or "what kind." But if Metellus had said that men, who are the higher in rank and therefore comparable to predicates by which a form

om. JE; *add* per sincopam β. 1333 **in .. .Veneris** sacrificatur (*om*. L) veneri β. 1334-35 **ut habetur in** iuxta quod scribitur β. 1336-37 **id . . . latent** *om*. β. 1337-38 **sicut . . . displicentie** semper enim sequitur displicentia libidinem β. 1338 **displicentie** J *inserts* Cato Uticensis fuit . . . vitam, *Ridewall* 687-704. 1339 **Hec** hic C; *om*. M* (*page torn*). **ponit** ponitur β. 1340 **ubi ponitur** scilicet β. 1340-41 **qui . . . custos** civemromanum custodem κ; *om*. L. **qui . . . Romanus** consulem romanum Mβ. 1342 **devicit** vicerat β. 1343 **in . . . habere** quam ipse noluit ducere β. 1343-48 **Dicit . . . uxoris** dicens malo esse meus β. 1349-51 **Cui . . . servientem** at cetera satis patent Dg; et cetera et est littera in (secundum L) hoc satis plana DL; at cetera E. 1351-53 **et hoc . . . logicum** inducit autem metellus regulam quandam logicalem talia erant predicata etc. Hec autem non est vera regula (L *om*. Hec . . . regula) β. 1355 **Et . . . suo** hanc (quam L) regulam tradit boetius libro β. **quarto** quinto β. 1356 **in principio** *om*. β. 1356-69 **per . . . principium** sic dicens hic igitur predicata talia sunt qualia subiecta permiserint L. 1356 **proposicionem Boecius** *om*. β. 1357-58 **non predicatur aliqua** predicatur de deo nulla β. 1358-59 **quod . . . propositione** *om*. β. 1359 **Et . . . hoc** ergo si metellus sic β. 1360 **fuisset sensus** *om*. β. **sunt . . .**

quia Veneri sacratur secundum poetas, et in sacrificiis Veneris coronabantur rosa sacrificaturi, sicut in sacrificio Liberi edera, ut habetur in libro Machabeorum (2 Macc. 6.7); et congruenter, *quia sub eius specie et purpura*, id est, sub pulchris et purpureis foliis, *multi aculei latent*, sicut sub delectatione Veneris, id est, luxurie, multe sunt displicentie.

Metellus. [Hec] est 6 et ultima pars huius capituli, in qua ponit sextum exemplum, ubi ponitur disceptatio inter Metellum qui [f. 73v] fuit civis Romanus, custos erarii Romani, et Marium qui fuit consul Romanus qui Libiam devicit. Marius enim optulit Metello filiam suam in uxorem, et ipse noluit eam habere. Dicit igitur, *Metellus respondit Mario, cuius*, scilicet Marii, *filiam dote divitem*, id est, bene dotatam hereditate vel patrimonio, *forma*, id est, pulchritudine *nobilem, genere claram*, quia filiam consulis, quod fuit maximum, *fama felicem*, id est, nominatam, *noluit* Metellus *ducere* et dixit causam: "*Malo*," inquit, id est melius volo, "*esse meus quam suus*," id est, mei iuris quam uxoris. *Cui Marius*, scilicet respondit, "*Immo ipsa tua erit*, et tu non suus," hoc est, illa tibi obediet, non tu sibi. *At ille*, scilicet Metellus, "*immo oportet virum esse uxoris*," hoc est, ad voluntatem uxoris servientem, et hoc probat per unam regulam dialeticam, ibi, *Logicum est*, etc. Sciendum quod iste non dixit verum, nec illud quod ipse dixit est logicum, sed sua conversa, ut dicatur, "*talia erunt predicata qualia permiserint subiecta*." Et illa est propositio Boecii, in libro suo *De trinitate*, capitulo [quarto], in principio (4.5), per quam propositionem Boecius ostendit quod cum dicitur, "Deus est magnus" vel "Deus est bonus," non predicatur aliqua quantitas aut qualitas quia subiectum, quod est Deus in ista propositione, non est quantum nec quale. Et tunc si Metellus hoc dixisset, fuisset sensus verus: quod viri, qui sunt digniores et ideo

takes definition, are such as their wives, who ought to be subjects because they are comparable to matter, permit them to be—then there would have been a true sense to his words. For in philosophy the thing subjected is called matter and the thing predicated is called form, and the woman is the material principle of the fetus, the man the formal. But Metellus toys with the proposition and turns it inside out: "the subjects will be such"—that is, the husbands will be the ones who in fact are made subject, as if they were the material principle—"as the predicates permit," that is, such as their wives, who in fact are predicated, that is, predominate as if they were the formal principle, permit them to be.

Then Valerius applies the story, alluding to the words of two authorities, the one the greatest in the old law, David, the other in the new, Paul. *Thus*, he says, *Metellus's elegance of words*, that is, the witty eloquence that especially becomes the elegant, that is, those who are well educated, knowing, and courtly (for *facetus*, "elegant," is in present usage a synonym for "urbane" or "courtly") "*removed his back from burdens*," in the words of the psalm. And again, *friend, if you must marry (it is not expedient indeed)*, just as Paul says, "If I must glory (it is not expedient indeed)"; "For though I should have a mind to glory," he says, "I shall not be foolish," nor will Rufinus if he wants to marry; nevertheless, if you marry, *let it be for love and not for property*, that is, not for money, for the delectable, that is pleasure, and the useful, that is, wealth, are both goods, but the delectable is the greater good. *So that you choose a wife's face, not her clothes*, that is, I hope you aren't tricked into thinking she is prettier than she is because she wears pretty clothes. *And* may you choose *her mind, not her gold*, that is, I hope you pick a good and virtuous woman, not just a rich one. *And let your wife wed you, not her dowry*, that is, don't pay attention to the size of the dowry but to whether it is good or bad to get married. *Thus if it may be done at all*, that is, any way at all, *you can be predicated*, that is, be a predicate *and not induce*, that is, not have, *a*

ideo sunt digniores DgM; *om.* β. 1361-68 **quibus . . . principium** quia sunt principia formalia fetus at mulieres que sunt subiecta id est materialia principia (*om.* E) fetus (*add* quod E) in hiis talia erunt subiecta id est uxores qualia predicata id est viri permiserint. Verum dixisset si ipse ludendo convertit propositionem κ. 1368-69 **predicantur . . . predominantur** predominantur C; predicantur DgM; *om.* β★. 1370 **tunc** *om.* κ; consequenter L. **adaptat . . . alludens** alludit valerius adaptando (*om.* L) β. 1370-72 **auctoritatibus . . . Paulus** dicto davidi (david EL) sapientissimi in antiqua lege et dicto Pauli sapientissimi (*om.* E) in nova lege β. 1373-74 **et . . . informatos** *om.* DgMβ. 1374-75 **facetus . . . loquimur** *om.* JDgL. 1374 **idem est quod** id est Mκ. 1374-75 **vel . . . loquimur** *om.* κ. 1375-76 **in psalmo** *om.* β. 1376-77 **Et . . . quidem** sicut apostolus (Paulus L) ait si gloriari oportet non expedit quidem sic dicit valerius amice (*om.* E) si uxorari oportet etc. β. 1378-79 **nam . . . uxorari** *om.* Mβ. 1379 **nubes** nubas β. 1380 **id . . . divicie** *om.* β. **bonum** *om.* β. 1381 **voluptatibus** voluptate β. **utile** bonum utile β. 1383-87 **id . . . ducende** *om.* β. 1384 **pulcriter** pulcre JDgM. 1387 **ducende** *om.* DgM. **quoquo modo** commode D; quomodo EL. 1387-88 **id . . . modo** *om.* β. 1388 **predicari** predicare CDgMD. 1389 **quod** ut

comparantur predicatis quibus appropriatur forma, tales erunt quales eos esse uxores permiserint, que deberent esse subiecte quia comparantur materie. Subiectum enim vocatur materia in philosophia, et predicatum forma, et mulier principium materiale est fetus, et vir formale. Tamen Metellus ludendo convertit propositionem: "talia erunt subiecta," id est, viri erunt tales qui in veritate sunt subiecti, quasi forent materiale principium, "qualia permiserint predicata," id est, quales eos esse permittunt uxores, que in veritate [predicantur, id est], predominantur quasi forent formale principium.

Et tunc adaptat Valerius, alludens auctoritatibus duorum, quorum unus erat maximus in antiqua lege, scilicet David, alter in nova, scilicet Paulus. *Sic*, inquit, *facecia verbi Metelli*, id est, iocunda eloquentia que maxime decet facetos, id est, bene educatos et curialiter informatos, (facetus, -ta, -tum idem est quod urbanus vel curialis, sicut usitate loquimur) "*divertit ab oneribus dorsum eius*," in psalmo (80.7). Et iterum, *amice, si uxorari oportet, non expedit quidem*, sicut Apostolus ait, "Si gloriari oportet, non expedit quidem" (2 Cor. 12.1); "nam si voluero," inquit, "gloriari, non ero insipiens ita" (2 Cor. 12.6), nec ipse si vult uxorari; tamen si nubes, *utinam amor sit in causa non census*, id est, non divicie, quia maius bonum est bonum delectabile, quod consistit in voluptatibus, quam utile, quod consistit in diviciis. *Et utinam eligas faciem uxoris, non vestem*, id est, utinam non decipiaris iudicando eam pulcriorem quam sit, si pulcriter vestiatur. *Et* utinam eligas *animum, non aurum*, id est, utinam eligas bonam et virtuosam, non divitem tantum. *Et* utinam *tibi nubat uxor non dos*, id est, non attendas magnitudinem dotis, sed bonitatem vel maliciam uxoris ducende. *Sic si quoquo modo*, id est, quocumque modo, *fieri potest, poteris [predicari]*, id est, esse predica-

black-and-blue mark, that is, injury, *from the subject*; that is, you will keep your authority as husband so that your wife won't harm you—if that can be done in any way, as if to say, it can't. Seneca speaks of this at the end of *Remedies for Accidents*, where he makes up a dialogue between a complainer and a consoler. One character complains, "I have lost a good wife." The other answers, "You will find another, provided you look only for a good wife, and pay no attention to her ancestors, her inheritance, etc."

Lais the Corinthian. This is Chapter Six, where after the exhortations based on men he makes exhortations based on women. The argument has two parts: first he shows in several specific instances how dangerous it is to get involved with women, then, in Chapter Seven, he shows the same thing in general terms, and comes to universal conclusions at *Finally, which one*. The first part (Chapter Six) has three sections, the three examples he gives.

As for Lais the Corinthian, you have to know that she was a famous prostitute with whom nobody slept without paying a huge fee, except Aristippus, whom she took for his courtly manners, whence the line, "Not everybody gets to visit Corinth." She made passes at the philosopher Demosthenes, thinking it would be quite a feat to induce the man reputed to be the chastest of all to make love to her. You also have to know that *Amphion* was a king of Thebes who is feigned to have drawn together the stones for the walls of Thebes with the sweet music of his harp—because he softened stony hearts, that is, made the country people live alongside the citizens of Thebes. So he says, *Lais the Corinthian, famed*, that is, noted, *for her exceptional beauty, thought herself worthy of*, that is, accepted, *the embraces of kings and princes alone; yet she tried to go to bed with Demosthenes the philosopher, so that should she undo*, that is, dissolve, *the miracle of his celebrated*, that is, well-known, *chastity, she would appear to have moved stones*, that

β. **id est lesionem** *om.* β. **id . . . habeas** *om.* β. 1390-91 **id est sic . . . potest** *om.* β. 1392 **loquitur** *om.* β. 1393 **dicens** *om.* β. 1394 **et** deinde β. **sed** si Mβ. 1395 **prospexeris nec** prospexeris non Cκ; proavosque ne respexerzs nec Dg. 1396 **et cetera** cui iam ipsa nobilitas primo loco cessit L; J *inserts* Valerius . . . intelligit, *Ridewall* 705-8. 1397 **suasiones sumptas a** exempla sumpta de (a E) β. 1398 **facit . . . a** ponit exempla de β. 1399 **tractare** vivere β. 1399-1400 **in . . . specificans** speciali β. 1400-1 **secundo . . . 7** deinde concludit idem in generali (*add* capitulo isto E) β. 1402 **tres** *add* partes DgDL. 1405 **admisit** *om.* C; toleravit Dg; permisit DL. 1406 **Non cuivis** nuncius DL. 1408 **hominum** *om.* DgMβ. 1409 **Amphion** amphitrio D; amphitrion L. 1411 **Thebaicos** thebanos β. 1413 **prerogativa pulcritudinis** pro pulcritudine Dgβ. 1417 **vide-**

tum, *quod livorem*, id est, lesionem, *non ducas*, id est, non habeas, *a subiecto*; id est, sic conservabis auctoritatem viri, quod uxor tibi non nocebit—*si* tamen aliquo *modo fieri posset*, quasi diceret, non potest. De hoc loquitur Seneca in fine *De remediis fortuitorum* (16.5), ita dicens, "Bonam uxorem amisi." Dicit hoc in persona conquerentis, et respondet in persona consolantis, "Invenies, sed nichil queras nisi bonam uxorem, tantummodo ne ymagines prospexeris [nec] patrimonium, etc." [f. 74]

Lais Corinthia. Hoc est 6 capitulum, ubi post suasiones sumptas a viris facit suasiones sumptas a feminis, et dividitur in 2 partes: primo ostendit periculosum esse tractare cum mulieribus in particulari specificans; secundo in generali hoc idem ostendit, universaliter concludens capitulo 7, ibi, *Tandem que umquam*. Prima dividitur in tres secundum tria exempla que ponit.

Circa quod sciendum quod Lais Corinthia famosa meretrix fuit cum qua nemo concubuit nisi pro magno precio, nisi solus Aristippus, quem pro sua curialitate [admisit], unde dictum est: "Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum" (Horace, *Epis*. 1.17.36). Hec blandiciis allexit Demostenem philosophum, ut, si castissimus hominum reputatus eam adamaret, maximum negocium videretur fecisse. Aliud etiam sciendum quod *Amphion* fuit rex Thebarum, qui fingitur dulcedine cithare lapides attraxisse ad muros Thebaicos, quia corda lapidea demulsit, id est, fecit ut agrestes simul habitarent cum civibus Thebaicis. Dicit igitur, *Lais Corinthia, insignis*, id est, nobilis, *prerogativa pulcritudinis, tantummodo dignabatur*, id est, acceptabat, *amplexus regum et principum; conata est tamen Demostenis philosophi participare thorum*. *Ut miraculo soluto*, id est, dissoluto, *castitatis eius note*, id est, nominate, *specie sua*, id est,

is, men hard and constant in chastity, *by her beauty, like Amphion with his harp*, that is, as Amphion moved stones with his harp. He goes on about her: *she caresses him*, that is, Lais caresses Demosthenes, *drawn by*, that is, on the verge of consenting because of, Lais's *flattery. And just when she had softened him* thus *all the way to the bedroom*, that is, to consenting, Lais, though she had enticed him to it, didn't want to let him do it without paying her fee. And when Demosthenes asked how much, Lais *asked from him a hundred talents for her consent. But he looked up to heaven and said, "I will not buy to repent,"* that is, repentance, "*for that much*," that is, at so high a price. And then he applies the story: "*Friend, may you also raise the height of your mind,* that is, your reason, *to heaven, and flee what you will have to pay for by repenting*, that is, marrying."

Livia (spelled with a v). This is the second part of this chapter, in which he continues his dissuasion by means of two examples. For the first you should know that Livia was the wife of Octavian Caesar. According to Papias, she had three sons: Drusus, Nero, and Claudius. As the text says, she gave Octavian aconite, a deadly poisonous herb, because he had killed her lover, Ovid. Lucilia loved her husband so much, as is said in contrast, that because she happened to be a little offended, her husband was driven mad and died. Thus he says, *Livia killed her husband*, etc; *the one* (Livia) *mixed aconite on purpose; the other*, Lucilia, *deceived*, etc., and then he applies the story: "*Friend, these* women *were opposed in completely different longings*, that is, desires; *neither was defrauded of*, that is, that she might be without, *the proper end of female deceit, evil*, that is, be without the deceit that is proper to women, namely, to bring about evil." And then he infers a general rule from these two: *women advance by various and different paths; by whatever windings*, that is, ways, *they may wander*, that is, go, *on however many perverse ways they may stray (invium*, neuter, is where there is no place fit for walking);

retur *om.* ME. **movisse** movere C. 1421 **consentiendum** considerandum κ; *om.* L★. 1427 **nubere** J *inserts* Valerius . . . civitatis, *Ridewall* 709-20. 1428 **Livia . . . v** Livia D; *om.* EL. 1430 **3** *om.* DgMβ. 1436 **miscuit** miscens CJ. 1438 **voluntatibus** voluptatibus β. 1442 **id est gressibus** id est egressibus M; *om.* EL. 1443 **quantiscumque . . . inviis** quantum de deliciis Dg; quantum deviis D; quantum deliciis E; quantiscumque devient iniciis vel vel inviis L. 1443-45 **hoc . . . devient** *om.* β. 1444 **aptus** Dg *ends*. 1447 **est²** *om.* CM★E★. 1449 **unica est** *om.* CE★; unicum

pulcritudine, *videretur [movisse] lapides*, id est, duros et constantes in castitate, *ut Amphion cithara*, scilicet movit lapides. Et tunc sequitur de ipsa, *attrectat*, scilicet Lais Demostenem, *attractum*, id est, consentire incipientem pro *blandiciis* Lais. *Cumque iam emolliretur* sic *ad thalamos*, scilicet ad consentiendum, noluit Lais permittere que tamen ad hoc eum allexerat, nisi dato precio. Querente autem Demostene quid daret, Lais *peciit ab eo c talenta pro consensu. At ille suspiciens in celum ait: "Non emo penitere*," id est, penitentiam, "*tanti*," id est, pro tanto precio. Et tunc adaptat: "*Amice, utinam et tu nunc in celum mentis acumen erigas*, id est, rationem, *ut effugias id quod neccesse est redimi penitentia*, id est, nubere."

Livia, ita quod 3 littera sit v: hec est secunda pars huius capituli, in qua suadet idem quod prius per 2 exempla. Circa primum sciendum quod Livia fuit uxor Octoviani Cesaris, que habuit filios 3, Drusum, Neronem, et Claudium, secundum Papiam (p. M4vb), que ut dicitur dedit viro suo aconiton, quandam herbam venenosam et mortiferam, quia interfecerat Nasonem quem ipsa amabat. Lucilia vero tantum amabat virum suum, ut dicitur et e contrario, quod, quia ipsa fuit a casu lesa parum, vir suus moriebatur versus in amentiam. Dicit ergo, *Livia virum,* etc.; *illa*, scilicet Livia, *sponte [miscuit] aconiton; hec*, Lucilia, *decepta,* etc., et tunc adaptat [f. 74v]: "*Amice, iste* mulieres *contenderunt contrariis votis*, id est, voluntatibus: *neutra tamen defraudata est*, ut scilicet foret, *sine proprio feminee fraudis, id est, malo*, id est, sine fraude, que est propria feminis, scilicet inferre malum." Et tunc infert generalem de eis sententiam: *femine incedunt variis et diversis semitis; quibuscumque amfractibus*, id est, gressibus, *errent*, id est, eant, *quantiscumque devient inviis* (hoc invium est ubi aliquis locus aptus ad incedendum non est); vel ut habet alia littera, *quantiscumque*

or, as a variant reading goes, *on however many beginnings*, that is, origins of ways, *they may stray; there is a unique destination*, and so on, *a single head*, that is, origin, which is fraud or danger or malice. Thus the better reading is *perverse ways*; or *one head* means one chief way, namely danger and malice, and then the second reading, *beginnings*, is all right. He says, then, that there is *a single goal of all their ways*, and *the head and common destination* of all their ways, that is, at which all their ways come out, namely, *malice. "Take the experience of these two*, that is, Livia and Lucilia, *as an example of the fact that a woman will put everything at risk*, and so on." *Which is always* is hyperbole for "commonly," because *often when she is trying*, that is, has been trying, *to help, she gets in the way*, that is, does harm. Therefore he adds, *always*, that is, commonly, *she is prompt to do evil. "You have been put in a furnace*, that is, in the concupiscence of the flesh; *if you are gold*, that is, one man in a million, *you will emerge more pure*."

Deianira. This is part three of this chapter, where Valerius gives his third example, the story of Deianira, the wife of Hercules. Nessus was a centaur; according to the fables a centaur is a monster, half man, half horse, which does not exist in nature. In fact Ixion put together the first army in Greece, with which he made war on Greece, and when the soldiers mounted wild horses they appeared to be a single animal, a man-horse, and so they were called centaurs because there were a hundred (*centum*) of them, running as fast as the wind (*aura*). Nessus was one of these; Tiryns according to Papias is a mountain, from which Hercules is called the Tirynthian, because he lived on this mountain and was lord of it. *Interula* means an undershirt, because it is worn between *(inter)* other clothes and the skin. The story Valerius is alluding to is this. Ovid, in book nine of the *Metamorphoses*, tells us that when Hercules was coming back home from Spain with his beloved Deianira, he came to the river Evenus, which was so swollen from the spring thaw that it was impassable. As Hercules was

est DL. 1457 **purior** J *inserts* Valerius . . . maritum suum, *Ridewall* 721-28. 1460-61 **compositum** *om.* C. 1462 **Grecia** *add* centum Mκ; *add* scilicet L. 1463 **insiderent** insidebant β. 1469 **Res** rei C. 1471 **fluvium** flumen MDL. 1475 **Assensit** ascendit β. 1476 **Hercules** *om.* Mβ. 1482 **amoris**

devient iniciis, id est, principiis viarum: *unicus est exitus*, etc., *unicum caput*, id est, principium, quod est fraus vel periculum vel malicia, et sic melior est littera *inviis*; vel *unicum caput*, hoc [est] unum principale, scilicet periculum et malicia, et tunc secunda littera est satis bona, *iniciis*. Dicit tunc [*unica est*] *omnium viarum suarum meta* et *caput et conventus* omnium viarum suarum, id est, in quo conveniunt omnes vie sue, scilicet *malicia*. "*Exemplo harum*, id est, Livie et Lucilie, *cape experimentum quod femina est audax ad omnia*, etc." *Quod semper est* yperbole est: id est, communiter, quia *frequenter, cum parat*, id est, parata est, *iuvare, obest*, id est, nocet. Ideo subdit, *semper*, id est, communiter, *ad malum prompta est*. *"In fornace positus es*, id est, in concupiscentia carnis (1 John 2.16); *si es aurum*, id est, singularis inter homines, *exibis purior*."

Deianira. Hec est 3 pars huius capituli, ubi ponit Valerius tertium exemplum, de *Deianira* que fuit uxor Herculis. Nessus fuit quidam centaurus; secundum fabulas centaurus est monstrum [compositum] ex homine et equo, quod nichil est in natura. Sed Ixion primus in Grecia milites adunavit, quibus Greciam inpugnavit, qui milites cum primum indomitis equis insiderent, videbantur esse quasi unum animal ex homine et equo, et ideo dicti sunt centauri, quia centum erant, currentes velociter ut aura. Istorum *Nessus* fuit unus; *Thirincus* secundum Papiam (p. Z1rb) mons est, a quo Hercules dictus est Thirincius quia illius montis inhabitator et dominus fuit. *Interula* idem est quod camisia, quia inter carnem et alias vestes induitur. [Res] autem cui alludit Valerius, hec est. Ovidius, libro 9 *Methamorphoseon* (101–238), refert quod cum Hercules cum amica sua Deianira de Hispania rediret ad suam patriam, venit ad fluvium Hevenum qui, auctus hiemalibus fluviis, invadabilis erat. Cumque

wondering how to get Deianira across, Nessus the centaur came along and said that Hercules, since he was a strong man, should swim across, and he, Nessus, would carry Hercules' wife across because he knew how to ford the river. Hercules agreed, and when he had swum across and reached the bank, he looked back and saw Nessus about to rape Deianira. He took his bow and shot him with a poisoned arrow. Nessus said to Deianira, "This blood has the power of love. If your husband ever cleaves to a second wife, give him this shirt to put on, and he will cleave to you." Later Hercules seduced Iole, and Deianira sent him the shirt as a love-token. He put it on and quickly died from the burning of the poison. For Hercules' arrow had been poisoned, and it poisoned Nessus's blood when it pierced him. The poisoned blood flowed onto the shirt and poisoned it, and when Deianira put it on Hercules she poisoned him. And so he says, *Deianira clothed the Tirynthian*, that is, Hercules, *and exacted vengeance*, that is, avenged herself, *from the hammer of monsters*, that is, on the hammer of monsters, that is on Hercules who was the hammer of the Centaurs who are monsters, and she did this *with the blood of a monster*, that is, Nessus; and *what she*, that is, Deianira, *contrived to bring her joy ended in tears for her*, because she expected to regain her husband's love by the very means by which she brought death on him.

Then he applies it. *Thestias*, that is, Deianira, who was the granddaughter of Thestius, *knew Nessus had been transfixed*, that is, shot through, *by Hercules' arrow, and she saw it happen; nevertheless she trusted Nessus against Hercules*, that is, to Hercules' harm; and therefore Deianira, *as if she wanted to, gave* her husband *death to wear instead of the shirt she should have given him*. And then comes the moral: *woman*—every one, universally—*is of unsound head and rash mind* because *always unbalanced in her desire*, that is, with her desire, which lacks the balance of reason, *she judges most important*, that is, better, *what she wants*; that is, she is ruled by her will, not her reason, for whatever she decides to do she regards as good, even if it is unreasonable; she does not

amore DL. 1487 **in** *om.* β. 1497 **illibrata** illecebrata DL. 1507 **suum** *add* pre Mβ. 1509 **quasi**

sollicitaretur pro transvectione Deianire, affuit Nessus centaurus, dicens quod ipse tanquam fortis vir transnataret, et ipse Nessus tanquam peritus vadi uxorem eius transportaret. Assensit Hercules. Et cum transnatando attigisset ripam, retrospiciens Hercules, vidit Nessum parantem vim Deianire: qui arrepto archu transfixit eum sagitta intoxicata. Et dixit Nessus Deianire [f. 75], "Sanguis iste habet vires amoris. Siquando maritus tuus adherebit alteri uxori, da ei istam interulam induendam, et adherebit tibi." Postea Hercules superduxit Hiolem et Deianira misit sibi illam interulam pro bono amoris, quam ipse vestivit, et cito interiit ardore veneni. Fuerat enim sagitta Herculis intoxicata, et ideo intoxicavit sanguinem Nessi transfixi. Sanguis autem sic intoxicatus defluxit in camisiam et eam intoxicavit, qua Deianira Herculem induens, Herculem intoxicavit. Et ideo dicit, *Deianira vestivit Thirincium*, id est, Herculem, *et ulta est*, id est, vindicavit, *monstrorum malleum*, id est, in malleum monstrorum, id est, in Herculem qui fuit malleus centaurorum qui sunt monstra, et hoc fecit *sanguine monstri*, id est, Nessi; *sibique*, id est, Deianire, *processit ad lacrimas, quod machinata est ad leticiam*, quia putavit inde recuperasse amorem viri, unde intulit sibi mortem.

Tunc adaptat. *Testias*, id est Deianira, que fuit neptis Testii, *scivit et vidit Nessum traiectum*, id est, transfixum, *telo Herculis; nichilominus Nesso credidit in Herculem*, id est, contra Herculem, et ideo Deianira *quasi sponte vestivit* virum suum *interitu, quem vestire debuit interula*. Et tunc sequitur sententia: *insani capitis et precipitis animi est femina*, omnis universaliter, quia *semper illibrata voluntate*, id est, voluntate carente libra rationis *arbitratur precipuum*, id est, melius, *quod vult*; id est, regitur voluntate, non ratione, quia quicquid concipit faciendum reputat bonum, etiam sine ratione; et non reputat melius

regard *what is needed* as better. (Some texts have *enticed with lust*, that is, dedicated to enticement.) *And just as she desires* (or hopes) *to be more pleasing than anyone else* (for she would like it if she were pleasing only by nature: thus Ovid, in *The Art of Love*, teaching how a man who wants to obtain a woman's favor will speak to her, says, "You alone please me"); anyway, just as she desires to please beyond anyone else, so she *is determined*, that is, focused, or striving with all her mind, *to put her own pleasure above everything and everybody. The Golden Book* of Theophrastus shows this well.

He adds, *Alcides*, that is Hercules, *did twelve superhuman labors*, that is, labors that seemed to exceed human strength. They are listed by Claudian in the second Book of *The Rape of Proserpine*, and by Ovid in the ninth book of the *Metamorphoses*. The first labor was to conquer the centaurs, one of whom was Nessus. The second was to kill and skin the huge lion in the Nemean woods. The third was that Phineus blinded his sons, who had come to him and accused their stepmother of adultery. For this, by the judgment of the gods, he was likewise blinded, and the Harpies, birds with girls' faces, were set on him. They would drop their dirt on his table, and snatch his food away, but Hercules chased them off with arrows. The best account of the fourth labor is Lucan's, in his ninth book. The daughters of Atlantis had a golden orchard that yielded golden apples and was guarded by a dragon that never slept. But Hercules surprised the dragon and lulled it to sleep, took the apples, and brought them to Eurystheus, the king of the people of Argos. This is the fifth labor: Pirithous wanted to marry the Queen of hell; he took Hercules and Theseus and other heroes with him, but when they got to hell Cerberus, the three-headed dog that keeps the gates, would have impeded them by barking, but Hercules bound him with a chain of adamant and dragged him back to the upper world. This is the sixth labor: Diomedes the king of Thrace fed his horses human meat, and would kill

om. β. 1513 **Nemea** me nea β. 1514 **Fineus** *add* qui Mβ. **sibi** *om.* Mβ. 1514-15 **excecavit** *om.* D⋆EL. 1516 **est** *om.* D⋆EL. 1517 **fedabant** fedebant C. **quas** quos Mκ. 1519 **deferentem** deferentes CJDL. 1520 **insompni** insopni CJM; *om.* L. 1522 **Argolicorum** argoleorum β. 1523 **Theseum et** *om.* DL; inessium? E. 1525 **Cerberus** criberus C; creberus DL; crenebus E. 1530

quod expedit. (Habent autem aliqui libri *illecebrata voluptate*, id est, illecebris dedita.) *Et ut pre omnibus placere cupit*, vel optat (vellet enim quod natura tantum placeret: unde Ovidius, *De arte amandi*, docens quomodo gratiam mulieris adquirere volens loquetur ei, dicit: "Tu mihi sola places" [1.42]); sicut ergo desiderat placere pre omnibus, ita *consulta est*, id est discreta, vel toto consilio nitens, *preferre placitum suum omnibus*. Hoc bene ostendit *Aureolus* Theofrasti.

Et addit, *Alchides*, id est, Hercules, *consummavit duodecim inhumanos labores*, idest, quasi humanas vires excedentes. Qui autem sunt illi, patet per Claudianum *De raptu Proserpine*, libro 2 (29–48), et per Ovidium *Methamorphoseon* 9 (182–98). Primus labor est de centauris quos ipse vicit, quorum Nessus fuit unus. Secundus fuit quod interfecit leonem immanem in [Nemea] silva et excoriavit. Tercius, quod Fineus filios suos, qui sibi novercam de stupro accusaverunt, excecavit, propter quod iudicio deorum similiter excecatus est, et apposite sunt ei Arpie, id est, volucres quedam virgineo vultu, que mensam eius [fedabant] et cibum auferebant, quas Hercules sagittando fugavit. Quartum laborem tangit melius Lucanus, libro 9 (356–67). Fuerunt autem filie Athlantis habentes ortum aureum [deferentem] poma aurea, quorum custodia commissa erat draconi [insompni]. Superveniens autem Hercules, sopivit draconem et poma rapuit, et attulit ea Euristeo regi Argolicorum. Quintus labor est: Pirithous volens sibi desponsari reginam Inferni, Herculem et Theseum et alios viros fortissimos sumpsit secum; venientibus autem illis ad inferos, ne [Cerberus], canis tria habens capita ianitor inferni, latratu suo eos impediret, Hercules vinxit eum cathena adamantina, et sic eum traxit ad superos. Sextus fuit labor: Diomedes rex Tracie equos suos humana carne pavit, unde in pabulum eorum hospites suos

his guests to get them food. Hercules came and fed Diomedes to the horses. This is the seventh labor: there is supposed to have been a snake in the Lernaean swamp that had many heads, and when one was cut off three grew back. Hercules attacked it with arrows, realized he was getting nowhere, and so piled up wood and burnt it to death. Here is the eighth labor: Hercules and Achelous fought over Deianira. As they wrestled, Achelous felt Hercules beginning to win, and turned to his art of shape-changing. He changed himself into a snake and slipped out of Hercules' hands. Hercules grabbed him again and nearly strangled him, but Achelous suddenly changed into a bull. Hercules closed with the bull and threw it to the earth and broke one of its horns, which made Achelous so ashamed that he hid in a river. Here is the ninth labor: Antaeus was a giant born from the earth, from which he had the gift that, whenever he was tired out and weakened, he could recover his strength immediately by touching the ground. When he was tyrannizing Lybia, Hercules arrived and fought him, but could not beat him because as soon as Antaeus felt himself getting weak, he would fall to the ground and get back up with his strength renewed. Hercules finally realized that and lifted him into the air, then squeezed him against his chest until he died. Lucan tells that story. Vergil gives the story of the tenth labor in the eighth book of the *Aeneid*. Cacus was a fire-breathing monster, supposed, for that reason, to be the son of Vulcan. He lived on Mount Aventine, robbing and killing men, and causing a lot of trouble for Evander, who ruled there. Hercules arrived from Spain driving a herd of cattle. Cacus stole four bulls and four cows, but Hercules found them because he heard one mooing, and killed Cacus. Here is the eleventh labor: a boar was ravaging the region of Arcadia; Hercules drove it out and

labor *om.* Mβ. 1543 **recuperaret** recuperavit Mβ. 1550 **cuius** eius ML. 1563 **consummasset**

interfecit. Ad quem veniens Hercules ipsum eisdem equis in cibum dedit. Septimus labor est: Fingitur in Lernea palude fuisse serpens quidam habens plura capita, quorum uno occiso, succrescebant tria, quem aggressus Hercules sagittando, cum se proficere non videret, adunata congerie lignorum ipsum conbussit. Octavus labor est: Hercules et Achelous certaverunt pro Deianira; quibus luctantibus, Hercules cepit vincere; quod sentiens Achelous, convertit se ad artem suam per quam consuevit mutari in diversas formas, et mutatus in serpentem, lapsus est de manu Herculis. Quem Hercules iterum arripiens, cum fere strangulasset eum, subita mutatione factus est taurus; cum quo congrediens Hercules, deiciendo ipsum ad terram effregit unum cornu eius, pro quo verecundatus Achelous latuit in fluvio. Nonus labor est: Antheus gigas erat de terra genitus, et ideo talem virtutem habuit quod, siquando ex fatigatione debilitaretur, ex tactu terre statim recuperaret vires. Hic cum exerceret tirannidem in Libia, advenit Hercules, et congressus cum eo vincere non potuit, quia Antheus, quotiens se debilitari sensit, cadebat in terram, et sic renovata virtute surrexit. Quod percipiens Hercules, ipsum a terra elevavit, et super pectus suum tenendo strinxit quousque moreretur. Istud ponit Lucanus (4.609-53). Decimum laborem ponit Virgilius, *Eneidorum* libro 8 (184-275). Cacus fuit monstrum quoddam evomens ignem per os, cuius pater ideo Vulcanus fingitur; manebat autem in Aventino monte, spolians et occidens homines et Evandrum, qui ibi regnavit, multum inquietans. Cum autem veniret Hercules de Hispania ducens armenta boum, iste Cacus 4 tauros ac totidem iumenta furatus est, quos Hercules mugitu unius deprehendens, ipsum interfecit. Undecimus labor est: Erat aper in Archadia regionem vastans, quem agitavit Hercules et interfecit,

killed it, just as the boar was springing at him and its foam touching him. Here is the twelfth labor: Atlas is supposed to be a giant who holds up the sky. In the fight between the giants and the gods he got tired, and asked Hercules, who had come to him after his other labors, to hold up the sky while he rested a little. Hercules took up the task, great as it was, and held up the sky without bending in the least, and with that act earned heaven. And when he had *done* these *twelve labors* successfully, he was overcome at last *by the thirteenth* labor, the labor which is the subject here, in which he fought against a woman and lost. This labor is therefore said to have *exceeded all humanity*, because it exceeded Hercules, in whom was all humanity. And so he says, *Thus the strongest of men*, that is, Hercules, *who had held up the vault of heaven on his shoulders without a groan, lay down*, that is, died, *groaning*, that is, abounding in groans as the poison took hold, and *as well*, that is, equally, *to be groaned for*. From which it is evident that it is easier to bear the whole sky than the harm that is brought about by a wife.

Finally, etc. This is chapter seven, in which he concludes generally that no woman is constant in goodness. It is divided into three parts: first he gives the conclusion in general in the form of questions, then secondly he proves it in particular through a woman whom neither tower nor wall, and thirdly through a woman whom neither her own great age nor her very great reputation in the eyes of others, could safeguard. Thus he says, *Finally, among so many thousand thousands*, that is, of women, *which one has ever disappointed a so earnest*, that is, extremely earnest, and *love-stricken suitor with a lasting refusal*? Not one. *Or which has cut off a wooer's words once and for all?* He answers this question right away, and gives the answer Ovid would give: *Her response smacks of favor … for your suit*, that is, she will imply something that will warm you to keep asking. *All* women *say no* at first, fickly, but none *says no persistently* all the way to the end.

consumpmavit M; consummavit β. 1563-64 **labore** *om.* Mβ. 1567 **omnis** omnimoda JM; omnino D. 1568 **Hercules** add eque gemendus id est equaliter apud omnes deplorandus et JM; eque gemendus id est DL; eque gemendus in E. 1569-70 **et . . . equaliter** *om.* JMβ. 1574 **dividitur** *add* ista (illa E; hec L) pars β. 1576-77 **nec . . . quam*** *om.* αβ. 1577 **fama*** in fama αβ. 1580 **Nulla** *om.* Mκ. 1581 **Respondet . . . responsionem et sententiam** ostendit . . . racionem et sententiam et responsionem DL. 1583 **mulier** *om.* Mβ. 1589 **corrupit** *add* primo JMβ. **turris** *om.* C. 1592-

apro dante sibi insultum, et spuma sua tangente eum. Duodecimus labor est: Athlas fingitur quidam gigas supportans celum, qui in pugna illa qua gigantes [f. 75v] pugnaverunt contra deos fatigatus, rogavit Herculem, qui post alios labores ad eum venit, ut celum supportaret dum ipse aliqualiter respiraret. Qui supposuit se tanto oneri et celum inflexibiliter supportavit, et ideo celum meruit. Et cum istos *12 labores* prospere *consummasset*, tandem *a tertiodecimo* labore est exuperatus, qui tertiusdecimus fuit ille labor de quo nunc est sermo, quo pugnavit contra mulierem ubi victus est. Qui ideo dicitur *omnem humanitatem excessisse*, quia excessit Herculem, in quo scilicet fuit omnis humanitas. Et ideo dicit, *Sic fortissimus hominum*, id est, Hercules, *gemebundus*, id est, in se gemitibus habundus invalescente veneno, *occubuit*, id est, mortuus est, et *eque gemendus*, id est, equaliter, *qui celi axem humeris sine gemitu sustinuerat*. Ex quo patet quod facilius est portare totum celum quam nocumentum quod ab uxore infertur.

Tandem, etc. Hoc est 7 capitulum, in quo generaliter concludit nullam feminam esse constantem in bono, et dividitur in 3 partes, quia primo ponit in generali conclusionem sub modo questionis, secundo probat specialiter per unam quam [nec turris nec vallis, et tertio per unam quam] nec etas magna in se nec [fama] notissima apud omnes custodivit. Dicit ergo, *tandem que umquam inter tot milia milium*, id est, mulierum, *tam sedulum*, id est, valde sedulum, *et sollicitum petitorem perpetua contristavit repulsa*? Nulla. *Vel que constanter precidit verba petentis*? Respondet recte responsionem et sententiam Ovidii (*Ars am.* 3.476): *favorem*, etc. [...] *tue petitionis*, id est, aliquid inplicabit unde fovearis ad magis petendum. *Quelibet* mulier *negat* in principio leviter, sed *nulla pernegat* usque in finem constanter.

Gold broke through, etc. This is the second part of this chapter, in which he gives his first proof of this conclusion: note that this story has come up before. Jupiter is supposed to have changed himself into golden rain in order to lie with Danae the daughter of Acrisius, whom Acrisius had locked up in a tower. What it means is that he bribed the tower guards with gold in order to get in to her. He fathered Perseus on her, as they say. Thus he says, *Gold broke through the defenses of Acrisius's tower and loosened*, that is, ruined, *the chastity of Danae—Danes* is genitive—the chastity which was *sealed by many a wall*, that is, fortification. *Thus sex rained down*, that is, came in a shower *from heaven*, that is, from the great splendor of the gifts he offered, *on a virgin who had triumphed over earth*, that is, who had spurned humble entreaties. The next remark makes the same point: *thus the woman no lowly fellow ever got to, a high one conquers*; and *thus the tree*, etc. makes exactly the same point once again. *Favonius* is the gentlest of all the winds, and has "gentle" as a nickname, as the poet says, "Seeking the kindness of gentle Favonius." *Aquilo* is the harshest and highest, whence the proverb, "Lest the North wind ...." Clearly he means to say the same thing in all these statements; this is the rhetorical figure that Cicero in the *Ad Herennium*, at the beginning of Book Five, calls Repetition, as if someone were to say, "To you this must be credited, to you thanks are due, to you this action will be a source of honor." These are Cicero's words. Valerius, then, says, *thus the tree Favonius has not budged, Aquilo uproots*. It is certain that Favonius *has* moved it, though it didn't look like it, as Valerius later says, and Ovid too in the *Art of Love*.

Penucia, a virgin. This is the third part of this chapter, in which he proves the same conclusion a second time through a woman whose reputation was very great. You should know that Penucia (or Pericio), a virgin of Crete, is supposed to have been solicited by Apollo, but would in no way consent to him. So, having failed while she was awake, he deflowered her by an illusion in her dreams. What this means is

93 **Danes . . . munimine** *om.* β. 1592 **Danes . . . pudiciciam** *om.* M. 1593 **munimine** *om.* Cβ*; mutacione M. 1594 **terram** *om.* C. **triumphaverat** superaverat Mβ. 1595-96 **cum sequitur** *om.* β. 1597 **ventos** ventus β. 1600 **Boreas** *add* etc. β. 1606 **videbatur** videatur Mβ. 1607 **amandi** J *inserts* Valerius . . . datum, *Ridewall* 823-38. 1613 **sompnio** sompno β. 1620

Irrupit, etc. Hec est secunda pars huius capituli, ubi primo probat conclusionem pretactam, et sciendum quod istud tactum est prius (ll. 716–18). Fingitur quod Iupiter mutavit se in ymbrem aureum ut concumberet cum Dane filia Acrisii, quam pater clauserat in turri; quod ideo fingitur quia corrupit custodes turris auro et sic habuit ad eam accessum; ex qua genuit Persium, ut dicitur. Dicit ergo, *Aurum irrupit in propugnaculis [turris] Acrisii et soluit*, id est, fregit, *pudiciam Danes*—genitive—pudiciam, dico, *signatam multiplici vallo*, id est, [munimine]. *Sic incestus pluit*, id est, pluendo venit *virgini de celo*, id est, de magnitudine donorum *que [terram] triumphaverat*, id est, que humiles preces spreverat. Et hoc idem exponit cum sequitur, *Sic quam non vicit humilis, vicit sullimis; sic arborem*, etc.: idem omnino. *Favonius* magis lenis est inter omnes ventos, et habet hoc pro cognomine, sicut quidam ait, "Explorans gratiam lenis Favonii" (*Apocalypsis Goliae*, 4). *Aquilo* ventus est magis austerus et sullimis, unde in proverbium est, "Ne Boreas..." Unde patet quod idem vult dicere per omnia ista, et est color rethoricus quem Tullius *Secunda rethorica* vocat Repetitionem, libro 5 in principio (4.13.19), sicut si diceretur, "Vobis istud attribuendum est, vobis gratia est adhibenda, vobis ista res erit honori." Hec ibi. Dicit ergo, *sic arborem quam non movit Favonius, evertit Aquilo*. Certum est quod Favonius movit, licet hoc non videbatur, ut vult postea Valerius (l. 298) et Ovidius *De arte amandi* (e.g. 1.469–78, 483–86).

Penucia virgo. Hec est 3 pars huius capituli, ubi probat secundo eandem conclusionem per eam cuius fama fuit notissima. Circa quod sciendum quod Penucia vel Pericio, virgo Cretensis, fingitur sollicitata fuisse ab Apolline [f. 76], que nullo modo ei consensit. Sed ille qui per vigiliam non potuit defloravit eam per illusionem

that she *conceived, and gave birth to Plato* because of the eloquence and pretty talk of a suitor. For Apollo stands for wisdom or eloquence or beauty of body, and the illusion stands for pretty talk. Construe it then thus: Penucia, *a virgin verging on old age*, that is, beginning to become an old maid, *and honored constantly for her famous chastity*, that is, enjoying a unique reputation for being constant in chastity, *overpowered at last by an apparition of Apollo*, that is, of Apollo debauching her in her dreams, *conceived, and gave birth to Plato. Friend, her whom her waking hours kept undebauched*, that is, intact, *an illusion deflowered in her dreams, just as any rose garden will eventually be robbed of its red*, that is, of its flowers, *by some wind*, that is, by a blast of some wind. The point of this is that any charm a woman may have is mixed with something obnoxious. *But* still *it was*, that is, happened, and happened accidentally, *well*, and he explains how: *If such a thing may be well, thus*, that is, in this respect, *that Plato*, thus engendered, *fatherized*, that is, took after his father, *in wisdom, and that Plato inherited at once both his great father's name and his godhead*, that is, the quality in which his father Apollo was illustrious, which was wisdom or philosophy, of which Apollo is said to be the god, and so Plato is said to be the imitator of the godhead or divinity of his father.

My friend, does it shock you. This is chapter eight, in which Valerius excuses himself for having used pagans for models. He does so for three reasons: first, because we should imitate bees, who take from flowers what they need to make honey and ignore everything else, and we ought to do likewise with the sayings of the pagans. Secondly, using the argument *a fortiori*: if the pagans, who had no faith, no hope of a life to come, strictly kept chastity and other virtues, how much the more ought we. Thirdly, if they did that without a model, without a teacher, all the more ought we to do it, since we have Christ and the saints to teach us. Thus he says, "*My friend, does*

sompnium sompnum EL. 1627 **est**[2] *om*. C. 1631 **patris** J *inserts* ¨Valerius . . . parte, *Ridewall* 839–51. 1636 **ex** a DL. 1638 **ex hoc**⋆ exemplum CMD; exemplum est J; *om*. E⋆; est L. 1640 **nos** *om*.

in sompnio. Quod ideo fingitur quia per eloquentiam et pulchra verba sollicitantis *concepit et peperit Platonem*. Per Apollinem enim sapientia vel eloquentia vel pulcritudo corporis intelligitur, per illusionem pulchra verba. Construatur ergo sic: *Penucia virgo vergens in senium*, id est, incipiens senescere, *et privilegiata constanter fama castitatis*, id est, habens singulariter nomen pre aliis quod esset constanter casta, *tandem oppressa fantasmate Apollinis*, scilicet eam per sompnium corrumpentis, *concepit et peperit Platonem*. *Amice, illusio defloravit istam per sompnium, quam vigilie servaverunt illibatam*, id est, intactam, *ut semper omne rosarium spolietur purpura sua*, id est floribus suis, *aliquo turbine*, id est, agitatione alicuius venti. Hoc est dictum ut omne iocundum quod potest esse in feminis aliquo gravamine misceatur. *Sed* tamen *bene*, scilicet accidit, et per accidens, et in quo exponit se: *siquidem sic*, id est, in hoc *bene, quod Plato* sic genitus *patrissavit*, id est, patrem secutus [est] *in sapientia, et quod Plato factus est heres numinis et nominis precipui patris*, id est, in hoc in quo pater suus fuit precipuus, scilicet Apollo, quod fuit in sapientia vel philosophia, cuius Apollo dicitur esse deus, et ideo dicitur Plato imitator numinis, id est, deitatis patris.

Amice, miraris. Hoc est octavum capitulum, in quo Valerius excusat se de hoc quod gentiles traxit in exemplum, et dependet causa ex tribus; primo quod imitande sunt apes, que hoc faciunt: accipiunt unde fit mel de floribus, totum aliud dimittentes; sic debemus nos de dictis gentilium. Secundo ex loco a maiori: si enim gentiles, sine fide, non sperantes vitam futuram, arte servaverunt pudiciciam et alias virtutes, multo magis nos. 3 [ex hoc] quod illi sine exemplo, sine doctore hoc fecerunt: ergo multo magis hoc debemus [nos], cum habeamus Christum et sanctos nos docentes.

it shock you or anger you more—he is here using the rhetorical figure that Cicero calls Correction—*that I am suggesting through my examples that you should imitate heathens, a Christian idolaters, a lamb dogs, a good man evil men?"*

I want you to be, etc. Hugutio says that *arguere* has four meanings: "to convince," "to accuse," "to hold in check," and "to blame." From the first meaning of *arguere* is derived the neuter noun *argumentum*, "what brings assent in a doubtful matter," and the adjective *argumentosus*, "full of such arguments." That doesn't fit a bee. But since to convince someone is a matter of skill or ingenuity, therefore from *arguere* in this same sense is derived the adjective *argutus*, which means the same as *versutus*, "skilful" or "clever," and from this *argumentosus* in the sense "resourceful"—and that is how it seems to me it is used here. Thus he says, *I want you to be like the resourceful bee*. Thus Seneca in the letter that begins "These journeys" says, "We should follow the example of the bees, who move about and pick out the flowers that are suitable for making honey, and then divide up what they have brought in and arrange it in their honeycombs, and, as Vergil says, 'They pack in the dripping honey, and swell their cells with sweet nectar'"; and again, "We ought to imitate bees, and sift the things we have taken in from reading widely." The text continues: *I know the superstition*, that is, the vain, irrational rites, *of the heathens; still, every creature of God has within it some image of the virtuous*, that is, of virtue; *that is why He himself*, Christ our God, *is now*, that is, sometimes, *a lion*, as in "The lion of the tribe of Judah hath prevailed," *now a ram*, as often in Daniel, *now a worm*, in the Psalm: "I am a worm, and no man." *Unbelievers do many things in sin; nevertheless they do some things that, although they come to nothing in them*, because they do not advance them toward eternal life, *in us would*

CME. 1645 **4** 3 β. 1646 **convincere** vincere MDL; videre E. 1648 **–ti** *om.* β. 1649 **–a, -um** *om.* β. 1651 **descendit** *add* hoc Mκ. 1652 **quod . . . quod** idest ML. 1653 **–a, -um** *om.* β. 1654 **ut** *om.* CEL. 1655 **in** *om.* Mκ; quod L. 1662 **gentium** gentilium Jβ. 1664 **Deus** *om.* ME; dicit D; dicitur L. 1666 **in** ut in MDE; *om.* L. 1668 **fructum abunde facerent** facuit fructus habun-

Dicit ergo, "*Amice, miraris, an indignaris potius*—color rethoricus est, quem vocat Tullius correctionem (*Rhet. ad Her.* 4.26.36)—*quod in parabolis significem gentiles, idolatras, canes, denique malos imitandos tibi Christiano, agno, et bono*?"

Volo ut sis, etc. Ut dicit Hugutio (A.307.1-2), *arguere* habet 4 significationes. Idem est enim quod "convincere," "accusare," "constringere," et "reprehendere." Ab *arguere* in prima significatione descendit hoc *argumentum, -ti*, "quod facit fidem de re dubia," et *argumentosus, -a, -um*, "plenus talibus argumentis." Et hoc non convenit api. Sed quia convincere aliquem pertinet ad calliditatem vel versutiam, ideo de *arguere* in eadem significatione descendit *argutus, -ta, -tum*, quod idem est quod *versutus, -ta, -tum*, "callidus" vel "discretus," et de hoc, *argumentosus, -a, -um*, "plenus discretione"—et sic, ut mihi videtur, accipitur hic. Dicit ergo, *volo [ut] sis api argumentose similis*. Unde Seneca in epistola que sic incipit, *Itinera ista*, "Apes imitari debemus, que vagantur [f. 76v] et flores ad faciendum mel idoneos carpunt, deinde quicquid attulerint disponunt atque in favos digerunt, et, ut Virgilius ait, 'Liquentia mella/Stipant, et dulci distendunt nectare cellas' [*Aen.* 1.432-33]" (*Ep.* 84.3), et post: "Apes imitari debemus et quecumque ex diversa lectione congessimus, separare" (*Ep.* 84.5). Et sequitur hec littera: *novi*, id est, scio, *superstitiones*, id est, superfluos ritus et irrationales, *gentium, sed omnis creatura Dei habet aliquod exemplar honesti*, id est, honestatis, *unde Ipse,* Christus Deus, *tum*, id est, aliquando *leo*, ut ibi, "vicit leo de tribu Iuda" (Rev. 5.5), *tum aries*, ut in Daniele frequenter (8.3, 7, 20), *tum vermis*, in psalmo (21.7): "Ego sum vermis et non homo." *Increduli agunt plurima perverse, tamen licet aliqua intereant in ipsis*, quia nichil eis prosunt ad vitam eternam, *in nobis fructum abunde facerent*, si eis

bear fruit abundantly, if we attended to them. *For if they had leathern girdles for the sake of chastity*, that is, as a sign of chastity, *even though they were without hope, without faith, without charity, without humility, without preaching, how shall we indeed*, that is, in that light, *if we have been asses or pigs or the likenesses of brutes*, that is, like brutes, *by subhuman conduct of any sort, how shall we be found to have earned any merit for our faith, our hope, our charity, when we have before us* as models for our lives *the prophets, apostles, and especially that special One whom only the eyes of a man clean of heart can perceive*, that is, Christ? This is taken from Matthew 5 (.8), "Blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God." This is one interrogative sentence, from *For if they* all the way to here. *Or if they drove themselves with so many endeavors in the pursuit of their arts*, that is, the liberal arts, in which, as Valerius says elsewhere, "the purpose of studying and the purpose of living were the same," *what reward will we have for negligence with respect to the divine page*, that is, if we neglect the divine page, *whose end is truth* without falsity *and illumination*, and is *a lamp to our feet*, that is, for our affections, *and a light to our paths*, leading the reason without hesitation *to eternal light*, that is, life? *May you take this up*, that is, the divine page, *may you read it, may you bring it into your bedroom*, that is, your heart, *so that the king may bring you into his* bedroom, that is, heaven; see Canticles. *To this page you once betrothed yourself in the flowering of your spring*, that is, you gave your pledge and turned your mind to this in your blossoming youth; *it expects that you will bring forth grapes*, that is, produce the sweetest fruit, *in your summer*, that is, in your age; *do not wed another* wife than this page, *lest you bring forth wild*, that is, rotten, *grapes in your vintage season*.

I do not want you, etc. This is chapter nine, in which he explains why he is making so earnest a dissuasion. It is divided into three parts: first he gives his explanation; secondly, at *the surgeon's hand is hard*, he brings up an objection that Rufinus might make to following his teaching; thirdly, at *So be it*, he replies to that objection. He

dantes MD; *om.* E. 1669 **pudicicie** *om.* MκL⋆. 1686 **rex** idest christus MDE. 1687 **Cantico** canticis DL. 1690-91 **fructum . . . labruscas** *om.* β. 1690-92 **fructum . . . marcidas** vinum leticie sempiterne L. 1694 **dissuasionem facit** suasionem fecit β. 1696 **posset** possit Jκ. 1711

attenderemus. *Quod si illi habuerunt zonas pelliceas causa pudicicie*, id est, in signum pudicicie, *sine spe, sine fide, sine caritate, sine humilitate, sine predicatione* existentes, *profecto*, id est, ergo, *nos si fuerimus asini aut sues, aut similes brutorum*, id est, brutis, *aliqua inhumanitate, quo merito fidei, spei, aut caritatis reperiemur digni, cum videamus* tanquam exemplar vivendi *prophetas et apostolos, et precipue illum quem solum oculi mundi cordis possunt cernere*, id est, Christum? Accipitur a Matthei 5 (.8),"Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt." Et est unus versus interrogative ab illo loco *Quod si illi* usque hic. *Aut si illi afflixerunt se multis conatibus pro studio artium suarum*, id est, liberalium, in quibus, ut dicit Valerius alibi, "studendi et vivendi similis finis fuit" (Valerius Maximus, *Dicta et facta mem.*, 8.7. ext. 5), *quid nobis erit pro negligentia divina pagina*, id est, si divinam paginam negligimus, *cuius finis veritas est* sine falsitate, *et illuminatio*, et *lucerna pedibus*, id est, affectionibus, *et lumen semitis*, quantum ad rationem sine dubietate perducens *ad lucem eternam*, id est, vitam? *Utinam hanc eligas*, id est, divinam paginam, *utinam hanc legas, utinam hanc introducas in cubiculum tuum*, id est, cor, *ut introducat te rex in* cubiculum *suum*, id est, celum: in Cantico (cf. 1.3). *Subarrasti dudum hanc in floribus veris tui*, id est, dans arram intendisti huic in florente iuventute tua; *hec in estate*, id est, in senectute, *tua expectat* te *ut facias uvas*, id est, dulcissimum fructum producas; *ne ducas aliam*, uxorem scilicet quam hanc paginam, *ne facias in tempore vindemie labruscas*, id est, uvas marcidas.

Veneris, etc. Hoc est capitulum 9, in quo assignat causam quare tam diligentem dissuasionem facit. Et dividitur in 3 partes, quia primo causam huius assignat; secundo, ponit quoddam [f. 77] quod Ruffinum movere posset ne istam doctrinam faceret, ibi, *Dura*;

says, then, first, *I do not want you to become the husband of Venus*, that is, pleasure, *but of Pallas*, that is, wisdom; this has been explained before. *This bride*, that is, wisdom *will adorn you with precious necklaces*, that is, virtues. *She will dress you in a wedding garment*, that is, charity. *Apollo will grace the wedding as a bridesman. Paranymphus* (bridesman) comes from *para*, "by," and *nympha*, as it were "attending a nymph," and then in this wedding Apollo is said to be the bridesman, since he is supposed to be the god of wisdom. He alludes here to a fable in which it is feigned that Mercury, at the advice of Apollo, married Philology, the daughter of Phronesis the sister of Alethia, and all the gods and goddesses came to the wedding. Martianus Capella writes of this wedding. Allegorically, it is true. Mercury (or Stilbon) means as it were "the mind's chariot," or "dripping good," that is, speech; at the advice of Apollo, that is, wisdom, he married Philology, that is, reason, from *philos*, love, and *logos*, reason. This Philology, that is, reason, was the daughter of Phronesis, that is, good judgment or prudence, which prudence or good judgment is the sister of Alethia, that is, truth. All the gods and goddesses came to their wedding, that is, at the joining of eloquence and truth and reason and prudence all the virtues are present. Thus he says, *married Stilbon*, that is, Mercury, who is supposed to be god of prudence, *will teach the cedars of Lebanon*, that is, those who grow tall in the whiteness of chastity (for Lebanon means whiteness) *the fascenniae for this* wedding. Hugutio, under the word *facio*, says that *fascenniae* are "songs that a woman sings as she rocks a cradle, and sometimes praises." Some change the *a* to *e* and add *n* and say *fescenninae*. Here it stands for "praises." *I*, Valerius, *have conceived a devout hope for this so longed-for ceremony*, namely for you to marry Pallas. *It was because of it that I made this long lesson; to that end my*

philos *add* quod est JML. 1712 **prudentie** prudentis DL. 1714 **coniunctioni** coniunctionem ME. 1719 **facio** *add* –is β. 1722 **ego** est β. 1730 **et** *om.* Mβ. 1730-31 **Calibs . . . steel** *om.* JL★.

tertio, ad illud motivum respondet, ibi, *Esto*. Dicit ergo pro primo, *Nolo te sponsum fieri Veneris*, id est, delectationis, *sed Palladis*, id est, sapientie; expositum est prius (ll. 840–41). *Hec sponsa*, id est, sapientia, *ornabit te monilibus preciosis*, id est, virtutibus. *Hec te induet veste nuptiali*, id est, caritate. *Hee nuptie gloriabuntur Apolline paranimpho*. Paranimphus dicitur a "para" quod est "iuxta," et hec "nimpha," quasi "assistens nimphe," et tunc in hiis nuptiis dicitur Apollo esse paranimphus, quia fingitur esse deus sapientie. Alludit hic uni fabule qua fingitur quod Mercurius consilio Apollinis Philologiam, filiam Fronesis sororis Alathie, duxit in uxorem, ad quorum nuptias omnes dii et dee venerunt. De hiis autem nuptiis tractat Marcianus Capella. Allegorice, verum est. Mercurius vel Stilbon, quod idem est, dicitur quasi "mentis currus" vel "stillans bonum," id est, sermo; consilio Apollinis, id est, sapientie, duxit Philologiam, id est, rationem, a philos, "amor," et logos, "ratio." Ista Philologia, id est, ratio, fuit filia Fronesis, id est, boni iudicii vel prudentie, que prudentia vel bonum iudicium soror est Alathie, id est, veritatis. Omnes dii et dee ad nuptias eorum venerunt, id est, coniunctioni facundie et veritatis et rationis et prudentie assunt omnes virtutes. Dicit ergo, *Stilbon uxoratus*, id est, Mercurius, qui fingitur deus prudentie, *docebit cedrus Libani*, id est, eos qui in altum crescunt in candore castitatis, Libanus enim candor intelligitur, *facennias harum* nuptiarum. Secundum Hugutium, capitulo de facio (F.1.29–30), facennie, -arum sunt "carmina que mulier movendo cunas dicit, et quandoque dicuntur laudes." (Aliqui mutant "a" in "e" et addunt "n" et dicunt "fecenninas.") Et stat hic pro laudibus. *Devotus* ego Valerius *concepi spem huius solemnitatis tam* mihi *desiderate*, ut scilicet nubas Palladi. *Causa huius tota hec lectio facta est, tota hec oratio*

entire statement, however sluggish, that is, slow at persuading efficiently, *has hastened*, that is, hurried. *Hither*, that is, to this point in my letter, *all the forcefulness*, that is, mine, *of this dissuasion*, that is, from sex, *was armed*, that is for dissuading from sex; *you have been feeling its pricks*, that is, goads, *much hardened with respect to*, that is, much harder than, *steel*, because steel is softened by natural fire and Rufinus is being hardened by the fire in the flesh. Steel is a kind of iron, in French, "acier," "steel" in English. Here there is first litotes: when he says *I do not want you,* etc., he intends more and says less; he means, "I very much hate." Later, from *this spouse* up to *It was because of this* is the rhetorical figure that Cicero in Book Five of *Ad Herennium* calls Repetition, "when a series of phrases all begin with the same word."

The surgeon's hard is hard. This is the second part of this chapter, in which he tells how he might pull Rufinus back, and he mixes in Rufinus's answer. He says, *the hand of the surgeon*, that is, of a doctor making an incision, from *sciros*, "hand," *is hard, but it heals; this letter is also hard* (John, 6) *but healthy, and may it be as useful to you as it is sincere*, that is, may it be accepted as as useful as it in fact is. And then he quotes Rufinus's answer: *Friend, you say I am forcing a narrow rule of life on you.*

So be it. This is the third part of this chapter, in which he replies to Rufinus's objection. He grants that Rufinus's conclusion is right, then he urges it on him first by citing Scripture, then by a famous story, at *Jason heard*; thirdly, by an example from nature, at *Thus the humility*. First, then, he says, *esto*, which is a grammatical mood, the third person of the future imperative, that is, "let it be," or "granted that it is," namely that the speech is hard: that ought to move you to do it, for *strait is the way that leads to life* (Matthew 7); *indeed we go*, that is, ascend, *to whatever*, that is, to any *summits*, that is the peaks of mountains or towers, *over rough roads; salebra*, the middle

1731 **in Anglico steel** *om.* β. 1733 **usque** *om.* JMκL⋆. **huc⋆** hucusque CJMD; hocusque E; *om.* L⋆. 1735 **sumantur** J *inserts* Valerius . . . delectationi, *Ridewall* 862-64. 1736-37 **Dura . . . ergo** *om.* β. 1736 **ponit** *add* illud quod JM; *om.* β⋆. 1741 **expresse** *om.* ML. 1742 **ais** idest dicis Mκ. 1746 **absinthium** abstinthium Mκ. 1749 **facias** facies EL. 1751 **ad queque id est** *om.* ME. 1754

licet lenta, id est, tarda ad efficaciter suadendum, *properabat*, id est, festinabat, *ad hunc finem*. *Huc*, id est, ad istum locum epistole, *totus appetitus*, scilicet meus, armatur *dissuasionis huius*, id est, voluptatis, id est ad dissuadendum voluptatem, *cuius sentis aculeos*, id est, stimulos, *preduratos multo*, id est, multum duriores *calibe*, quia calibs igne naturali mollescit, et Ruffinus igne carnali induratur. Calibs est genus ferri, "asser" in Gallico; in Anglico, "steel." Hic primo est liptote, cum dicit *nolo te,* etc., plus enim intendit et minus dicit, id est, valde odio. Postea ibi, *hec sponsa*, usque [*huc*] est color rethoricus quem vocat Tullius libro 5 *Secunde rethorice* (4.13.19) repetitionem, "cum [...] ab uno [...] verbo [...] principia sumantur."

Dura est manus. Hec est secunda pars huius capituli, in qua ponit quo posset Ruffinum retrahere, et miscet responsionem. Dicit ergo: *Dura est manus cirurgici*, id est, medici scindentis, a sciros quod est "manus," *sed sanans; durus est hic sermo*, Iohannem, 6 (.61), *sed sanus; et tibi utinam tam utilis quam devotus*, id est, utinam sicut est tibi utilis, ita sit acceptus. Et tunc ponit expresse responsionem Ruffini. *Amice, ut ais, artam tibi infigo regulam vivendi*.

Esto. Hec est 3 pars huius capituli, ubi respondet motivo Ruffini; primo, conclusionem concedens, hortatur ad eam per veritatem sacre scripture; secundo, per famositatem unius historie, ibi, *Audivit Iason*; tercio, per exemplum nature, ibi, *Sic absinthium*. Pro primo dicit, *Esto*: modus loquendi est, et est hic tercie persone futuri imperativi modi, id est, "sit," vel "ponatur esse," scilicet quod sermo est durus: hoc movere te debet ut eum facias, quia *arta est via que ducit ad vitam,* Matthei, 7 (.14) [f. 77v], *immo evadimus*, id est, ascendimus, *ad queque*, id est, ad quecumque, *summa fastigia*, id est, altitudines montium vel turrium, *per salebras*, media brevi; "salebra" est via

syllable short, is a rough and uneven path, from *salire*, "jump," because if you go on such a path you had better be a nimble jumper. *Nor is the path by which one passes to full joys smooth*: this is paronomasia (*plana, plena*), of which I have spoken before.

Jason heard: here he replies with a famous story. For it you have to know that, as Dares Phrygius says in his *Trojan War*, "Pelias was king of Thessaly, that is, Greece, the brother of Aeson, Jason's father. Jason so outstripped everyone else in that land in bodily prowess and mental skill that everyone feared him and loved him and did what he told them. This made his uncle, King Pelias, very much afraid that Jason would drive him from the throne. Therefore, in his fear, but with the appearance of love and as if to earn him more glory and praise, and promising unheard-of rewards, he advised his nephew Jason to go to the island of Colchos and seize the golden fleece. There Pelias hoped that Jason would die in this insuperable task." Thus Dares. You should know that in Dares's history Jason is called Hercules. In order to win praise and favor, he fitted out a ship to cross to Colchos by a sea that no ship had ever come on, no man had ever crossed, and for that reason he is said to have invented sailing. The story of how Jason or Hercules got past the sulphur-breathing bulls is told above in the tenth labor of Hercules: because Cacus and his companions were laying waste the region around Mount Aventine with fire, they were called sulfur-breathing bulls. Jason killed them when he was returning from Spain. The story of how he got past the watchful snake appears above in the fourth labor of Hercules. It is an allegory. *Her* is Greek for "a fight," *chleos* is Greek for "glory." Hercules, then, is any wise man who fights sin in order to achieve glory, who takes the golden apples, that is, the delights of wisdom, from the dragon he has put to sleep, that is, sensuality.

viam *om.* MκL⋆. 1755 **que** quia MD. **paronomasia⋆** paranomasia αD; parenomasia E; paronomosia L. 1760 **scilicet Iason** *om.* MDL; iason E. 1767 **invincibili** invisibili β. 1770 **navis advenerat** prius navis venerat Mβ. 1773 **superius** *om.* Mβ. **decimo** in decimo JML. 1774 **Aventinum** aventum β. 1776 **pertransierit** transirit β. 1778 **Her** hercules DL. 1779 **inde**

aspera inequalis, a saliendo, quia oportet quod sit levis saltuum qui per talem viam debet incedere (cf. Hugutio, S.18.21). *Non est via plana que ducit ad gaudia plena*: par[o]nomasia est, de qua dictum est prius (ll. 127, 1026–27).

Audivit Iason: hic respondet per historiam famosam. Pro quo sciendum quod, sicut dicit Dares Frigius *De bello Troiano* (cf. 1.1–9), "Peleas fuit rex Thessalie, id est, Grecie, frater Esonis patris Iasonis, qui, scilicet Iason, corporis probitate et animi calliditate omnibus illius regionis adeo prevaluit quod omnes eum timebant et diligebant et eius imperio obediebant. Unde rex Peleas patruus eius valde eum timuit, ne eum a regno expelleret. Timens itaque, sub specie dileccionis et velut causa glorie et laudis eius propagande, Iasonem nepotem suum admonuit, et munera incomparabilia se daturum illi promisit, ut in Colchos insulam proficiscens aureum vellus adquireret. Illic enim invincibili labore eum mori sperabat." Hec ibi. Sciendum quod in ista historia Daretis vocatur Iason Hercules, qui propter laudem et favorem consequendum paravit sibi navem ut transiret ad Colchos, per mare ubi nunquam navis advenerat nec aliquis transierat, et ideo dicitur primo navigium adinvenisse. Quomodo autem Iason vel Hercules transivit per tauros sulphureos dicebatur superius decimo labore Herculis (ll. 1548–55); quia vero *Cacus* et socii eius circa Aventinum montem regionem incendiis vastabant, tauri sulphurei dicebantur. Hos interfecit Iason rediens de Hispania. Quomodo autem pertransierit per serpentem vigilem patet in quarto labore Herculis supraposito (ll. 1518–22), quod tamen allegorice dictum est. "Her" Grece, "lis" Latine; "chleos," "gloria"; inde Hercules dicitur quilibet sapiens habens litem cum viciis pro gloria adquirenda, qui sopito dracone, id est, sensualitate,

These delights are guarded by the seven daughters of Atlas, that is, the seven virtues that destroy the seven sins. The seven virtues are called the seven daughters of Atlas, that is, of the contemplator of the heavenly, because contemplation of the heavenly gives birth to virtue. As for the golden fleece that Jason seized, I take it to be, on the literal level, nothing but a hoard of gold and treasure and cloth and so on, for the notion that gold would grow on an animal is a fable; allegorically, I take it to mean that he gained ever-increasing wisdom. He says, then, *Jason heard that he would have to travel*, that is, go, to *the golden fleece*, in Colchos, *across the sea, yet unvirginated*, that is, touched—this is catachresis, misuse of a noun, as "I will break the horns of sinners"—*by no boats*, that is, ships, *or oars*. And he heard further that he must travel *past sulfur-breathing bulls and past the vigilant eyes of a poisonous serpent*, that is, past a poisonous serpent that was always awake, *and having followed healthy although not pleasant advice*, because he chose the route through the unknown sea, he *went* to Colchos *and came back* to Peleas *and brought home that coveted treasure*—as if to say, so should you.

Thirdly, he makes the same argument through an example from nature, at *Thus the humility*, using rhetorical repetition. He says, then, *thus the humility associated with a grave mind*, that is, a mind full of good morals, *accepts*, that is, takes in *the wormwood of truth*, that is, truth which is as bitter as wormwood; *a dutiful*, that is, careful *attentiveness fertilizes it*, that is, makes it, truth, fertile, so that it will sprout virtue: *practice in perseverance brings it to fruitfulness. Thus does Auster*, that is, the south wind which is *the cupbearer of the rain*, that is, rain-bringing, as has been said, *bring forth*, that is, send out or expose to the air, *the sowing*, that is, what is sown; *Aquilo*, that is, the north wind which is *the broom of roads*, that is, cleans roads with dryness or cold, *consolidates*,

mundi DL. **litem** bellum DL; vocem E. 1783 **7²** *om.* EL. 1787 **aliquo** *om.* ME. **cresceret** crescit JM. 1791 **remis** *add* id est DL; *add* et E. 1792 **tactum** tectum β. 1793 **Et** *om.* β. 1797 **Peleam** peliam MDL; peleyam E. 1797-98 **optabilem thesaurum** optimos thesauros (tauros L) DL. 1805

aufert poma aurea, id est, delectationes sapientie; quas delectaciones septem filie Athlantis custodiunt, id est, septem virtutes septem vicia destruentes. Iste autem 7 virtutes dicuntur 7 filie Athlantis, id est, contemplatoris celestium, quia contemplatio celestium virtutes gignit. Per vellus aureum quod Iason adquisivit, non intelligo, quantum ad historiam pertinet, nisi copiam auri et thesauri et pannorum et huiusmodi, quia quod in aliquo animali cresceret aurum fabulosum est; quantum ad allegoriam, nisi quod adquisivit proficientem in maius sapientiam. Dicit ergo, *Iason audivit quod sibi viandum*, id est, eundum, *esset ad vellus aureum*, scilicet in Colchos, *per mare adhuc nullis ratibus*, id est, navibus, *vel remis*, instrumentis navium, *devirginatum*, id est, tactum—catacrisis est, id est, abusio nominis, sicut "peccatorum confringam cornua" (Ps. 74.11). Et audivit etiam quod sibi viandum esset per *tauros sulphureos et per vigilias toxicati serpentis*, id est, per serpentem toxicatum semper vigilantem, *et usus sano consilio licet non suavi*, quia per mare ignotum elegit sibi viam, *abiit* in Colchos *et rediit* ad Peleam [f. 78] et *optabilem thesaurum retulit*—quasi diceret, sic facias tu.

Tercio, suadet idem per exemplum in natura, ibi, *Sic absinthium*, utens repetitione rethorica; unde dicit, *sic humilitas mentis morose*, id est, plene bonis moribus, *acceptat*, id est recipit, *absinthium veritatis*, id est, veritatem, que amara est sicut absinthium; *officiosa*, id est, diligens, *sedulitas fecundat*, id est fecundam facit, scilicet veritatem, ut virtutem germinet: *utilitas perseverantie producit in fructum. Sic Auster*, id est, ventus australis qui est *pincerna pluviarum*, id est, generans pluvias, ut dictum est (ll. 1222–31), *exerit*, id est, foras emittit vel denudat, *sementem*, id est, illud quod seminatur; *Aquilo*, id est, ventus aquilonaris qui est *scopa viarum*, id est, vias siccitate vel frigiditate

that is, strengthens it, namely the sowing; Zephirus, which is called *the flower-maker* because, being moderately cold and moist, it brings flowers out, *advances* it, namely the sowing, to *ripeness*. As if to say, may you so receive the wind of my words that you begin to show virtue, sown in you in a kind of incipient way, because anybody can be chaste if he wants to be, so that the same speech may be the south wind, bringing a beginning of virtue; the north wind, bringing progress; and the west wind, bringing consummation. And finally he concludes: *thus*, that is, by listening to me, *hard beginnings are rewarded with a sweet end*. As Boethius says, "Prudence measures the outcomes of things." *Thus the narrow street*, that is, the straight path, *leads to spacious palaces*; and *the tight path goes to the land of the living*: this is the same idea. He alludes to the text of Matthew 7.

But lest I hang you up. This is the tenth and last chapter, in which he finally makes an end. It is divided into three parts: first, in order to confirm what he has said he invites him to read the writings of others; second, he prays that his friend may hold fast to his teachings, at *may almighty God grant you*; third, lest prolixity bring boredom, he ends with a courtly valedictory, at *But lest I seem*.

First, then, he says, *But lest I hang you up*, that is, hold you in suspense, *in a long expense of words*, that is, by a long useless tract, *read the Aureolus*, that is, the book of that name, *of Theophrastus*, that is, the author, and *Jason's Medea*, that is, the book that describes the actions of Medea, Jason's wife, *and you will find very few things that a woman will not do*. You should know that Theophrastus in his *Aureolus* proves that there is no good enough reason for a man to marry, for no matter how potent a reason you give (for not marrying), she knows how to annihilate it. Medea, because she was dropped by Jason, first killed their two sons—Jason, who had vanquished all

generans generat DL. 1814 **inchoationem** in creationem β. 1816 **scilicet** quia DL. 1818 **id . . . semita** *om.* JM. 1819 **idem est** *om.* ML; idem κ. 1820 **7** J *inserts* patet igitur quod quia Iason . . . correptos, *Ridewall* 875-83. 1828-29 **id est** *om.* Mβ. 1829 **id est** *om.* Mκ. **Iasonis** *om.* Mκ. 1831 **Sciendum** Dicendum C. 1834 **adnullare** adnichilare JME. **quia** que β. 1836 **qui** cum

mundans, *consolidat*, id est, confirmat, scilicet sementem; *Zephirus*, qui dicitur *florum creator* quia temperate frigidus et humidus flores producit, *promovet*, scilicet sementem, *in ubertatem*. Quasi dicat, sic accipias ventum verborum meorum ut incipias ostendere virtutem, quodammodo originaliter tibi insitam, quia quilibet potest esse castus si voluerit, ut idem sermo Auster sit, faciens inchoationem virtutis; Aquilo, faciens profectum; Zephirus, faciens consummationem. Et tandem concludit: *sic*, scilicet me audiendo, *dura principia munerantur dulci fine*. Et ut dicit Boecius, "Rerum exitus prudentia metitur" (*De cons*. 2.p1.47). *Sic artus calles*, id est, stricta semita, *ducit ad ampla palatia*; et *angustus trames ad terram viventium*; idem est. Alludit littere Matthei 7 (.14).

Sed ne longo. Hoc est 10 capitulum et ultimum, in quo finaliter finem apponit, et dividitur in 3 partes: primo, ad dictorum suorum confirmationem ad aliorum inscriptionem invitat; secundo, amico suo dictorum conservationem optat et rogat, ibi, *det tibi*; tercio, ne prolixitas fastidium faciat, per curialem salutationem terminat, ibi, *Sed ne Orestem*.

Dicit ergo pro primo, *Sed ne suspendam te*, id est suspensum reddam, *longo dispendio*, id est, longo tractatu et inutili, *lege Aureolum*, id est, talem librum, *Theofrasti*, id est, illius auctoris, *et Medeam Iasonis*, id est, librum describentem actus Medee, que fuit uxor Iasonis, *et invenies pauca inpossibilia mulieri*. [Sciendum] quod Theofrastus in *Aureolo* suo probat quod nulla est causa sufficiens ducendi uxorem, quia quecumque causa potissima assignetur, illa scit et potest eam adnullare. Medea, quia fuit spreta a viro suo Iasone, interfecit prius filios suos, quos Iason ex ea genuerat; nec vincere ad misericordiam potuit Iason Medeam, qui omnes homines vincebat. Ex quo patet

men, could not convince Medea to show mercy. The power of woman is clear if a woman could resist Jason, who seemed virtually omnipotent, as Seneca shows in his tragedy called *Medea*.

Friend, may almighty God grant you. Here he wishes that his friend may hold fast to his teachings: *may almighty God grant you the grace not to be tricked by the trickery of almighty woman, and may He shine his light into your heart*, as if to say, because until now it has been blind, *lest you keep on going there*, that is, to that point, *where I fear* that you are going, I mean with *eyes* (of your heart) *bewitched*, that is, tricked or deluded, for according to Papias *prestigium* (witchery) means trick, fraud, lie, deceit, or crime.

But lest I seem, etc. Here, in order not to bore by going on and on, he ends with a courtly farewell. You should know that Orestes should not be spelled with an "H." He was the son of Agamemnon, the leader of the kings of Greece who captured Troy. There was a huge book called *Orestes* about him and his wars and all his deeds, of which Juvenal said, "*Orestes* is written even on the back and still isn't finished." He says, then, "But lest I appear to have written an Orestes, that is, a boring book like it, from going on too much, I make an end and say farewell." Jerome ends similarly in a letter in which he argues against marriage and urges virginity, and I can speak these words myself about my own work. "I know," he says, "that I have spoken much more amply, and said more things by far in this catalogue of women than the custom of using examples allows, and that I may be justly blamed for that by a learned reader." But if I have said too much or too little, the fault and the ignorance are mine; if I have said just enough, it is the gift and grace of God, to Whom be honor and glory forever. Amen. Here ends the commentary on the letter of Valerius to Rufinus dissuading him from marriage.

iason Mκ; tum L. 1842 **quod** quo DL. **tendes** tendis M; tendens β. **hoc dico** *om*. M⋆EL. 1846 **fastidium** fastigium ME. **prolixitate** prolixitas ML; prolixitatem D. 1848 **per** cum Mβ. 1856 **Sencio** unde sentio ME. 1861 **honor** omnis honor DL. 1862 **dissuasione nuptiarum** non ducenda uxore Mκ; *om*. L⋆.

potentia mulieris, ex quo potuit resistere Iasoni, qui quasi omnipotens videbatur, sicut patet in illa tragedia Senece que vocatur *Medea*. *Amice, det tibi*. Hic amico dictorum conservationem desiderat: *det tibi omnipotens Deus, omnipotentis femine fallacia non falli, et illuminet cor tuum*, quasi diceret, quia adhuc est excecatum, *ne tendas eo*, id est ad id, *quo timeo*, quod scilicet tendes, hoc dico *oculis* (cordis scilicet tui) *prestigiatis*, id est, ludificatis vel delusis. Prestigium enim est idem quod dolus, fraus, mendacium, fallacia, maleficium, secundum Papiam (p. R4rb).

Sed ne Orestem, et cetera. Hic, ne fastidium prolixitate generet, curiali salutatione terminat. Pro quo sciendum quod Orestes non debet scribi per "H." Fuit autem filius Agamenonis, qui Agamenon fuit principalis inter reges Grecie qui Troiam ceperunt; de quo Oreste et bellis et actibus eius est editus magnus liber eiusdem nominis, de quo libro Iuvenalis ait, "Scriptus et a tergo nondum finitur Orestes" (cf. 1.6). Dicit ergo, *Sed ne videar scripsisse Orestem*, id est, talem librum fastidiosum, propter prolixitatem nimiam, faciens finem dico *vale*. Consimilem finem facit Ieronymus in quadam epistola in qua nuptias dissuadet et ad virginitatem hortatur, cuius verba etiam ego de meipso dicere possum. "Sencio me," inquit, "in cathalogo feminarum multo me amplius dixisse, pluraque quam exemplorum consuetudo patitur, et ideo a lectore erudito iuste posse reprehendi" (*Contra Iov*. 1.47). Sed sive nimis multa, sive nimis diminute dixerim, culpa mea est et ignorantia; si quid satis, Dei munus et gratia, Cui sit in eternum honor et gloria. Amen. Explicit expositio epistole Valerii ad Ruffinum de dissuasione nuptiarum.

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COMMENTARY FOUR:
"VALERIUS QUI DICITUR PARVUS"

The commentary that starts "Valerius qui dicitur parvus" (and which we call simply *Parvus*) survives, unhappily incomplete, only in Oxford, University College 61 (c. 1350), ff. 21v–23v (U). It is preceded on ff. 2–21v by the "Dissuasio" with Trivet's commentary (in a revised version) interspersed. It is incomplete because a good part of the last page has been torn off. Since it must postdate Trivet's commentary and the *Manipulus florum* (1306), to which it refers, it must have been composed some time in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Ruth Dean long ago made the suggestion that *Parvus* may be by Trivet, indeed may be the *opusculum* favorable to women mentioned at the end of the version of his commentary in this manuscript, University 61, f. 21v—which Dean thought also by Trivet (Dean 1950: 148–49). We disagree. First, we have given our reasons in the headnote to Trivet's commentary for not considering the U revision "Sciendum" as by Trivet, and therefore cannot accept the *Parvus* author's assertion, in his opening paragraph, that the same person wrote three commentaries. Second, it would be odd indeed for Trivet to refer to himself there in the third person, especially since in all his known writings he comes across as direct, open, and honest. Thirdly, this fourth commentary is not spoken of there as by the author of the others—and indeed, if that author thought his third version just right, why would he write a fourth? And finally, the description in U of the *opusculum* does not quite fit *Parvus*, since nowhere does *Parvus* "praise what is said well" in the "Dissuasio." We are content, then, to remain skeptical of these unprovable statements, and puzzled by their bold knowingness.

But the rest of the work commands only relief, assent, and admiration. It is by far the most attractive of the commentaries to modern readers, since its purpose is to confront and refute Valerius's antifeminism and his opposition to marriage. (Lambeth 330 takes issue with Valerius as well, though more coolly.) Its audience is presumably anyone who reads (or had forced on him in school) either Valerius or Trivet's commentary or both. Its particular audience was probably friars, as its likeness at several points to the commentary *Religiosos* suggests (see 271 and note, and the material on preaching). Though it uses Trivet's chapter divisions, and supposes that its reader has access to Trivet or some other commentary to understand the letter (see 293 and note, on Peleus), it otherwise stands in utter opposition to Trivet's neutral explicatory mode. It does not argue that all women are good, only that many are.

In two respects it shares traits with the medieval defenses of women described by Alcuin Blamires in *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture*: in its rhetorical status as a rebuttal of allegations against women, and in its instancing of Mary and other biblical women (Sara and Anna, both mentioned among the 24 that Blamires lists [p. 29] from the late thirteenth-century *Miroir des bonnes*

femmes). But on the whole the author shows little awareness of taking part in a tradition; rather, his commentary is as original as Albertano of Brescia's *Liber consolationis* (i.e., Chaucer's *Melibee*) in the vigor of its refutation, in its first-hand use of authorities such as Seneca, Jerome, Bede, and Augustine, and in its general good sense, though unlike it in its unmediated assertions by the author, based one feels on his actual sense of the women he knew and respected in everyday life. It stems, indeed, from "a seriously held view of women": the very thing that Jill Mann has asserted that apologies to women so rarely have (Mann, 35).

It also is particularly well organized, not simply proceeding from phrase to phrase but grasping the whole. The commentator announces at the start that Valerius makes "nine chief conclusions," and focuses most of his energy on the main one, that no man ought to get married. He then goes through and discusses whole chapters, not just this or that phrase—and never explains, only refutes. The commentary gets miscellaneous towards the end, however, and the commentator, pursuing his purpose of "showing more plainly (than Trivet) how (Map's) work could have been put in the service of morality," suddenly turns his bold document into a preacher's manual, struggling a little desperately to suggest how Valerius's anecdotes can be turned to use by preachers. Nevertheless, the value of the vigorous defense of women and marriage remains.

We have offered conjectural emendations where sense is lacking and fixed obvious scribal slips such as eyeskip between two appearances of the word *vanitas* at lines 117-20, or *conveniret* for the required *convenirent* at lines 31-32. Where the manuscript is torn (at the bottom right corner of the recto side, left corner of the verso; see Corrections to the Text), we have offered some conjectures to fill small blanks at the top of the tear, but have had to leave more and more blank spaces as the tear widens toward the bottom of the page. Emendations to existing text are enclosed in square brackets, conjectures of torn letters or words in braces ({}).

Valerius, nicknamed the small, to distinguish him from Valerius the great, who wrote *The Memorable Deeds*, and Valerius Martial, who wrote amusing epigrams—this Valerius wrote the letter to his friend Rufinus in which he resourcefully dissuades him from getting married. It begins, "I am forbidden to speak." A certain man wrote a commentary on it that begins, "A man who speaks to his friend." But this commentary seemed inadequate to him, so he wrote another, which begins, "Any woman who has a man of her own." But this too seemed inadequate to him after a while, and wrong in some places, and so correcting all he had said before, for the third time, he added a third brief commentary on it which he thought needed no changing. It begins, "Know that there were three Valeriuses." The second work is better than the first, but the third is better than both of them. This is a fourth commentary, also brief, which corrects Valerius himself, and which shows more plainly how his work could have been put in the service of morality.

Know, then, that according to the teaching of this Valerius the Small, we ought to be "like the bee, which draws honey from the nettle," that is, taking what is sweet and letting go what is burning and bitter. That is exactly what we must do with this Valerius. He makes nine chief conclusions. The first and most important is that no man ought to get married; in support of this conclusion he brings in many sayings and many examples. Thus our first and most important task is to destroy this conclusion in the sense in which he draws it. For the examples he brings in all imply that no man should get married. And he is not the only man who ever said that. There is also Theophrastus, who was Aristotle's chief successor; and from Theophrastus Jerome took much of what he has to say on this subject against Jovinian. And Chrysostom likewise seems to speak wonderfully well on this subject in his commentary on

2-3 **epigrammata** epigmata. 12 **quod** que. 22 **exempla** *om.* **unde primo** *repeated.*

Valerius qui dicitur parvus ad differentiam Valerii Magni, qui scripsit De Memorabilibus, et Valerii Marcialis, qui scripsit [epigrammata] ludicra—hic, inquam, Valerius scripsit epistolam amico suo Ruphino, in qua dissuadet exquisite sibi ducere uxorem, que epistola sic incipit, "Loqui prohibeor." Super quam epistolam expositio facta est a quodam que sic incipit, "Homo qui loquitur amico suo"; que explanatio sive expositio eidem homini insufficiens videbatur, unde aliam compilavit que sic incipit, "Mulier que privatum habeat"; que etiam sibi videbatur insufficiens postea nec in omnibus recta, unde tertio omnia prefata corrigens tertium [f. 22] super hoc opusculum quod mutandum non reputavit addidit, [quod] sic incipit, "Sciendum quod tres fuerunt Valerii." Opus secundum melius est primo, sed tertium melius est utroque. Istud est quartum opusculum, in quo ipse Valerius corrigitur, et quomodo opus suum moribus servire potuit planius demonstratur.

Sciendum igitur quod secundum doctrinam illius parvi Valerii, debemus esse *similes api que mel elicit ex urtica* (l. 257), scilicet accipiens quod dulce est et admittens quod urens et amarum est. Sic igitur faciendum est in isto Valerio, circa quod notandum quod novem sunt conclusiones quas principaliter intendit. Prima et principalis est quod nullus debet ducere uxorem, ratione cuius conclusionis multa dicta et multa [exempla] deducit, unde primo et principaliter hec conclusio ad sensum quem ipse adducit destruenda est. Volunt enim exempla que adducit quod uxor a nullo duci debet; nec est ipse solus ad hanc conclusionem, sed etiam Teofrastus, qui fuit principalis successor Aristotelis, a quo Teofrasto Ieronimus capit multa que dicit in materia ista contra Iovinianum. Similiter Crisostomus videtur mirabiliter loqui de ista materia super illud Matthei, "Cum

Matthew's "whereas his mother Mary was espoused, etc.."

Thus virginity is incorruptibility; but incorruptibility is sincere truth itself. Therefore "before they came together she was found with child," lest incorruptibility be born of corruption, and lest God make his temple out of the passion of two bodies. And I say—not to the despair and condemnation of those who are married, but to the consolation and glory of the chaste—that the marital act is an evil: not a sin but an evil. In fact it is a sin by nature, but by the concession of God it has been made to be not a sin. For it was necessary that man be born into the world corruptible, so that he could be tried, so that having been tried he could be crowned in glory. If he had been made incorruptible, he could not have been tried, and if he was not tried, he was not crowned because incorruptibility feels no trial, that is, no such trial as proceeds from corruption. And so it came about that man was born corruptible from the passion of flesh and blood, from a burning fire in the gut, from stored-up fluid, so that evil should not be born of good, or corruption from what cannot suffer corruption. And so also though the marital act is a sin by nature, by the concession of God it was made a matter of license. I say license, not righteousness, for even if because of necessity it has ceased to be sin, it has still not deserved to be righteousness. And therefore to those who indulge in it, though it brings no punishment, neither does it bring reward, and though it does not kill

31-32 **convenirent** conveniret. 33 **et** ut. 36 **nuptorum** impiorum. 38 **Nam** non. 40 **autem** est autem. 41 **Oportebat** opporteret. 43 **temptari** et temptari. 50 **impassibilitate** impassibilite.

esset disponsata, etc." (Matt. 1.18):

> Sic virginitas est incorruptibilitas; incorruptibilitas autem ipsa veritas sincera. Ideoque "antequam [convenirent] inventa est in utero habens" (Matt. 1.18), ne de corruptione incorruptibilitas nasceretur, [et] ne ex passione utriusque corporis templum sibi Deus fabricaret. Dico autem non ad desperationem et confusionem [nuptorum], sed ad consolationem et gloriam continentium, quoniam ipsa maritalis coniunctio malum est; non dico peccatum, sed malum. [Nam] quantum ad naturam ipsius rei, peccatum est; concessione [autem] Dei factum est ut non peccatum. [Oportebat] enim quod homo corruptibilis nasceretur in mundo, ut posset temptari, ut temptatus coronaretur. Si autem incorruptibilis factus fuisset, [temptari] non posset, et si non temptabatur, non coronabatur quia incorruptibilitas temptationem non sentit, talem videlicet temptationem que provenit ex corruptione. Ideo igitur factum est ut ex passione carnis et sanguinis, ex igne fervido in visceribus, retento humore, homo corruptibilis nasceretur, ut non ex bono malum nascatur, aut ex [impassibilitate] corruptio. Ideo igitur illa coniunctio maritalis, cum esset peccatum quantum ad naturam rei ipsius, concessione Dei facta est licentia. Licentia, dico, facta, non iusticia; nam [etsi] propter necessitatem rei peccatum esse desiit, tamen iusticia esse non meruit; et ideo utentibus se, etsi penam non infert, mercedem tamen non prestat; et licet

it does not save. Therefore the prophet said, thinking not of God's concession but of the squalid nature of the act, "I was conceived in iniquities"—that is, "Is it any wonder that I have sinned, who was born in sin?" His sinning nature follows from his engendering.

For if marriage in itself had been pleasing to God, the crown of glory would never be promised to those who abstain from it, nor would those who hate it be so loved by God. For the prize is to him who flees evil, not good. But you want to know when marriage was made licit, and how sometimes it was licit for men to have their sisters as wives, how licit for Cain and Abel to have Ripha and Edoda—well, it was because the necessity brought about by rarity of people excused their sin. Later, when the number of people increased, this evil reverted to its nature and began to be a sin. But it remained acceptable for one man to have several wives. Later still, as the world expanded, even this evil took back its nature and began to be a sin. But it remained acceptable for a man to have one wife. But now that the fullness of time has come, and the world has grown old, we know what God's counsel is, and what he wants, and what finds favor before him. But we haven't dared it on account of unchaste men, in whose bodies reason has no sway, for they are wholly in the grip of blood and that most filthy vapor that issues from their frenzied loins. You see therefore that the purpose of having children excuses that most vile act. But now

53 **etsi** et semper. 58 **respiciens** prorsus. 63 **si** *om.* 69 **quia** quorum. 83 **Vides** videns, *corrected to* vides.

non occidit, non tamen salvat. Unde propheta non ad indulgentiam Dei [respiciens], sed ad spurcitiam ipsius operis, dicebat: "Iniquitatibus conceptus sum" (Ps. 50.7) id est, "Quid mirum si peccavi, qui de peccatis natus sum?" Secuta est enim generationem suam natura peccati.

Nam [si] matrimonium ipsum placuisset Deo, nuncquam se abstinentibus gloriosa promitteretur corona; non sic amarentur a Deo qui odiunt illud. Non enim remuneratur qui bonum fugit, sed qui malum. Vis autem scire quando licitum est matrimonium, et quomodo aliquando sorores habere licuit in uxores, quomodo Caym et Abel Ripham et Edodam—[quia] peccatum illud raritatis hominum necessitas excusabat. Postea crescente numero hominum, ipsum malum reversum est in naturam suam, et cepit esse peccatum. Remansit autem in usu, ut uni viro liceat habere plures uxores. Amplificato postea mundo, etiam hoc malum recepit naturam suam, et cepit esse peccatum. Remansit autem in usu, ut unus unam haberet. Nunc autem postquam venit plenitudo temporis (Gal. 4.4), et senuit mundus, scimus quale est consilium Dei, et quid vult, et quid est placitum coram Illo. Sed ausi non sumus propter homines incontinentes, in quorum corpore ratio nihil agit, sed in toto possidet illos sanguis et sordidissimus vapor, de illo insano inguine procedens.... Vides ergo quia turpissimum id opus filiorum causa excusat. Nunc ex multiplicitate crean-

there are so many people that the need to create more is past. Now what pleases God is not a multitude of people but the charity of his holy ones.

The fact is that one and the same sexual appetite engenders fornication and serves marriage. Only as God established the shores as limits for the sea, saying, "Hitherto thou shalt come, and here thou shalt break thyself," so he established marriage as a limit on carnal appetite, and it comes to this or that and breaks down. And if it is one and the same appetite in married men and adulterers, how can it be that one and the same thing can be righteousness for one side and unrighteousness for the other?

Thus Chrysostom. But such remarks must be ruled excessive; taken literally, they do not contain strict truth. Whence St. Paul to Timothy, in chapter 4, says that in the last times men will give heed to doctrines of devils forbidding them to marry. We also have the authority of Christ, which was present at a wedding, John 2. And so Bede says, "This implies how detestable is the falsehood of Tatian and Marcion and the rest who slander marriage. For if guilt inhered in a chaste bed and in a wedding celebrated in the proper way, the Lord would certainly neither have come to this wedding nor sanctified it with his first miracle." Augustine wrote the book "Conjugal Good," which he would not have done if there were always evil where he expressly shows there is sometimes good. He says, "Just as what Martha did was good, busying herself with serving the saints, but what her sister Mary did was better, sitting at the feet of the Lord and listening to what he said, even though both were his hostesses—so also we praise the good of Susanna in married chastity, but we

88 **maritalem usum** malum. **Sed sicud** sicud sed sicud. 88-89 **posuit Deus** ponunt. 89 **dicens** dicentia. 93 **adulteris** adulteries. 101-2 **Tatiani et Marcionis** caciani et marciani.

dorum hominum occasio est extincta. Iam Deum non multiplicatio hominum sed caritas delectat sanctorum.

Ecce una est libido que fornicationem generat et que [maritalem usum] ministrat. Sed sicud mari [posuit Deus] terminos littora, [dicens], "Huc venies, et hic te confringes" (Job 38.11); sic libidini carnali terminum posuit coniugium, et huc veniens sive illuc se confringit.... Si ergo ipsa eadem est libido in maritis et [adulteris], quomodo potest fieri ut una eademque res pro dimidia parte sit iustitia, et pro alia iniusticia?

Hec Crisostomus (*PG* 56.631-32). Sed tenendum quod talia dicta sunt excessive dicta, nec continent precisam veritatem secundum sensum quem in prima facie pretendunt, unde Apostolus ad Thimotheum, 4 (1 Tim. 4.1-3), dicit quod in novissimis temporibus homines attendent doctrinis demoniorum prohibentium nubere. Item ad idem est auctoritas Christi que interfuit nuptiis, Iohannis secundo (John 2.1-11). Unde Beda dicit sic: "[Tatiani] et [Marcionis] ceterorumque qui nuptiis detrahunt perfidia quam sit detestabilis insinuat; si enim thoro immaculato et nuptiis [f. 22v] debito modo celebratis culpa inesset, nequaquam Dominus ad has veniret, nequaquam signorum iniciis has consecrasset" (*Homiliae* 1.14, *CC* 122.95; *PL* 94.68). Item Agustinus facit librum De Bono Coniugali, quod non faceret si semper esset malum ubi expresse ostendit aliquando esse bonum. Unde dicit: "Sicut bonum erat quod Martha faciebat, ocupata multum circa ministerium sanctorum, sed melius erat quod Maria soror eius, sedens ad pedes Domini et audiens verbum oris eius, cum eum ambe ad hospicium recepissent, ita etiam bonum Susanne in castitate coniugali laudamus; sed tamen

prefer the good of the widow Anna, and prefer still more the good of Mary." Thus Augustine, and Jerome is forced by the power of reason and disputation to gloss his own words into this meaning; for he says in one of his letters, "If all creatures are created good by a good creator, how is everything called vanity? If earth is vanity, aren't the heavens vanity too, and the angels, and thrones, dominations, powers, and the rest of the heavenly orders? Well, things that are good in themselves, because created by a good creator, are called vanity in comparison to greater things. For example, compare a star to the moon, and it is invisible; compare the moon to the sun, it does not shine; compare the sun to Christ, and there is darkness. Therefore if you compare any creature to that degree, it won't hold up. It is only in this relative sense that it is bad to touch a woman." Thus Jerome, and I grant he is right.

Seneca, in the letter to Lucilius that starts, "I have ceased now to worry about you", says, "The brightest bedroom is utterly dark at night. Day pours light into it, night takes it away. So with things we call indifferent or 'in-between'—the riches of fortune, honor, kingship, and on the other side, death, exile, ill-health, pain, and whatever else we fear, whether more or less—it is wickedness or virtue that gives them the name (of good or bad)." Note that he implies that there are two extremes: one is wickedness, which includes everything that cannot possibly be done well, such as robbing churches or despising God. The other extreme is virtue, which includes everything that cannot possibly be done badly, such as loving God for his own sake and loving virtue for righteousness's sake. Some things are in-between, what Seneca calls indifferent things. There are three levels of indifference. Some things are genuinely indifferent, such as having your hair cut evenly or unevenly: a man who has it even is not thereby more disposed to virtue or vice than if he had it uneven. There

117–20 **Si . . . vanitas** *om.* 123 **comparationis sensum** operationis. 125 **concedenda** concedende. 129 **indifferentia** sunt differentia. 133 **extrema** exempla. 135 **extremum** ex^{m}. 139 **ut** et.

bonum Anne vidue, ac multo magis Marie bonum anteponimus" (*PL* 40.379). Hec Augustinus, et ad hunc sensum vi rationis et disputationis dicta sua glosare Ieronimus est coactus; unde in quadam epistola dicit sic: "Si omnes creature bone a bono creatore condite, quomodo universa vanitas? [Si terra vanitas, numquid et celi et angeli et throni, dominationes, potestates, cetereque virtutes? Sed que per se bona sunt ut a bono creatore condita, ad comparationem maiorum vanitas] appellantur. Verbi gratia, stellam lune confer, et ceca est; lunam soli coniunge, non rutilat; solem confer Christo, et tenebre sunt. Omnem igitur creaturam si adeo contuleris, non subsistit. Igitur secundum hunc [comparationis sensum], malum est mulierem tangere." Hec Ieronimus (*Ep.* 48; *PL* 22.503–4), et sic sunt [concedenda].

Item Seneca ad Lucilium epistola que sic incipit, "Dessii de te iam esse solicitus," dicit sic: "Cubiculum lucidissimum … hoc idem obscurissimum est nocte; dies illi lucem infundit, et nox eripit; sic in istis que a nobis [indifferentia] ac media dicuntur, diviciis fortune, honoribus, et regno, et contra, morti, exilio, male valetudini, doloribus, et quecumque alia aut minus aut maius pertimescimus, aut malicia aut virtus dat nomen." Hec ibi (*Ep.* 82.13–14). Nota quod vult dicere quod duo sunt [extrema]: unum est malicia, quod comprehendit omnia illa que nequaquam bene fieri possunt, ut spoliare templa et contempnere Deum. Alterum [extremum] est virtus, que comprehendit illa que nequaquam male fieri possunt, ut deligere Deum propter se et virtutem propter honestatem. Quedam sunt intermedia, que vocantur indifferentia, et illa sunt in triplici gradu quia equaliter indifferentia, [ut] habere capillos pares vel inpares; non enim habens pares magis propter hoc ad virtutem

are other indifferent things that nevertheless incline one toward moral evil, such as riches, prosperity, a wife. These incline a man to forget himself and God and care only for the world, and they are so near the heart that none or few escape them. For these reasons such things are sometimes called "evil inclination," because of the evils they usually, but not always, cause. The third level is evils that cause pain such as illness, and these usually incline one toward good, as toward humility, confession, and prayer, and righteousness. For this reason these are sometimes called goods; and yet in all truth those are not evils and these are not goods, except that those tendencies inhere in them and a man exercises his free will to use them well or badly.

It is evident that marriage belongs on the level of in-between, indifferent things, and beyond that on the level of indifferent things that incline toward evil, and beyond that: even when someone uses it well it is bad in comparison to virginity—and yet it is good unless there is something bad to offset it. For a married man can be so deeply loving that he can outstrip the merits of a less loving virgin.

But in reaching his chief conclusion Valerius uses a species of argument called induction, which goes like this: this man is running, that man is running, and that one, and that one, and so on—therefore every man is running. Or like this: Socrates is running and Plato is running, and there are no more men beyond Socrates and Plato, therefore every man is running. It only takes a single negative example to destroy this argument, and I assert on the point at issue that Valerius adduces many particular women in order to make one general woman, but certainly there is not just one negative example—one good woman—but many. For in order to support his conclusion that all women are bad, he assumes implicitly or explicitly what is

159 **hic** hoc.

disponitur vel vicium quam si inpares. Alia sunt que magis disponunt ad malum culpe, utpote divicie, prospera, uxor, que disponunt hominem ad oblivionem sui et Dei et solicitudinem mundanam, et valde propinque disponunt ut nullus evadat vel pauci; et propter hoc talia vocantur aliquando mala dispositio propter mala que communiter faciunt, sed non semper. In tertio gradu sunt mala pene, ut infirmitas; et talia ut communiter disponunt ad bonum, ut ad humiliationem, confessionem, et orationem, et ius; et ideo talia aliquando vocantur bona. Et tamen in rei veritate nec illa sunt mala nec illa bona nisi quia ille circumstantie insunt eis et utitur homo bene vel male ex libertate arbitrii.

Patet igitur in quo gradu nuptie sunt ponende quia intermedia et indifferentia, et ultra adhuc, inter talia indifferentia queque magis attendunt malo, et ultra adhuc, quando eis bene quis utitur adhuc male sunt in comparatione ad virginitatem; et tamen bone sunt nisi sit aliquid mali recompensans; potest enim coniugatus esse ita intense caritatis quod precellere potest merita virginis in minori caritate.

Sed [hic] utitur ad suam conclusionem principalem specie argumenti que vocatur inductio, que talis est: iste homo currit, ille homo currit, et ille, et sic de singulis—ergo omnis homo currit. Vel sic: Socrates currit et Plato currit, et non sunt plures homines quam Socrates et Plato; ergo omnis homo currit. Iste modus arguendi deficit quando unum singulare deficit; sic dico in proposito quod Valerius inducit multas singulares ut faciat unam universalem; sed certe non solum deficit in una singulari sed in multis. Nam ad illam conclusionem probandum, "omnis mulier est mala," accipit implicite vel explicite falsum, scilicet ducendo sic de singulis

false, that is by inducing as he does from a few particular examples, or by saying that there are no more women in the world than the ones he mentions. His argument is no more valid than if he argued like this: Abel, Cain, and Seth were brothers, but Cain was wicked; therefore Abel was wicked. Or like this: all the sons of Cain were wicked; therefore all the sons of Seth were wicked.

Thus I answer his arguments by opposing them. And first I answer Theophrastus: I reject him because he was wrong on many things, as Averroes shows well enough. To Jerome I say that he is to be glossed as he glosses himself, as I quoted him above. To Chrysostom I say that he says one thing, that Abel had a wife, and Augustine in *The Miracles of Holy Scripture* says the opposite, and I would rather reject Chrysostom than Augustine, and on the same basis on which I reject that part of his authority I reject it all insofar as it is contrary to what I have been saying.

And I answer Valerius, chapter by chapter. In the first chapter, I grant that the woman whom Rufinus wanted to marry was as Valerius describes her, and that she had made Rufinus lose his head, and Valerius knew that because he knew what they both were like, the woman knowing well how to capture a man, and Rufinus an easy prey; I concede then that by the rhetorical figure of similitude the woman was Circe, and the Chimaera, and the other things he brings in—but it does not follow that every woman is like her. In the second chapter he accuses Eve of dooming all women to disobedience. I grant that every woman inherits original sin, which inclines her toward evil—but so do men. And this inclination is lessened by baptism and by grace, and the Virgin Mary has removed the stigma by bringing more honor to the world than Eve brought shame. Thus women "never tire of dragging out to its full consequences what they drew from their first mother"—unless they are prevented by grace, as Mary was "full of grace," and as is true of many others.

I say further that Mary is "the best woman" and is not "rarer than the phoenix";

189 **peccatum** *om.*

vel dicendo plures non esse mundo quam ponit. Unde non valet argumentum suum plusquam si sic argueret: Abel et Caym et Sed fuerunt fratres, sed Caym fuit malus, ergo Abel. Vel sic: omnes filii Caym fuerunt mali, ergo omnes filii Sed.

Unde respondeo ad argumenta in contrarium, et primo ad Teofrastum, et nego eum quia erravit in multis, sicud satis probat Averoys. Ad Ieronimum dico quod glosandus est sicud ipse se glosat, ut predictum est. Ad Crisostomum dico quod dicit unum, scilicet quod Abel habuit uxorem, et Augustinus De Mirabilibus Sacre Scripture dicit oppositum, et malo negare Crisostomum quam Augustinum, et qua ratione nego illam partem autoritatis, totam nego, quatenus est contraria predictis.

Ad Valerium per ordinem, concedo primo quod illa mulier quam Ruphinus disposuit ducere fuit talis qualem eam Valerius describit, et quod ipsa infatuasset Ruphinum; [f. 23] et hoc Valerius scivit quia conditiones novit utriusque, mulieris scientis allicere et Ruphini facilis ad alliciendum; unde concedo quod mulier fuit Circe per similitudinem et Chimera et alia huiusmodi que ponit; sed ex hoc non sequitur quod quelibet mulier sit talis. Secundo capitulo arguit de Eva, quod ipsa divinavit inobedientiam in omnes feminas; et concedo quod omnis mulier contrahit [peccatum] originale, quo mediante est disposita ad malum, sicud et vir; sed hec dispositio mitigatur per baptismum et per gratiam, et Maria Virgo illud opprobrium abstulit, que maiorem honorem contulit mundo quam Eva malum. Sunt ergo mulieres *indefesse trahere in consequentiam quod a prima matre traxerunt* —nisi gratia preveniantur, sicud fuit Maria "gratia plena" (Luke 1.28), et de multis aliis.

Ultra dico quod Maria est *optima feminarum* nec est *rarior fenice*,

and if the phoenix is one and therefore in one place or region, Mary in contrast is everywhere at once to those who call upon her, and so although she is unique like the phoenix she is not rare. And further, when he says, "no woman now is Lucretia, etc.," I say he is wrong in the sense he intends, because many married women are better than Lucretia ever was, who out of fear of shame endured adultery and even killed herself. And if to anyone it seems virtuous that she killed herself because she couldn't bear that her chastity had been violated—which is not in fact virtuous, as Augustine shows—let him read Jerome and Jacques de Vitry and there he will find that many virgins among the Gauls, when the barbarians assaulted them, threw themselves headlong to their deaths lest their chastity be violated at all, which was more virtuous. But I don't dare insist that they were virtuous. It is clear also that many widows live longer in chastity than Penelope, who only lived thus for twenty years in the absence of her husband Ulysses, of whom she knew neither that he was certainly alive nor certainly dead, but if she had known he was dead she would not have refused King Alcinous—while many other women have known full well their husbands are dead, and buried with their own hands, and yet purely for the love of God have truly shown themselves turtledoves for many more years. It is especially well known that many "Sabinians," that is, raped women, have not ceased their efforts until they were avenged of the rape. Going on, I concede that Scylla was bad and that Myrrha was bad; were Mary, Anna, or Sara therefore likewise bad?

Chapter Three. Jupiter was just as bad as Europa was; therefore this argues more against men than against women. The same is clear from the examples of Phebus and Mars, and it is clear too that what Valerius considers more Venus's fault was a sin for Vulcan too.

Chapter Four. He implicates Medea, and I grant that she was bad. On Phoroneus I do not much care to spend arguments. He thought his wife was in his way, and

199 **dicit** *om.* 205 **ibi** 2. 215 *The outer edge of the bottom half of folio 23 has been torn off, affecting lines 215-59 (25 lines of f. 23r) and 296-315 (9 lines of f. 23v). Less is affected on f. 23v because the text ends three-fifths of the way down the page. Our conjectures, enclosed in braces, in every case would fit the space available; at its deepest point, 12-14 lines from the bottom line of folio 23r, the tear has removed about 28 characters.* 215 **Sabine** sabinie. 218 **Sara** sara que omnes(?). 221 **quod quod** quod.

et si fenix sit una et per consequens in uno loco vel regione, tamen simul Maria in omni loco invocantibus adest; unde quamvis sit unica sicud fenix, non tamen est rara. Et ultra, quando [dicit] *nullam esse Lucretiam*, etc., nego eum secundum sensum quem intendit, quia multe coniugate sunt meliores quam uncquam fuit Lucretia, que timore opprobrii sustinuit adulterium et etiam se occidit; quia si hoc alicui videatur virtuosum quod se occiderat ex inpatientia castitatis lese—quod tamen virtuosum non est, sicud ostendit Augustinus—legat Ieronimum et Iacobum de Utriaco et [ibi] inveniet quod multe virgines in Galliis irruentibus barbaris se precipitaverunt timore castitatis ledende, quod fuit magis virtuosum. Sed non audeo dicere quod ille fuerunt virtuose. Patet etiam quod multe vidue diucius vivunt in castitate quam Penelopes, que solum per viginti annos sic vixit sine presentia mariti sui Ulixis, cuius nec vitam nec mortem certitudinaliter scivit, sed si forte mortem ipsius scivisset, Altionum regem non refutasset; cum multe alie scientes maritos mortuos, et eos suis manibus sepellitos, solo Dei amore multo pluribus annis vere turtures se exhibebant. Compertum etiam est quod m{ul}te [Sabine], id est rapte mulieres, non cessaverunt donec de raptu vindicarentur. Et ultra conce{do} quod Cilla fuit mala et quod Mirra mala; similiter ergo Maria, Anna, vel [Sara]?

Tertium capitulum. {Iu}piter fuit malus eque sicud Europa; ergo plus concludit contra viros quam mulieres. Idem patet d{e exemplis} Phebi et Martis, et similiter quod [quod] sententiavit pro Venere magis fuit vicium p{ro Vulcano}.

{Quartum capitulum}. Implicat Medeam, et concedo quod fuit mala. De Foroneo non multum curo de{clarare rationes}. Sensit

therefore was persuaded that a wife would be a bother to anybody.

Chapter Five. (Cicero thought that a woman) commonly is an obstacle to intense study, because one must be interrupted from time to time on her account. It is not, (however, therefore true that) a woman is bad, just because her husband finds it necessary to do without food in order to study. The author (brings in the examples) of Arrius, Sulpicius, and Cato the Elder; I do not much care (about Arrius and Sulpicius, and even though he may com)mend Cato and his opinions, still it is clear that what he did was wrong, while …… he could err in this, especially in the minor premise that he brings in above. On Metellus.....up to the words "if you must marry (it is not expedient indeed)," because sometimes it is expedient.....

Chapter Six. Of Lais, Livia, Deianira and Lucilia I concede that they were dangerous; (but not all women are dangerous).

Chapter Seven. When he says, "among so many thousands, which one has ever," I say that ..... Eleven thousand virgins disappointed their suitors, whence (it is not true that "none) of them say no persistently." Farther down: Danaë and Periccion gave in—but that does not mean that all women do.

Chapter Ten. ……. in this part, and he has spoken similarly of Medea before …….. that woman is omnipotent, this is no other than the Blessed Virgin …….. and the sainted women who are with her in heaven, and she takes this away from no one, for I think that through her the world …….. therefore through a woman the world has God, and thus is clearly shown the felicity (brought about by women, even though Cato said), "If the world could be without women, etc."

But if we take woman to stand for sensuality …….. and man for reason; yes, surely to marry sensuality, that is, to assent to it inseparably …….. whence sensuality

235 **si** sed.

mulierem sibi obfuisse, credidit per consequens quod omnibus noceret.

Quintum capitulum. {Cicero putavit quod mulier} communiter impedit studium intensum, quod opportet pro ea aliquando interrumpi. Non t{amen verum est ratione quod} Mulier sit mala, quia oportet propter studium dimittere cibum. Sed auc{tor exempla addu}cit Arrii et Sulpicii, et Catonis qui maior erat; non multum cur{o de Arrio et Sulpicio, et si com}mendet Catonem et eius sententiam, tamen patet eum vitiose fecisse, dum { } errare in hoc maxime potuit in minori quod ante adducit. De Me{tello } est usque ibi, *[si] uxorari oportet non expedit quidem*, quia aliquando exped {it .}

Capitulum sextum. Lays, Livia, Deianira, Lucilia: concedo quod fuerunt periculos{e, sed mulier non est periculosa} universaliter.

Capitulum septimum. Quando dicit *Que uncquam inter tot milia*, dico quod { } undecim milia virginum petitores suos contristaverunt, unde n{on est verum quod *nulla*} *pernegat*; et ultra: Dane assensit et Peritio—non tamen omnes.

Decimum ca{pitulum. }gatur in hac parte et de Medea similiter est dictum prius v{ } mulierem esse omnipotentem, hec non est alia nisi Beata Virgo { } et beate que cum illa sunt, et hoc nulli derogat, quia puto quod per eam mund{us } it; ergo per mulierem mundus habet Deum, et manifeste ostenditur felicita{s causata mulieribus, pace Cato qui dixit} *Si absque femina,* etc.

Si autem per mulierem intelligitur sensualitas s{ }ter, et per virum ratio; sic certe ducere sensualitatem, id est, inseparabiliter ei assen{tire }sum, unde sensualitas sic assentienti est Circes

is a Circe and a Chimaera to the man who assents to it, and so of (the other women in the examples of Va)lerius. It is clear then what we should take from Valerius's first and chief conclusion, and what we should reject, and how (his examples, rightly interpreted,) can be of value.

His second chief conclusion is that every man ought to beware of (lying counselors of pleasure and) hear truths, hard though they may be. The tenth chapter is on this, and to it can also be applied (the earlier passage where he dwells on) the difference between the crane and the lark. When cranes cry some people always say, "Damn them; those cries mean a rainy, nasty winter." When they hear a lark sing, they say, "Bless it, we shall have a lovely day." It is the same way with preaching. If preachers tell their congregations that a heavy winter is in store for them, that they will go from rain and snow to extreme heat, they hate them even though they are telling the truth.

His third conclusion is that no wise man ought to put himself in danger; this comes up in the first chapter in the examples of Ulysses and Empedocles. It can be applied in any sermon, for people must be taught to cut themselves off from occasions of sin and bind themselves to meditation on the wood of the cross, because he who does otherwise is burned. And when they say that it is more virtuous to be in the fire and not be burned, meaning by this the secular estate, there is an easy answer for religious in what is above, for a man who enters a fire is burned, surely. It is wrong to want to have an occasion of sin.

The fourth chief conclusion is that a man should not put off acting on good advice; this comes up in the fourth chapter, on Julius Caesar. This story of Caesar and Tongillius suggests that it is useful to have a poor man for a friend, particularly if he is wise. The seventh conclusion is that people ought to feel even deeper shame and self-condemnation to find themselves worse sinners than pagans or other infidels.

270 **qui** *om.* 278 **Tongilio** conclilio.

et Chimera, et ita de a{liis mulieribus in exemplis Va}lerii. Et patet quid tenendum est de prima conclusione principali et quid non, et quomodo exe{mpla eius recte interpreta}ta valere possunt.

Secunda conclusio principalis est quod quilibet debet cavere de {falsis persuasoribus voluptatis et} audire vera, licet sint dura, et de hoc habetur decimum capitulum; et hoc servire potest ant{ecedens oratio ubi ponit} [f. 23v] differentiam inter grues et luciniam. Grues quando clamant solent aliqui dicere, "Maledicantur quia prenuntiant pluviam vel asperam yemem." Quando audiunt luciniam cantantem, dicunt, "Benedicatur, habebimus pulcrum diem." Sic est de predicationibus: si dicant precantibus quod iminet eis gravis yemps, ubi ab aquis vadent ad calorem maximum, illos predicatores odiunt, licet vera dicant.

Tertia conclusio est quod nullus sapiens debet se ingerere in periculum, primo capitulo per exemplum Ulixis et Empedoclis. Et hoc potest servire in omni sermone, quia debent homines doceri amputare sibi occasiones peccandi et ligare se meditationi ligni crucis, quia [qui] aliter facit comburitur; et quando dicunt magis virtuosum est esse in igne et non comburi, per hoc referentes statum secularium, religiosis facilis est responsio per predicta, quia qui igni se ingerit in veritate comburitur; unde viciosum est velle habere occasionem peccandi.

Quarta conclusio principalis est quod homo non differat bonum consilium effectui mancipare, quarto capitulo de Iulio Cesare, ex quo sequi videtur quod utile est habere pauperem in amicum, et precipue si sit sapiens, ut patet de Iulio et [Tongilio]. Septima conclusio est quod debet esse maior verecundia et confusio, si inveniant se peiores paganis vel aliis infidelibus in factis viciosis.

The eighth conclusion is that Holy Scripture is to be studied diligently; this comes up in chapters eight and nine. The ninth conclusion is that we should embrace penitence freely, see chapter nine, "The surgeon's hand is hard, etc."

His words can also be applied to other things; for example, the story of Pacuvius whose three wives hanged themselves on one tree can be used to meditate on the Passion. There are three things, above all, that men want: wealth, prestige, and pleasure. All these are hanged, all die on the despised cross on which Christ hung, naked, spat upon, given gall to drink. But you have to say this in such a way that women won't take offense.

In the same way, against pride you can tell about Caesar's humility; against anger, Medea's cruelty; against envy, the machinations of Peleus against Jason; against sloth, the busy care of Ulysses and of the bee; against avarice, the greed of Caesar, "for whose embrace the world was too narrow" and yet Atropos "dared cut his thread." (Against) gluttony, how Empedocles threw himself in the fire—thus those who give themselves over to pleasure inflame themselves for Venus (and) lechery. Against lust the story of the emperor Valentius works well. But against every sin and toward virtue you will do well to draw in the labors of Hercules, to whom, according to legend, "the conquered earth yields the stars"—which may God grant (us), etc.

In the commentary it was said that this Valerius is another man than Valerius the Great, which (is) true (even if the au)thor of *Manipulus florum* says the opposite, for Valerius the Great in his book "On Religion" commends the gods, (but here in chapter 8), as is clear to anyone who looks at it, he calls such worshippers "idolaters" and "dogs." Again, he tells (the story of) the emperor (Valentius), though there had been no such emperor in the time of Valerius Maximus, who did not outlive Tiberius,

293 **Peleos** peleus. 296 **Empedocles** empedoclis. 301 **donat** domat.

Octava conclusio est quod diligenter studendum est in Scriptura Sacra, octavo capitulo et nono capitulo. Nona conclusio est quod penitencia est libenter amplectenda, nono capitulo *Dura est manus*, etc.

Possunt autem dicta sua servire ad alia, verbi gratia ad meditationem Passionis, de Pacuvio cuius tres uxores suspenderant se in arbore una. Tria sunt que homines concupiscunt maxime, divicie videlicet, honores, et delicie, que omnes suspenduntur, que etiam omnes in spreta cruce moriuntur in qua Christus pependit nudus, consputus, felle potatus; istud tamen ita caute dicatur ne mulieres offendantur.

Item contra superbiam potest narrari humilitas Iulii; contra iram, crudelitas Medee; contra invidiam, machinationes [Peleos] contra Iasonem; contra accidiam, solicitudo Ulixis et apis; contra avariciam, cupiditas Iulii *cuius amplectudini artus fuit orbis*, et tamen *Attropos filum eius occare est ausa*. {Cont}ra gulam, quomodo [Empedocles] iniecit se igni—sic qui dant se deliciis, se ipsos inflammant ad Venerem {et} luxuriam. Contra libidinem valet historia Valentii imperatoris; et precipue contra omne vicium et ad omnem virtutem faciliter trahi poterunt labores Herculis, cui secundum fabulas "superata tellus sydera [donat]" (Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, 4.m7.34-35), quod {etiam no}bis deus concedat, etc.

In expositione dicebatur quod ille Valerius est alius a Valerio Magno, quod verum {est etsi au}ctor Manipuli Florum dicat oppositum, quod Valerius Magnus libro *De religione* commendat deos, {sed capitulo 8°}, ut patet inspicienti, ille vocat cultores tales *ydolatras* et *canes*. Item ille narrat {historiam de Valentio} imperatore, qualis nullus fuit tempore Valerii Magni, qui non duravit ultra

whom …….(as he says) a little later. But we need more information about the identity of this emperor Valentius, (and) the true story of (Lucilia who) killed (her husband) whom she loved, of the pagans who wore leather belts, (and of) ……., and of the labors of Hercules. The rest are, whatever ……. may be corrected. If anyone sees anything to be corrected on these subjects or others, (let him correct it for the love) of God. Amen. The end.

Here ends Valerius to Rufinus on not getting married.

315-16 **Amen . . . uxore** *In a different and later hand, and apparently written after the page was torn, since the words "Explicit Valerius . . . uxore" are centered in the remaining space.*

Tiberrium, quem { ut di}cit parum ultra. De illo tamen Valentio imperatore diligentius est querendum quis fuit; {et de Lucilia que vir}um quem amavit occidit, et de gentilibus qui zonas pellicias portaverunt, {et de }stitate, et de laboribus Herculis, veritas historica; cetera sunt, utcumque sicud esse { }stimo corrigentur. Si quis de hiis vel aliis corrigendum viderit, {corrigat pro dilec}tione Dei. Amen. Explicit, etc.

Explicit Valerius ad Rufinum de non ducenda uxore.

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COMMENTARY FIVE:
"HOC CONTRA MALOS RELIGIOSOS"

The commentary that begins "Hoc contra malos religiosos" survives in two Cambridge manuscripts, Clare College N.2.5 (formerly Clare 14) (our C1, early 14c), ff. 78v-84 and St John's College E.12 (115) (our J, late 14/early 15c), ff. 42v-57. Our text is based on C1, the older of the two copies. Neil Cartlidge, who published an edition of "Hoc contra malos religiosos" in 1998 (Cartlidge 1998), used J as his basis, though merely for convenience, as he explains (p. 162). He says the copies are "virtually identical, differing only in minor variations of spelling and word order" (162), but we have found many places where C1 is superior to J, and only a few where J is superior to C1.[1]

In both manuscripts the commentary comes after the text of Valerius, which is interspersed with Trivet's commentary (and in J with Ridewall's as well); see our headnote to the Trivet commentary. It was evidently written to accompany a text that had Trivet's commentary interspersed, since the author refers to that commentary as simply "expositio" (937, 971), refers to Trivet's chapter-divisions, and calls his work "A second, moral commentary on the same letter." The Trivet chapter-divisions are all accurately noted in the margins in C1. The author also draws on some of Trivet's material for his own purposes (see 100-7n, 203n, 884-85n), and in general clearly feels free to pursue the moral issues the text raises in his mind, freed by Trivet from any need to provide literal exposition. A tiny hint that he had Trivet before him is his remark at line 970 that the penultimate of *aconita* is long; this is the kind of thing Trivet often says but does not say here, so our author supplies it. He may even have felt that Trivet did not take seriously enough his own remarks (57-71) about how everything in the letter can be applied to morals, and so set about doing that better. Or he may be Trivet.

Given the relationship to Trivet's commentary, it cannot be earlier than that (or than the death of Dolcino in 1307 [see 170n]), and is probably virtually contemporary with it. Since Clare 14 is itself early-fourteenth-century, it must not be far removed from the author's original. And the author (if not Trivet himself) was probably like Trivet a Dominican. The respect he pays to Trivet (and to Aquinas and Hugh of St-Cher) suggests that, as do both his emphasis on preaching (e.g. at 997, 1048-49) and his citations of the Dominican office (922-23, perhaps 997-1000). His audience is clearly his fellow-Dominicans and other religious learning to be preachers (not university students as Cartlidge says [158]). For his lively interest in competition between religious orders, see 252ff. We know from Paul of Guastaferris's remark on Eneas of Siena's lectures (see Eneas headnote) that the "Dissuasio" was part of the Dominican curriculum, probably primarily for its

1. Though Cartlidge's text unfortunately contains a great number of misreadings, we have been greatly helped by his notes and identification of the sources of the author's quotations, and by his personal kindness as well, and we record here our gratitude to him.

rhetorical brilliance, though perhaps secondarily for its ratification of celibacy.[2] Still, the antifeminism must have been an embarrassment, and one feels that the commentaries are meant to direct ordinands to other matters: Trivet's by providing an overdose of information, and the present commentary by diverting attention to a range of more palatable moral opinions.

The author's sympathy for Valerius's ideas is not strong. He certainly is drawn by the pattern of "praemonitio," of a friend speaking out bluntly for his friend's good, and by the preference for austerity over pleasure. At times, however, he seems only to be able to agree at this general level. Allegorizing enables him to avoid the particulars of the *Letter*. Indeed, he often uses Valerius simply as a peg to hang his own reflections on: one-fourth of his treatise, for instance, gets him only through lines 1-40 of the *Letter*, and another third arises out of the single line, "take heed to whom you give … and give yourself." When he does touch down on the text, he is prone to argue with Valerius. That is, of course, a mark of his good sense, a quality very much in evidence throughout the commentary. At times (e.g. 691-97, 772-79, 882-90) that good sense veers toward slyness, or at least toward prudentiality of the kind we see in "Melibee" or "The Manciple's Tale"—and of course also in the wisdom books of the Bible and in Seneca. On women, perhaps again under the influence of the wisdom books, he seems to accept Valerius's attitude—if his veneration of Mary, and one or two other brief moments of ordinary common sense such as his reminder that women have guardian angels, are excepted (see also our remarks in the Introduction to this volume, and Cartlidge's apt discussion in his introduction). At line 292 he phrases the issue bluntly: can we malign all women because of Eve? His answer is no, and he parts openly from Valerius, and yet there is so much qualification and haggling that his stance is after all not very brave.

In the Variants, C1 is shortened to C.

2. There may be a further indication of a special association of the *Dissuasio* with Dominicans in its use by Waleys and Holcot and by Dominican inquisitors, and in Richard Fitzralph's allusion to its incipit in his sermon 75, preached before Dominicans; see *JBWW 1*, pp. 65-67. There is a little evidence that the Augustinians used Map's text, too: James, 1909, p. 69 lists as part of item #481 of the catalogue of the Augustinians at York, "Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum cum commento."

A second, moral, commentary on the same letter.

I am forbidden to speak and cannot be silent. This can be taken as a rebuke to bad religious who are forbidden to speak at certain times and in certain places, and yet think they cannot be silent. As a novice said after he had spent two days in silence, according to the custom of his order: on the third day, when his master and some others came up to him, he opened his mouth and blew out his breath violently over and over as if he were mad. When the master asked him what the matter was, he replied that it seemed to him that his belly was about to explode from the wind which he would have been able to emit had he been speaking, but which had been shut in from all the silence. There are many such men, all like Elihu whom the Lord reproved, who said in Job 32, "For I am full of matter to speak of, and the spirit of my bowels straiteneth me. Behold, my belly is as new wine which wanteth vent, which bursteth the new vessels. I will speak and take breath a little."

Secondly, this can be the voice of those who with a face full of sanctity say everything bad about their brothers and superiors. They say, "I shouldn't speak ill of so and so, but God knows that I don't say it to spread evil or out of spite, but only to warn you to beware of him," or such like. And under that coloring a man brings up the worst things he knows, and sometimes things he doesn't know. For him the phrase means, "*I am forbidden to speak* evil of my neighbor, *but I cannot be silent*, and hide it from you who are his friend who can correct him," and so on. Of such men the Psalm says, "Truths are decayed from among the children of men. They have spoken vain things every one to his neighbor, deceitful lips," that is, men whose lips are deceitful. Augustine on John, Homily 7: "He who speaks with a divided heart has one recess in his heart in which he sees truth, another in which he conceives a lie." He expresses the second, and keeps silent about the first.

2 **Loqui** oqui C. 25 **7*** 17 CJ.

Item quedam exposicio moralis super eandem epistulam.

[L]oqui prohibeor et tacere non possum. Hoc contra malos religiosos quibus certis temporibus et locis prohibetur ne loquantur, et tamen tacere non possunt, ut eis videtur. Sicut dixit quidam novicius postquam per duos dies fuerat in silencio secundum consuetudinem ordinis: tercio die, veniente magistro suo cum aliis, aperuit os exsufflando anhelitum violenter et frequenter quasi fuisset insanus. Cumque magister suus quereret ab eo quid haberet, respondit quod videbatur sibi quod venter suus dirumpendus esset ex vento incluso propter silentium, quem emisisse potuisset si fuisset locutus. Multi sunt tales realiter similes Helyu a Domino reprobato qui dixit, Job 32 (.18-20): "Plenus sum sermonibus et coartat me spiritus uteri mei. En venter meus quasi mustum absque spiraculo quod lagunculas novas dirumpit. Loquar et respirabo paululum."

Secundo potest hoc esse vox eorum qui sub specie sanctitatis omnia mala locuntur de fratribus et prelatis, dicentes, "Non deberem loqui malum de tali, sed novit Deus quod ego non dico pro malo vel mala intentione, sed ut caveas ab eo," vel aliquid tale. Et sub tali colore talis subinfert pessima que novit, et aliquando que non novit. Huius vox est, "*Loqui prohibeor*, scilicet malum de proximo, *sed tacere non possum*, occultando a te qui es amicus qui corrigere potes," et similia. De quibus Psalmus (11.2-3), "Diminute sunt veritates a filiis hominum. Vana locuti sunt unusquisque ad proximum suum, labia dolosa," id est homines quorum labia sunt dolosa. Augustinus super Iohannem, Omelia [7]: "Qui duplici corde loquitur, unum sinum cordis habet in quo videt veritatem, alium in quo concipit mendacium" (cf. *PL* 35.1446D). Et illud secundum exprimit, et primum tacet.

Thirdly it can be the voice of a true friend. It happens sometimes that a friend hears something bad of his friend and yet is kept from telling him about it out of fear or by order of a superior. For example, I know of a plot against my friend. I know that some men are trying to ruin or hinder him, and if I speak to him and forearm him I know that he will stand up to his rivals—but they are powerful and bad and I am afraid of them; that fear could keep me from speaking. Similarly, sometimes my superior orders me not to tell my friend of bad things said about him in discussion. In both cases I will be perplexed: shall I ruin myself or my friend? He would seem to be an absolutely perfect friend who could say in such a case, "*I am forbidden to speak but cannot be silent*." Ecclesiasticus 6: "a faithful friend is a strong defense." I think that if between any two people there exists a true bond, sealed by the glue of Christ, in such a perplexity a friend should turn to devout prayer, and anointing will teach him what to do and will free both friends from ruin. The story of Dionysius, Damon, and Phintias in Valerius's *Memorable Deeds of the Romans* is very much to the point here.

I hate cranes, etc. He gives three kinds of birds that he hates: the crane, the bittern, and the owl, because three kinds of singers are truly hateful. Some only sing in broken notes, like cranes. For the sainted Fathers did not arrange church music as it is now perversely performed: nowadays they imitate the looseness of whores in their singing, and therefore such singing is not acceptable to God. Canticles 2, "the voice of the turtle is heard"—not the voice of the crane. The second kind of singers is like the bittern, whose nature is not to sing except when he has thrust his bill into the swamp or into the ground. Like him are singers who say they cannot or will not sing unless they are well fed, and if the slightest thing does not go their way (and singers want their way above all), they go mute. A third kind is like the owl,

51 **Deo non est** non est deo J. **2** 1 J.

Tercio potest esse vox veri amici. Aliquando contingit quod amicus audit de amico suo malum, et tamen prohibetur ne ei revelet, vel timore vel precepto maioris. Verbi gratia, scio amico meo positas insidias; scio quod aliqui nituntur eum confundere vel deprimere, et si ego dico sibi et premunio, scio quod constabit emulis suis, quorum potentiam vel maliciam ego timeo; posset esse quod ex illo timore silerem. Similiter aliquando superior precipit mihi inferiori, ne revelem que in tractatu contra amicum meum maliciose sunt dicta. In istis statim ero perplexus, utrum preeligam confusionem meam quam confusionem amici mei. Valde perfectus amicus videretur qui dicere posset, "*Loqui prohibeor, sed tacere non possum*." Ecclesiasticus 6 (.14): "Amicus fidelis protectio fortis." Puto quod si inter aliquos est vera necessitudo Christi glutino copulata, in tali perplexitate conferat se amicus ad orationem et devotionem, et unctio docebit eum quid agendum sit, et ambos a confusione liberabit. Argumentum ad hoc de Dionisio, Daphne, et Pischia in Valerio De Gestis Memorabilibus Romanorum (4.7.ext. 1).

Grues odi, etc. Tria genera avium specificat se odire: gruem, botorium, et bubonem, quia tria genera cantorum vere sunt odibilia. Quia aliqui non cantant nisi notis fractis, ut grues. Patres enim sancti non ordinaverunt sic canticum ecclesiasticum sicut nunc pervertitur, quia nunc se conformant omnino lascivie meretricum in cantu, et ideo talis cantus Deo non est acceptus. Canticum 2 (.12): "Vox turturis audita est," non gruis. Secundum genus cantorum simile est botorio, cuius natura est non cantare nisi quando habet rostrum infixum paludi vel terre. Cui similes sunt qui dicunt se cantare non posse vel nolle nisi bene pascantur, et si eis desit de voluntate propria (quam maxime optant cantores), obmutescunt.

who only sings at night. So a lot of people only sing, or rejoice, over other people's misfortunes. And in particular the owl sings when other birds are silent; so the sly habit of some singers is to be silent and wait until others get tired and stop singing, and then they will take up one note and sing it in duple time, or two notes maybe, and think they have done more than others.

It is the same with pleaders at the bench and advocates: some are like cranes, of whom Aristotle says that "the one who is now first in the line of flight becomes last another time without envy." Likewise some lawyers are sometimes first to defend the side they have taken, but another time last, or even opposed, and take without envy whichever side the tongue of money lures them to. Some are like the screech owl: they only speak when their mouth has been filled with something earthly; and some are like the owl because they only speak at night (*nocte*), that is, when they can do harm (*nocere*).

A third application: Aristotle says that cranes fly in huge flocks to eastern shores, fleeing winter; likewise some pastors flock to the university, or other out-of-the-way places, to escape persecution or expenses. Others like the bittern, whose cry comes from a mouth full of dirt or water, only speak of earthly things such as wheat-tithes and offerings and suchlike, not about the care of souls. And others are like the owl. Owls only fly about a church in a skulking way, to drink oil from the lamps; so some pastors come to their churches in secret in the fall, and then only to drink oil, that is to acquire the temporal goods forthcoming in that season. Note that all such men are unclean and hateful to God. The Psalm: "I have hated the assembly of the malignant, etc."

It can be applied in a fourth way to good men. Note that sometimes my friend draws me back from evil and protects me from it in a nice way, and in sweet words: such a friend is to me like the crane. Another does so with fearful threats: he is a

67 **immo** imo J. 76 **huiusmodi non** huius C.

Tercium genus simile est buboni, qui non cantat nisi in nocte. Sic plerique non cantant vel gaudent nisi in adversitate aliorum. Et precipue quando alie aves silent cantat bubo; sic cautela quorundam cantorum est silere et expectare aliquando donec alii fatigati desierint, et tunc accipient unam notam et duplicabunt eam, vel duas, et reputabunt amplius aliis se fecisse.

Similiter est de narratoribus ad bancum et advocatis, quod quidam sunt ut grues, de quibus Aristoteles, "Que nunc est prima volatu, alias fit sine livore postrema"; sic aliqui advocati aliquando sunt primi ad defendendum partem quam sumpserint, alia vice sunt novissimi, immo inimici, et sine livore ad quam partem trahit eos lingua pecunie. Quidam sunt ut ulule, qui non locuntur nisi impleto ore eorum aliquo terreno; quidam ut bubo qui non locuntur nisi in nocte, id est cum nocere possunt.

Tercia exposicio sic: Aristoteles dicit quod grues frequentissime in orientalem plagam convolant, hiemem fugientes; sic aliqui rectores fugientes persecutionem vel expensas volant ad universitatem, vel alia loca distantia. Aliqui ut botorius quorum clamor est impleto ore terra vel aqua, id est, non locuntur nisi circa terrena, ut garbas et oblationes et [huiusmodi, non] de animarum cura. Alii sunt ut bubo qui non frequentant ecclesiam nisi latenter, et hoc pro oleo in lampadibus; sic aliqui veniunt ad ecclesias suas clam in autumpno, et non nisi pro oleo bibendo, id est pro temporalibus tunc provenientibus adquirendis. Et nota, omnes isti immundi sunt et Deo odibiles. Psalmus (25.5): "Odivi ecclesiam malignantium, etc."

Quarto modo potest exponi de bonis. Et nota quod aliquando amicus meus retrahit me a malo et premunit me pulchro modo et dulcibus verbis; talis est mihi sicut grus. Alius terribilibus minis, et

screech owl to me. A third does so with mournful words, as if weeping compassionately over the evil I am doing or suffering: he is to me like the owl. And yet stupid me: however they talk to me, I hate them.

I love the lark, when beauty deceives me. *I love the blackbird*, when concupiscence upsets my heart, but *above all Philomena*, when I pursue some pleasure eagerly: that is the worst. *You love parasites*. Morally a parasite is a flatterer who approves whatever he hears, that is, whatever words. A *comic actor* is one who praises sinful deeds. *Circe* is anyone who draws you away from good purposes, perverting your humanity—and yet such people are much in favor these days.

They furnish you honeyed poison. It is sweet in the mouth, but it bloats the belly, and at last galls both mouth and belly. Flattery too seems sweet to a man at first, and makes him swell with pride as he believes the lies the flatterer tells him about himself, and so at last leads him to the bitter gall of death. See the example of Herod in the *Histories*, how they called out the praises of God on him, and so on—and how he died. Note also that flattery sometimes *bites like the snake coluber*, sometimes like the snake *tirus*. When the damage he does can be recovered from, his bite is like the coluber's; when it cannot, then it is like the tirus's. And so the worst injury belongs to one who lets someone lead him into losing his chastity, especially through fornication. But note that the *tirus* is hung alongside the crucified Jesus when at the first tempting suggestion a man turns quickly to meditation on the passion of Christ, and so receives the strength to conquer it.

You have many. So it was in Darius's army: everybody flattered him except one man. One flatterer told him that the sky wasn't big enough for his arrows, another that the field wasn't big enough for his forces, that is for his tents or for his army. Only Demaratus told Darius the truth: "This big army that you're so proud of is what you have to fear." Note too in the story of Nectanabus, how he was captivated by

87 **mihi locuntur** locuntur mihi J. 90 **assidue sequor** sequor assidue J. 108-9 **sibi adulabantur** aduersabantur sibi J. 111 **Demaratus***} Demõiatus CJ. 112 **Nectanabi** neptanabi J.

ille est mihi ulula. Alius dolorosis verbis quasi plangens ex compassione malum quod facio vel quod patiar; talis est mihi ut bubo. Et tamen fatuus ego, quomodocumque mihi locuntur, odio eos habeo.

Luciniam amo, quando species decipit me. *Merulam amo*, quando concupiscencia subvertit cor meum; sed *potissime philomenam*, quando aliquam voluptatem assidue sequor, quod pessimum est. *Gnatones diligis*. Moraliter gnato est adulator qui confirmat quecumque audit, id est verba. *Comedus*, qui laudat malefacta [f. 79]. *Circe* est qui retrahit a bono proposito et pervertit ab humanitate, et tamen tales hiis diebus plus amantur.

Propinant tibi mellitum toxicon. Dulcescit in ore, et tamen ventrem inflat, et tercio utrique amarescit; sic adulatio alicui in principio videtur dulcis, et facit eum intumescere superbia dum credit esse vera que adulator de eo sibi mentitur, et sic tandem ad amaritudinem interitus perducit. Exemplum in Historiis de Herode quomodo acclamabant sibi laudes Dei, et cetera, quomodo periit. Item nota quod adulatio aliquando *mordet ut coluber*, aliquando ut tirus. Quando dampnum est recuperabile, est morsus ut colubri; quando irrecuperabile, tunc est ut tiri. Unde pessima est plaga illius qui per aliquam sugestionem virginitatem amisit, precipue fornicando. Item nota quod tirus appenditur lateri crucifixi quando in prima sugestione statim homo recurrit ad meditationem passionis Christi, et sic recipit virtutem ad vincendum.

Multos habes. Sic fuit in exercitu Darii quod omnes sibi adulabantur preter unum. Aliquis dicebat quod celum non sufficeret sagittis, alius quod non campus copiis, id est tentoriis vel exercitui; solus unus [Demaratus] dixit verum Dario: "Hec multitudo que tibi placet timenda est." Et nota in historia Nectanabi, quomodo ab

Alexander, then perished. Likewise in 4 Kings 18 all four hundred prophets prophesied prosperity and happiness to king Ahab of Israel, except Michea, whom the king hated for it; and he died precisely because he stuck with the crowd of pleasers.

The voice of the goose was condemned. The goose stands watch nightly; the swan sings publicly only in the daytime. Thus a true friend holds true in the night of adversity and fortifies his friend; a false friend, only in the daytime of prosperity. I know a story about three friends who were walking down a road and saw a man carrying a white goose to market to sell. They started discussing how they could trick him out of it, and at last one of them suggested a plan that they all agreed to. One of them went up to him and asked how much he wanted for his swan. He said, "It's not a swan, it's a goose." The other said, "Come on, it's a swan," and walked on. Then the second man did the same thing, which made the peasant think they were right, and he said to himself that the next time somebody offered to buy it from him as a swan, he would sell it as a swan. Finally the third of the three friends came along and asked him how much he wanted for the swan he was carrying. "Three shillings," he answered. The man said, "I'll pay you when we get to town." When he got there, he called his two fellow-conspirators over and said, "Look, I've bought this swan from this man." And when the peasant said that was so, right away the friends said it was a goose, and threatened to drag him into court for fraud. And so he was happy to settle for giving them the goose for nothing. He gloated for a while over his swan and so lost his goose. Thus some people gloat when their flatterers tell them what makes them happy, and so they lose their goose, that is, their true friend who speaks the truth in his plain way. Note in the *Brut* how Lear's daughter, Cordelia, was the only one who told him the truth.

By your passion. Let us imagine an animal whose head is like a lion's vomiting

113 **18*** 22 CJ. 125 **Immo** imo J. 127-28 **vellet** voluit J. 140 **Ymaginemur unam bestiam talem** Imaginetur bestiam talem unam J.

Alexandro captus periit. Similiter 4 Libro Regum, capitulo [18] (2 Par. 18.5-34), omnes prophete, quadringenti scilicet, prophetaverunt regi Israel Achab prospera et placentia preter Micheam, quem ideo rex odivit; et ideo periit, quia multitudini placentium adhesit.

Reprobata est vox anseris. Anser nocturnas excubias celebrat, olor non cantat communiter nisi in die. Sic verus amicus in nocte adversitatis permanet et premunit amicum suum; fictus, tantum in die prosperitatis. Didici 3 socios incedentes per viam, videruntque quendam portantem album anserem ad forum ut venderet. Et quesierunt inter se modum quomodo eum de ansere deciperent. Tandem unus eorum docuit viam in quam assenserunt. Primo attigit eum unus querens quomodo venderet cignum. Qui respondit, "Non est cignus sed anser." Et ille, "Immo cignus est," et transiit. Et postea secundus eodem modo, unde rusticus putabat eos verum dixisse, et cogitavit quod si aliquis illum pro cigno emere vellet, quod pro cigno venderet. Tandem venit tercius socius querens quomodo venderet cignum quem portavit. Qui respondit, "Pro 3 solidis." Et ille ait, "Cum venerimus ad villam fori, satisfaciam tibi." Quo cum venisset, convocatis sociis cum quibus prius conspiraverat, ait, "Ecce, emi istum cignum ab isto." Et rustico dicente sic esse, statim socii dixerunt eum esse anserem, et volebant traxisse eum in iudicium quod voluit eos fraudasse. Et sic letus fuit quod potuit eis dare anserem pro nichilo. Ecce gaudebat ad tempus pro cigno, et ideo perdidit anserem. Sic aliqui gaudent in adulatoribus dicentibus iocunda, et ideo perdunt anserem, id est, verum amicum qui rudi modo dicit verum. Nota in Bruto quomodo Cordeilla filia Leir sola dixit verum.

Desiderio tuo. Ymaginemur unam bestiam talem cuius caput sit

fire, whose body is like a goat's with a goat's four feet, and whose tail is turned back in loops and scaly, that is, plated, like the tail of a dragon. I do not think such a thing exists, but is a figment of the mind, and so it has the made-up name of Chimaera. And yet in the *Chronicles of Helinandus* we read of a man who appeared after his death in the double guise of the animals after whose habits he had modeled his life. Likewise the Master of the *Scholastic History* says of Nebuchadnezzar that "it seemed to him that he was a bull in front and a lion behind, an emblem of tyranny, because tyrants start out devoted to pleasure and end up devoted to plunder." Therefore we can say that this monstrosity is in the mind of those who live for pleasure. Men who seek first honor and prestige, then carnal pleasure, then wealth through plunder are, so to speak, chimaeras. Or they are in themselves like lions, vomiting the fire of pride and arrogance and so on; in their wife or their girlfriends like goats, pulled by the nods that mean yes to lust; but in their henchmen, who are like their tail, they are dragons, extorting and plundering. Of such men Boethius says in Book Four of the *Consolation*, "the man who by abandoning righteousness ceases to be human turns himself into an animal." The Psalm: "Man when he was in honor did not understand: he is compared to senseless beasts, and is become like to them."

Ulysses was enchanted. Ulysses, as we learn from Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, bound himself to the mast to keep from lying down and being lulled to sleep, and thus he closed off the way of danger and was saved. *Empedocles* exposed himself to danger and perished. In moral terms, those who expose themselves to dangers and to opportunities to sin fall, and those who withdraw themselves escape. Whence the heresy of those who say, "to be in the fire and not get burnt is more meritorious than not to be in the fire and not get burnt," and so expose themselves to temptations, having

144 **ficticium** ficticius J. 161 **illis** *add* etc. J.

ut leonis vomens ignem, corpus quasi corpus capri habens iiij pedes capri, cauda autem retorta et involuta et squamosa, id est armata ad modum caude draconis; puto quod talis res non est, sed est ficticium intellectus, et ideo nomen fictum est Chimera. Tamen in Cronicis Elinandi habetur de quodam qui apparuit post mortem sub duplici effigie bestiarum secundum quarum vitam prius vixerat (*PL* 212.935-36). Similiter Magister in Historia Scolastica dicit de Nabuchodonosor quod "ei videbatur quod esset bos in anterioribus, et in posterioribus leo, secundum misterium tirannorum, quia in principio voluptatibus dediti sunt, in fine rapinis" (*PL* 198.1452). Possumus ergo dicere quod hec monstruositas est in mente in illis qui voluptuose vivunt. Sunt ergo quasi chimere qui principaliter honores querunt et excellentias; secundario, voluptatem carnalem; tercio loco, divicias per rapinam. Vel sic: in se sunt ut leones evomentes ignem superbie et iactantie, et cetera; in uxore vel concubinis ut capri sectantes nutus petulantie; sed in ministris suis, qui sunt ut cauda eis, sunt dracones per iniurias rapine. De quibus Boetius Consolationis quarto (prosa 3.58-60), "Fit ut qui probitate deserta homo esse desierit [...] vertatur in beluam." Psalmus (48.13, 21): "Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit; comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis."

Delectatus est Ulixes. Ulixes, ut patet in Macrobio *De saturnalibus*, ligavit se ad malum navis ne iaceret et sic insoporaretur, et sic preclusit viam periculi et salvatus est. *Empedocles* exposuit se periculo et periit. Sic est moraliter, qui enim exponunt se periculis et oportunitatibus peccandi cadunt, et qui se subtrahunt evadunt. Unde heresis est quorundam qui dicunt, "Esse in igne et non comburi gloriosius est quam non esse in igne et non comburi," et sic

women lie in bed with them on purpose. Dulcinus the heretic was of the sect of this error, and so is the sect of certain men who falsely call themselves Friar-apostles. Both scripture and its interpretation by the Fathers is against them. Matthew 4: "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God"; Gloss: "It is not to be called tempting God if one commits oneself wholly to the power of God after all human prudence has failed ['as we know not what to do,' 2 Paralipomenon 20.12], but Christ could get down otherwise than by throwing himself down arrogantly," and so if he had thrown himself down he would have tempted God. So far the Gloss. Thus a man who exposes himself to danger could act otherwise and avoid it.

Likewise St. Paul says, "Fly fornication"; therefore you conquer it by fleeing it. And "it is good for a man not to touch a woman." Also Proverbs, 6: "Can a man hide fire in his bosom, and his garments not burn? Or can he walk upon hot coals, and his feet not be burnt? So he that goeth in to his neighbour's wife," that is, not his own, "shall not be clean when he shall touch her." And Ecclesiasticus 13, "He that toucheth pitch, shall be defiled by it, etc." Also the laws forbid clerics from living with women, But all this is the lesser issue. And just as Ulysses kept himself from falling into danger by binding himself to the wood, and was saved, so a good Christian ought to bind himself by meditation and contemplation to the wood of the cross in order to be saved, and not with Empedocles desire opportunities and seek danger, because whoever does so perishes. Proverbs 11: "He that is aware of the snares shall be secure."

When they say in argument, "It is more meritorious to be in the fire, and so on," reply that there are two ways to be in the fire of temptation, either by your own

174–75 **committit** committat J. 180 **dicit** ait J. 183 **illius** sua J. 187 **etc.** ab ea J. 188 **sicut*** sic CJ. **hic** *om.* J. 192 **qui*** quia CJ.

exponunt se temptationibus, habentes secum voluntarie mulieres in lectis. Huius erroris secte fuit Dulcinus hereticus, et secta quorundam pseudo qui se nominant Fratres Apostolos, contra quos est scriptura et determinatio sanctorum. Mattheus 4 (.7): "Non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum." Glosa: "Postquam deficit omnis humana providentia, si homo se totum divine potentie committit, non est dicenda temptatio (2) Paralipomenon 20 (.12), `Cum ignoramus quid agere debeamus '; Christus autem aliter poterat descendere quam per iactantiam se precipitare," et ideo si se precipitasset, Deum temptasset. Hec ibi. Sic qui exponit se periculo posset aliter liberari.

Item Apostolus dicit, "Fugite fornicationem" (1 Cor. 6.18); ergo fugiendo vincendum est. Item, "bonum est mulierem non tangere" (1 Cor. 7.1). Et Proverbia 6 (27-29): "Numquid potest homo abscondere ignem in sinu suo, ut vestimenta illius non ardeant/ Aut ambulare super prunas, et non comburentur plante eius/ Sic qui ingreditur ad mulierem proximi sui, id est non suam, non erit mundus cum tetigerit eam." Et Ecclesiasticus 13 (.1): "Qui tetigerit picem inquinabitur, etc." Et iura prohibent clericis cohabitationem mulierum. Quod est minus [f. 79v]. Et [sicut] hic Ulixes servavit se ne incideret in periculum ligando se ad lignum, et salvatus est sic debet bonus Christianus ligare se per cogitationem et contemplationem ligno crucis ut salvetur, et non cum Empedocle velle habere oportunitatem et querere periculum, quod [qui] fecit, periit. Proverbia 11 (.15): "Qui cavet laqueos securus erit."

Ad argumentum cum dicunt, "Gloriosius est esse in igne, etc.," dicendum est quod esse in igne temptationis potest esse dupliciter, vel per propriam electionem vel negligentiam, vel per necessitatem

choice or negligence, or by force. The first way to be in the fire is not meritorious, nor is it more meritorious to be in the fire and not get burnt than not to be in the fire and not get burnt, because to be in the fire that way is to tempt God. Not to be in the fire and yet get burnt is to flee fornication and still fornicate, but that is less sinful than tempting God.

To be in the fire the second way, that is, against your will, and conquer it, is very meritorious, as it was for Saint Bernard, who cried "Robbers!", and for that glorious man in the Life of St. Paul the First Hermit who, when he could move no limb, bit off his tongue and spat it at the mouth of the woman who was shamelessly trying to arouse him. And yet St. Paul chose to avoid a like battle by fleeing into the desert. And my answer to the minor premise, when they say "We are in the fire and are not getting burnt": I say that if they are in the fire voluntarily they are getting burnt, that is, they fall. So it was with Dulcinus, for his Margaret got pregnant by him. And so it is well known of others.

But what of those who are offered luxurious treatment and yet turn it down: is not that meritorious? The answer is that such a person either can do without such treatment without worldly scandal, or is an eminent and public figure, and so cannot. The first does not merit but sins and falls, as I said. Because the second is compelled, God protects him as long as he avoids excess. Likewise I say that to have riches because you want them is to want danger, but to have them as Abraham and other saints had them, which was just like not having them at all because they were available to everyone in need, is meritorious.

But is it of greater merit to lack riches and luxuries altogether or to have them and use them well? I think the thing to say is that it is like chastity: to abstain completely from all sexual pleasure and live in virginity is of greater merit, more perfect;

199-201 **Non . . . Deum** *om.* J. 211 **concepit*** concepto CJ. 222 **est*** simpliciter est C, similiter est J. **simpliciter** similiter J. **vel*** *om.* CJ.

et violentiam. Primo modo non est gloriosum esse in igne, nec gloriosius esse in igne et non comburi quam non esse in igne et non comburi, quia sic esse in igne est temptare Deum. Non esse autem in igne et comburi est fugere fornicationem et tamen fornicari, et minus est hoc quam temptare Deum.

Secundo modo esse in igne, scilicet contra voluntatem, et vincere est valde gloriosum. Sicut fuit de beato Bernardo, qui clamavit,"Latrones!", et de illo glorioso viro in Vita Beati Pauli Primi Heremite, qui cum nullum membrum movere posset, linguam propriis dentibus abscidit, et in os mulieris inpudice eum sollicitantis expuit (Jerome, *PL* 23.20). Simili tamen pugne beatus Paulus se non ingessit, sed fugit in desertum. Similiter dicendum est ad minorem, cum dicunt "nos sumus in igne et non comburimur": dico quod si sunt in igne voluntarie, comburuntur, id est cadunt. Ita fuit de Dulcino, nam sua Margareta de eo [concepit]. Et ita est compertum de aliis.

Sed quid de illis quibus ministratur de deliciis et tamen abstinent: numquid merentur? Dicendum quod aut talis persona est que potest sine scandalo seculi carere tali ministerio, aut est solempnis et publica persona que non potest sic. Primus non meretur sed peccat et cadit, ut dictum est. Secundus quia necessitatur, Deus eum servat, dummodo non excedat. Similiter dico quod habere divicias voluntarie est velle periculum, sed habere sicut Abraham et alii sancti, quod fuit quasi non habere quia erant omnium indigentium, est meritorium.

Sed utrum [est] maioris meriti carere simpliciter diviciis [vel] deliciis, vel habere et bene uti? Puto hic dicendum sicut de castitate, simpliciter enim abstinere ab omni voluptate et vivere in virgini-

and yet not to abstain would not be imperfection were it for sufficient cause, namely in obedience to an order, as when the Lord ordered the prophet, "Go, take thee a wife of fornications, and have of her children, etc." Likewise, to do without luxuries or riches altogether is more perfect; and yet in some cases to have them is more meritorious, namely when a man out of necessity, and by order of his superior, takes a public administrative post whose duties cannot be performed suitably without those things. But if a man takes such a post out of ambition—well, when the root is diseased the branches will not flourish. Joseph kept his riches for a better time and gained merit by thus having them, and would have been very much to blame if he had not kept them.

Finally more powerful. In (3) Esdras, the sons of Israel at the king's court were asked to declare which of three very powerful things, the king, wine, and woman, was most powerful of all. One man said the king, and to the sect of such as he belongs everybody who seeks riches and honors above all. A second man said wine; his sort are those who love luxury best. A third said woman is more powerful than these, but that the most powerful thing of all is truth, and he was approved. Those who put woman first are those who pursue pleasure, which in fact binds more powerfully than greed or ambition or appetite, yet truth in friendship ought to be still more powerful, so that it might overcome all those things. This was Valerius's hope, that the *fire* of love would overcome through its truth the fire of foulness or sexual pleasure. And note here that a true friend will not let his friend's irritation keep him from trying continually to pull him back from the evil course he is bent on, because in the end the true friendship will overcome. This is made clear in the story in the Lives of the Fathers of the man who kept after his brother who was on the verge of apostasy and of returning to the world just so that he could fornicate.

The first wife of the first man. When something begins badly it is hardly likely to

237 **quid** quod C. 244 **esse debet** debet esse J. **amicicie** amicitia J.

tate maioris meriti est et perfeccionis, tamen ex causa non esset imperfeccionis, scilicet propter preceptum, sicut quando Dominus precepit prophete, "Vade assume uxorem fornicariam et fac filios, etc."(cf. Osee 1.2). Sic simpliciter carere deliciis vel diviciis est maioris perfeccionis; tamen in casu habere est magis meritorium, scilicet cum quis ex necessitate et precepto superioris assumit administrationem aliquam publicam que sine hiis agi non potest convenienter; si tamen ad talem administrationem per ambitionem quis venerit, ex quo infecta est radix, rami non bene coalescent. Similiter Ioseph servavit divicias in melius tempus, et meruit sic habendo, et valde demeruisset si non servasset.

Tandem validior. In (3) Esdra (.3-4), tria fortissima proponebantur ut filii Israel stantes coram rege dicerent [quid] eorum esset fortius: rex, vinum, vel mulier. Pretulit unus regem, cuiusmodi secte sunt omnes qui maxime querunt divicias et honores. Alter pretulit vinum, cuius sunt qui maxime diligunt delicias. Tercius dixit mulierem esse forciorem, et pre omnibus veritatem fortissimam, et hic approbatus est. Qui preferunt mulierem sunt qui sectantur voluptatem, que in rei veritate forcius ligat quam cupiditas vel ambitio vel gula; sed tamen fortior esse debet veritas amicicie, ut illa vincat omnia. Et huius spei fuit hic Valerius, quod *ignis* amoris per veritatem vinceret ignem fetoris vel voluptatis. Et hic nota quod verus amicus non cessabit propter displicentiam amici quin continuabit eum retrahere a malo ad quod est inclinatus, quia in fine veritas amicicie vincet. Sicut patet in Vitis Patrum de eo qui fratrem apostatantem et ad seculum redeuntem ut fornicaretur secutus est (*PL* 74.167-68).

Prima primi uxor. Veraciter quando principium alicuius rei est

come out well, because when the root is diseased the branches are too. Thus in those religious orders whose beginnings are suspect or unknown or tainted, there are no principles to live by. A certain man, a religious but not of an approved or established order, and yet who lived a good life, died, and after his death gained fame for his miracles. Therefore another man, a member of an approved order, who had loved him while he lived and was now drawn still more by his sanctity as it manifested itself yet more clearly in the miracles, considered switching to his order. But not wanting to act hastily, he began to pray intensely, asking God please to show him what would be better for his soul. At last one night the dead man appeared to him, luminous, not terrifying, and said, "God has sent me to warn you not to change your state in life. For the head of our order has always been weak; we don't even know who was the founder; whereas your founder could very well have ruled the entire church, and that has always been, and is still, true of the man who is head of your order." The living man asked, "Are you in glory?" He answered, "Very great glory." "Are the miracles they preach about you true?" "At first they were, but then they stopped because of the pride of my brother religious." "For what merits in particular did you achieve the exalted glory of miracles?" "For humility." (His humility was such that in all his life he never denounced anyone in chapter without tears, and he never put up a word of defense when he was denounced by others.) After he said that he vanished.

Let certain religious understand from this passage that they are not to boast about temporal priority, that their order is older than others. For Eve preceded all women, even Mary, but that does not make her better. Indeed such priority is greatly to be

malum, vix erit successio bona, quia cuius radix est infecta, et rami. Unde in illis religionibus quarum principia sunt suspecta vel ignota vel infecta, in principiis vivendum non est. Contigit sic quod quidam religiosus, sed non religionis approbate vel confirmate, sed tamen bone vite obiit, et post mortem claruit miraculis. Unde quidam religionis approbate, affectus ei dum viveret et allectus sanctitate eius que in miraculis evidentius monstrabatur, deliberavit se transferre ad illam religionem. Nolens tamen precipitanter agere, dedit se intense orationibus, rogans Deum ut sibi ostendere dignaretur quid salubrius esset anime sue. Tandem una nocte apparuit sibi ille prius mortuus, nullum terrorem incutiens sed splendidus valde, et dixit sibi, "Misit me Deus premunire te ne statum tuum mutes. Infirmum enim fuit caput ordinis nostri, et quis ille primus fuerit, ignoratur ab hominibus, vestrum autem capud poterat sufficienter totam ecclesiam Dei rexisse, quod usque huc in illo qui est caput totius ordinis servatur." Cui vivus, "Es tu in gloria?" Et ille, "Valde magna." Et ille vivus, "Sunt vera miracula que de te predicantur?" Et ille, "In principio fuerunt vera, sed postea cessaverunt ob superbiam fratrum meorum." Et vivus, "Quibus meritis precipue hanc exaltationem et gloriam in miraculis consecutus es?" Qui ait, "Humilitate precipue." (Fuerat enim talis, quod nunquam proclamavit in capitulo dum vixit sine lacrimis, nunquam verbum defensionis cum ab aliis proclamaretur protulit.) Et hiis dictis disparuit.

Item ex hiis que hic dicuntur intelligant aliqui religiosi non eis esse gloriandum de primatu temporis, quia scilicet alios tempore precesserunt. Precessit enim Eva omnes, etiam Mariam; non tamen ideo melior. Et certe valde timendus est talis primatus. Si

feared. If we consider the first creature who had a chance to fall—he fell, irreparably: Lucifer, I mean, and his crew. If we consider the first human creature who had a chance to fall—they both fell, Adam and Eve. If we consider the first engendering, Cain, the first-born of all born men, killed Abel. If we consider the first elected lordship—Saul was found guilty. Therefore there was no sure priority, not in heaven, not in Eden, not on common soil. How then will priority be sure in religious life? Such bickering, furthermore. is irreligious. There was bickering like that among Christ's disciples, and he put a stop to it right away, settling it by saying, "Whoever would be greater, etc."

But the question arises over which many men exercise themselves, whether it is all right to malign women on account of Eve. It seems not. For whatever evil was handed on by Eve was wiped clean by Mary's benediction. Therefore out of reverence for Mary who is the flower of women this should not be done. This author takes the opposite stance. With all due respect to Mary, I say that it is with women as with angels and religious. An angel, if he is good, is very, very good; if he is bad he is a devil. So too with religious: witness Augustine who said, "Just as I have not found better men than those who have made progress in the religious life, I have not found worse men than those who have fallen away from the religious life." Women too: commonly, what they turn to, they turn to totally. And just as Michael is no worse, nor merits shame, because Lucifer was so bad, neither is one religious or one woman worse though another is as bad as can be. But on this topic one must always speak reverently for Mary's sake. And so to the basic question I say that it is all right to malign what Eve did because it was bad in itself, but Mary not only took the bad away but did it in such a way that it will not ultimately harm those who desire

283 **uterque*** utraque CJ. 301 **mulier** *add* est J.

attendamus ad [f. 80] primam creaturam que cadere potuit, ecce illa irrecuperabiliter cecidit, scilicet Lucifer cum suis; si ad primam facturam que cadere potuit, ecce [uterque] cecidit, scilicet Adam et Eva; si ad primam genituram, ecce Chaim primus omnium genitus occidit Abel; si ad primam prelaturam secundum eleccionem, ecce Saul reprobatus est. Ergo primatus securus non fuit in celo, nec in paradiso, nec in communi solo. Quomodo ergo securus erit in religione? Similiter talis contentio non est religiosa. Facta est talis contentio in scola Christi, et ipse statim repressit eam et determinavit, dicens, "Qui vult maior esse, etc." (cf. Luke 22.24–27, Mark 9.32–34; cf. also Matt. 20.26–27, Mark 10.43–44).

Sed emergit questio de qua multi se intromittunt, utrum liceat depravare mulieres propter Evam. Videtur quod non. Quia quicquid mali illatum est per Evam, totum abstulit benedictio Marie. Ideo propter reverentiam Marie que est flos mulierum non deberet hoc fieri. Ad oppositum est hic auctor. Salva reverentia Marie, dico de mulieribus sicut de angelis et religiosis. Angelus si sit bonus est valde bonus; si sit malus, est diabolus; sic est de religiosis, teste Augustino: "Sicut," inquit, "non inveni meliores quam qui in religione profecerunt, ita non inveni peiores quam qui in religione defecerunt" (Cf. *Ep.* 78, PL: 33.272). Sic mulier ad quod convertitur, totaliter convertitur, ut communiter. Et sicut Michael non est peior nec est ei opprobrium licet Lucifer sit pessimus, ita nec unus religiosus est peior, nec una mulier peior quamvis alia sit pessima. Sed in ista materia semper est loquendum cum reverentia pro Maria. Unde ad titulum questionis dicendum quod licet depravare factum Eve, quia fuit in se malum, quod quidem malum non simpliciter abstulit Maria sed sic, quod non finaliter nocebit pie

to live a good life. And yet what Eve did still does us certain harm. For clearly we must die, and clearly we suffer much bodily pain, but these were so taken away by Mary, and by Christ the fruit of her womb, that this will not ultimately harm those who desire to follow them. What was taken away by Mary and Christ, and what was not, is treated in the *Sentences*, Book 3, Distinction 19 through chapter 8. John Chrysostom, who of all the doctors of the Church blames bad women most—as is clear in the sermon on Herod and Herodias, "Alas! What shall I do?" and in a second sermon, "Herodias Once Again"—nevertheless praises good women very much and says that many women are good. Where woman is condemned in sacred scripture, the word is to be taken as standing for sensuality, which is always prone to evil unless it is held in check by the man, that is, the reason. On this point there is very much to be said; but what is left out here may be found in the book of Melibeus.

Truth, which cannot be deceived. Here it is plain what liars they are who claim they can be with women and yet remain chaste. They say, "Why does my superior forbid me to see or call on women, especially the good ones and my relatives? Does he think I'm a lecher, a bad man?" Surely David wasn't an evil man, but God's chosen one, and yet because of one accidental look he became an adulterer, and then the killer of a good and faithful man. Bathsheba was a good woman and David was a good man, and one look made them both bad. If you say, "Do you think I'm a bad man?", I answer as here, "I think you less *after God's own heart than David*, and so on." In the Lives of the Fathers there is a story about a monk who went to his mother at his abbot's bidding so that she could see him. He went, but he closed his eyes so that he would not see her. And he came in to her with his face so twisted up that

331, 347, 348 **Bethsabee** bersabee J.

vivere volentibus. Adhuc tamen nocet quod Eva fecit. Patet enim quod moriemur necessario, et similiter multas penas sustinemus in corpore; sed hec sic ablata sunt per Mariam, et fructum ventris eius Christum, quod finaliter hoc non nocebit volentibus eos sequi. Quid autem ablatum est per Mariam et Christum, et quid non, habetur in Sentenciis, libro tertio, distinctio 19 usque ad octavum capitulum (*PL* 192. 795-98). Iohannes Crisostomus, qui maxime inter doctores reprobat malas mulieres, ut patet in sermone de Herode et Herodiade, "Heu me quid agam" (*PL* 95.1508-1514), et in secundo sermone, "Rursus Herodias" (*PG* 59.485-90), tamen valde commendat bonas et dicit multas tales esse. Sed in scriptura sacra ubi reprobatur mulier, accipiendum est pro sensualitate que semper prona est ad malum, nisi refrenetur per virum, id est intellectum. Hic valde multa essent dicenda, sed queri potest quod hic deficit in libro Melibei.

Veritas que falli non potest. Hic patet falsitas eorum qui dicunt se posse inter feminas conversari et tamen conservare castitatem. Sic enim locuntur: "Quare prelatus meus vel presidens interdicit mihi videre et visitare mulieres, illas bonas precipue et attinentes mihi? Numquid reputat me ribaldum vel malum?" Certe David malus non erat, sed electissimus Dei, et tamen ex uno aspectu occasionaliter factus est adulter, et homicida valentis viri et fidelis. Et Bethsabee fuit bona et David bonus, et aspectus unus fecit utrumque malum. Si dicas, "Reputas me malum?", respondeo sicut hic, "Reputo te minus *secundum cor Dei quam David*, etc." In Vitis Patrum (*PL* 73.949) dicitur de monacho qui ad imperium abbatis exivit ad matrem ut ipsa eum videret. Qui exiit, sed clausit oculos ne ipse matrem videret. Et venit ad ipsam sic deformatus, ut nec

his own mother didn`t recognize him. And when he had greeted his mother and the men who were with her, he said, with his eyes closed, "Fare well." And when the abbot wanted to send him again to speak with his mother, he said to him, "Don't order me to do that, father, lest I seem to disobey you." Furthermore, even if the woman you visit is related to you, not everybody with her is going to be related to you, as Augustine says, "Not all who are with my sister are my sisters." Indeed Amnon got his sister alone and debauched her: therefore no one should speak even with his sister without a witness. Ecclesiasticus 9: "Look not upon a woman that hath a mind for many: lest thou fall into her snares." Note that Ecclesiasticus has much to say on this subject.

Will a woman be harmless. Just as Bathsheba corrupted David through his sight, Dalilah corrupted Samson especially through his hearing: Bathsheba, by a display of her lovely body, Dalilah, by a display of her lovely talk. Ecclesiasticus 9: "her conversation," that is, woman's, "burneth as fire." You have to be on your guard especially against immodest talk by women, and any sort of singing by them. And the man who is with women a lot will see them doing such things, and hear them saying and singing such things, as will destroy the purity of his soul. Thus Augustine says in his book The Life of Clerics, "A married man is exposed to temptations; in woman there is nothing except what will afflict the man who is around her. Female beauty was made as a goad to sin, and the condition of mortality arose from nowhere else but from female substance .... She bares her arms to do her housework, or her thighs as she sits at her spinning, or all her limbs because she is hot; relaxing, she flaunts herself, she melts into laughter, she speaks ever so charmingly, and most poisonous of all, she just loves to sing—though it would be more bearable to hear a snake hiss than to hear her singing."

343 **Immo** imo J. 344 **teste*** testio (testimonio?) CJ. 354 **que** quod C. **ledent** ledet C. 357 **mortis** mordis J.

mater eum agnosceret. Et cum salutasset matrem et eos qui cum ea erant, dixit clausis oculis, "Sani estote." Et cum iterum vellet eum remittere abbas ut loqueretur cum matre, ait ad illum, "Noli, pater, hoc mihi precipere ne videar inobediens esse." Et si persona quam visitas tibi attinet, non omnes que cum ea sunt tibi attinent, ut dicit Augustinus, "Non omnes que cum sorore mea sunt, sorores mee sunt." Immo Amon habita solitudine propriam sororem oppressit (2 Kings 13.1-14), unde nec cum sorore sine [teste] debet quis loqui. Ecclesiastici 9 (.3): "Ne respicias in mulierem multivolam, ne forte incidas in laqueos illius." Nota ibi multa de materia ista.

Numquid non nocens. Sicut Bethsabee subvertit David per visum, sic Dalila Sampsonem precipue per auditum; Bethsabee per ostensionem pulchri corporis, Dalila per ostensionem pulchri sermonis. Ecclesiastici 9 (.11): "Colloquium illius (scilicet mulieris) quasi ignis exardescet." Precipue autem cavendum est a sermonibus impudicis et cantu omnimodo mulierum. Et qui conversatur multum cum mulieribus, et videbit eas talia facientes, et audiet talia loquentes vel cantantes, [que] puritatem animi sui [ledent]. Unde Augustinus in libro De Vita Clericorum dicit sic: "Temptationibus subiacet qui iunctus est mulieri, in qua nichil aliud est nisi quod feriat proximantem. Aculeus peccati facta est forma feminea, et mortis conditio non aliunde surrexit nisi de muliebri substantia [....] Nunc lacertos nudat negociis domesticis, nunc femora lanificis operibus, nunc estuans detegit membra, nunc fatigata iactatur, aut in risu dissolvitur aliquando, nunc blandicias exhibet, et, quod est venenosius super cuncta, psallere delectatur, cuius cantu tolerabilius esset audire basiliscum sibilantem" (Pseudo-Augustine, *De singularitate clericorum; PL* 4.839, 844).

The sun of men. The higher you are, the harder your fall. Some priests say the opposite of this, that they are of the highest rank and station because they can make the body of Christ and by this privilege are above all other men, and even above angels. But when they want to sin, they say that they are flesh and bones like other men. One minute they equate themselves to angels, even put themselves above angels, the next they liken themselves to animals. The Psalm says of them, "They mount up to the heavens," and again, "man when he was in honour, etc." They "halt between two sides," following both *the pagan gods* and the God of Israel. They are Samaritans, who say they aren't Jews, and put themselves above them, and yet also say they are Jews. And note that he says that Solomon lost three things through woman: *the light* of wisdom, his *renown,* and his *glory*, that is, magnificence and honor, because he lost his wealth. He could have added a fourth: his body, that is, the strength of his body. Whence the verse: "Lust takes away wealth, renown, intellect, and strength."

It is a question whether Adam, Eve, David, Sampson, and Solomon are now in heaven. As for Adam, Eve, and David, all hold that they are. As for Sampson, St. Paul says he is, in Hebrews 11, where he puts him in a catalog of saints "who wrought justice." Believe him: he saw the mysteries of heaven. On Solomon opinions vary. Jerome on Ezechiel, Book 13, says of the final vision on the mountain, "Although Solomon sinned, he did penance by writing the Book of Proverbs, where he says, "At last I did penance, and looked to choose instruction." He says further, on Ecclesiastes,

368 **immo** imo J. 372 **etc.** esset J.

Sol hominum. Hic notandum quanto gradus altior, tanto casus gravior. Cuius oppositum dicunt aliqui sacerdotes, se esse maximi gradus et dignitatis, quia possunt conficere corpus Christi, et per hoc super omnes alios homines, immo super angelos esse. Et cum peccare volunt, dicunt se ut alii homines ex carne et ossibus compositos; nunc adequantes—immo preferentes—se angelis, nunc brutis se assimilantes. De quibus Psalmus (106.26): "Ascendunt usque ad celos, etc." Et iterum (Ps. 48.13, 21): "Homo cum in honore, etc." Isti "claudicant in duas partes" (cf. 3 Reg. 18.21), sequentes *Baalim* et Deum Israel. Isti sunt Samarite, qui Iudeos se negabant, et se eis preferebant, et alias se Iudeos affirmabant. Et nota quod dicit Salomonem tria perdidisse per mulierem: *lucem* (scilicet sapientie), *famam* suam, et *gloriam*, id est magnificentiam et honorem, quia opes. Poterat addidisse quartum, scilicet corpus, id est vires corporis. Unde versus:

Tollit opes, famam, sensum, viresque libido (Walther, *Vers.* 43874b).

Queritur de istis, Adam, Eva, David, Sampson, et Salomon, utrum sint nunc in celo. Quoad primos, quoad Adam, Evam, et David, omnes tenent quod sic. De Sampsone [f. 80v] dicit Apostolus quod sic, ad Hebraeos 11 (.32-33), ubi ponit eum in cathalogo sanctorum "qui operati sunt iusticiam." Et credendum est ei qui vidit archana celorum. De Salomone sunt opiniones. Ieronymus 13 libro super Ezechielis (ch. 43; *PL* 25.419, *CC* 75.628), de extrema visione in monte, dicit sic, "Quamvis peccasset Salomon, tamen penitentiam egit scribens proverbia, ubi dicit (LXX Prov. 24.32), 'Novissime egi penitentiam et respexi ut eligerem disciplinam.'" Iterum potius super Ecclesiasten (*PL* 23.1021): "Aiunt Hebrei hunc librum

"The Jews say this book is by Solomon, doing penance." Again, Ambrose in the Apology for David says, "What shall I say of David and of holy Solomon?" (Note also that for being exceptional in knowledge he calls him *sun of men*. Just as the Jew said of Basil, "Today the sun will go down with the sun.")

Here we should raise the question whether it was lawful for Solomon to have so many concubines or wives, since it was after the law had been given. The same question comes up about David, and about many others before the law. It seems the answer is that it was lawful. At the beginning of the world God commanded, "Increase and multiply, etc.," Genesis 1, and when the world had been nearly unmade he said it again, Genesis 9. But the multiplication will be greater if a man has several wives, therefore in both times this had to be done. On the other hand, in Deuteronomy 17, among other laws the king is told, "He shall not have many wives, that may allure his mind." One difficulty about this uncertainty is whether "Increase, etc.", was a command or not; because if it was a command, all were held or are held to it. If it be said that it was a command only for a time, until men should be multiplied, especially worshippers of God, there is a second major difficulty: where did the command stop? That is, up to what number did there have to be multiplication, and at what age did one have to start, and how many wives could one lawfully have, and how long did one have to keep it up? And many like difficulties follow. If it be said that it was not a command, there is a third difficulty: it is said in the imperative: "Increase, etc." And also some among the holy authors seem to regard it as a command.

With all due respect to those men greater than I, I say that it was a blessing, not a command. First, because we read that the same thing was said to fish and birds, who could not understand a command, unless the natural instinct to carry on the race be called a command. Secondly, because Adam himself, according to the *Histories,* after

esse Salomonis penitentiam agentis." Item Ambrosius in Apologia de David ait (cf. *PL* 14.857), "Quid dicam de David et de sancto Salomone?" Item nota quod singularem in scientia vocat *solem hominum*. Sicut Iudeus dixit de Basilio, "Hodie occidet sol cum sole."

Hic esset querendum utrum Salomoni licuit habere tot concubinas vel uxores cum fuerit post legem. Eadem questio de David, et multis aliis ante legem. Et videtur quod sic. Tempore nature institute precepit Deus, "Crescite et multiplicamini, etc.," Genesis primo (.28), et tempore nature destitute idem repplicavit, Genesis nono (.1, 7). Sed maior est multiplicatio si vir habeat plures uxores, ergo utroque tempore debuit hoc fieri. Ad oppositum Deuteronomii 17 (.17), datur inter cetera lex regi: "Non habebit uxores plurimas, que illiciant animam eius." Circa istam dubitationem una difficultas est, utrum hoc fuit preceptum, "Crescite, etc.," vel non; quia si fuit preceptum, omnes ad illud tenebantur vel tenentur. Si dicatur quod fuit preceptum ad tempus, donec homines multiplicarentur, precipue cultores Dei, tunc est secunda difficultas maior: quando cessavit virtus huius precepti, id est, usque ad quem numerum debuit fieri multiplicatio, et qua etate debuit incipere, et quot mulieres potuit licite habere, et usque ad quod tempus continuare? Et multe similes difficultates secuntur. Si dicatur quod non fuit preceptum, est tercia difficultas, quia imperative est dictum, "Crescite, etc." Et etiam quedam auctoritates sanctorum videntur velle quod fuit preceptum.

Salva maiorum reverentia, dico quod fuit benedictio et non preceptum. Primo, quia idem legitur dixisse piscibus et avibus, qui preceptum intelligere nescierunt, nisi preceptum vocetur instinctus nature ad conservacionem speciei. Secundo, quia ipse Adam,

Abel was killed proposed abstaining from generation unless he had a new command, and surely he would not have disobeyed a second command, namely to increase, after the pain he suffered for transgressing the first. Thirdly, because Abel is commended for virginity, which is not commendable unless it is intentional. For the aureole is the reward for those who preserve their virginity intentionally. The statement, however, that Blessed Mary was the first to choose the virginal life, as the phrase goes, "Thou alone hast pleased without a model, etc."—is not true, as Orosius clearly teaches; rather she was the first to choose it with the intention of remaining a virgin unless God should clearly instruct her otherwise. Nor would Abel's virginity have been commendable had it gone against a command. Fourthly, because it does not seem that Christ would have violated a command of God, but it is a fact that he did not multiply.

But if you insist that it was a command, I say that it is not binding beyond the preservation of the race, whence as long as the human race could be saved without some particular man or his issue, he was not held by that command, "Increase, etc.," (if it should be called a command) to have issue, unless some new command was added. For as for the meaning of the words themselves, they are saved by this interpretation, for it is in fact through such succession that men increase and are multiplied—it is not in the stars that they should. Furthermore, this was only said to our first parents; therefore it does not touch me, who could lawfully if I were now in Eden eat of the forbidden tree, as I think Enoch and Elias eat of the tree of life. On the basic question, then, I think it was always unlawful to have two wives, or a wife and a concubine, except for those for whom God made a dispensation and told them so plainly, if there were any such; David, say, to whom Nathan said from the

447 **tantum*** cum CJ. 448 **Deus*** *om.* CJ.

secundum Historias (Comestor, *PL* 198.1080b), occiso Abel proposuerat abstinuisse a generatione nisi habuisset novum preceptum, et constat quod non fecisset contra secundum preceptum, scilicet "Crescite," qui senserat tantam penam pro transgressione primi. Tercio, ex hoc quod ipse Abel commendatur de virginitate, que non est commendabilis nisi ex proposito. Virginitatem enim servantibus ex proposito debetur aureola. Quod autem dicitur Beatam Mariam primo elegisse vitam virginalem secundum illud, "sola sine exemplo placuisti, etc." (Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* 2.69, *PL* 19.600), verum non est, ut manifeste docet Orosius, sed prima eam tali elegit intentione, ut semper virgo maneret, nisi Deus manifeste eam de opposito informaret. Item non fuisset virginitas Abel commendabilis si fuisset contra preceptum. Quarto, quia, ut videtur, Christus Dei preceptum non violasset, de quo constat quod non multiplicavit.

Quod si contendas esse preceptum, dico quod ad plus non ligat nisi ad conservationem speciei; unde quamdiu sine quocumque, vel generatione eius, potuit salvari species humana, non tenebatur pro illo precepto, "Crescite, etc.," (si tamen preceptum dici debet) ad generationem, nisi adderetur novum preceptum. Nam quantum ad virtutem verborum, sic salvantur, quia per talem successionem crescunt homines et multiplicantur, quod non est in stellis. Et preterea hoc solum dictum est primis parentibus; ideo me non tangit qui possem licite si nunc essem in paradiso de ligno eis prohibito vesci, quod ut puto faciunt Enoc et Helias, id est de ligno vite. Ad titulum questionis, puto semper fuisse illicitum habere duas uxores, vel unam uxorem et aliam concubinam, nisi eis [tantum] quibus [Deus] dispensavit et manifeste hoc eis dixit, si qui tales fuerunt,

mouth of the Lord, 2 Kings 12, "I gave thee thy master's wives." For God established human nature, and he coupled only one woman to one man. And therefore only He can change it.

The best woman, who is rarer than the phoenix, is the Blessed Virgin Mary, because even though there is only one actual phoenix, still there are many in potency so as to succeed into actuality, but no such creature could be as the Blessed Virgin was and is in goodness—she *can be loved without the bitterness of fear and worry and* any *mishap* at all.

But evil women, etc. … No place is devoid of their wickedness. Indeed, a gloss on Canticles 7, on the phrase about a bad woman, "her heart is a net," notes: "it does not say 'her body' because the body of one woman cannot entrap all sorts of men, but yet the heart desires all, just as a net catches all sorts of fish." (Philosophy or theology could also be called *the best of women*; and *evil women*, the lucrative disciplines or heretical teachings.)

Be careful to whom you give. If you give badly, many bad things happen. First, because the thing you give to an ungrateful or wicked man is lost; secondly, because you are either not repaid by the recipient, or forgotten, or even mocked; thirdly, because you can get very upset about the ingratitude you see; fourthly, because when you give to a wicked or ungrateful man, others judge you and lose a little of their affection for you. For people say, "If he had given me what he gave him, I would have served him better. But I'll be damned if I care if he finds only ingratitude, because he only gives himself to ingrates and good-for-nothings." Fifthly, because a wicked man is supported in his wickedness.

Conversely, when you give to good men, the results are opposite. Thus Martianus and the poets pretend that there are three sisters called the Graces, all alike in beauty:

448 **eis dixit** dixit eis J. **fuerunt** fuerint J. 458 **Immo** imo J. 466, 467, 468, 469, 485 **quod** quia J.

puta David, cui dixit Nathan ex ore Domini, 2 Regum 12 (.8), "Dedi tibi uxores domini tui." Deus enim sic naturam humanam instituit, unam tantum uni copulans. Et ideo ille solus potest illud mutare.

Optima feminarum que rarior est fenice. Est Beata Virgo Maria, quia quamvis una sit fenix in actu, sunt tamen plures in potentia ut sint actu successive, sed nulla talis esse poterit qualis Beata Virgo fuit et est in bonitate—sed hec *amari poterit sine amaritudine metus et sollicitudinis et* cuiuscumque *infortunii*.

Male autem, etc.; *Nullus locus est expers malignitatis earum*. Immo notat una glosa Canticum 7 (Ecclesiastes 7.27), super illud de muliere mala , "sagena cor eius": "non dicit corpus quia corpus unius non potest omnes involvere, sed tamen cor omnes cupit, sicut sagena omnes pisces trahit." (Potest etiam *optima feminarum* Theologia vel Philosophia vocari; *Male autem*, etc., scientie lucrative vel doctrine heretice.)

Videto cui des. In dando male, multa inconvenientia accidunt; primo quod ipsa substantia que datur ingrato vel malo amittitur; secundo quod dans ab eo cui datur non remuneratur, vel oblivioni traditur, vel quandoque deridetur; tercio quod dans aliquando ex ingratitudine quam videt multum in se affligitur; quarto quod dans malo vel ingrato per hoc ab aliis iudicatur, et in minori affeccione habetur. Sic enim locuntur homines: "Si dedisset mihi hoc quod dedit illi, ministrassem sibi melius. Sed diabolus eum habeat qui curet si inveniat ingratitudinem, quia non dat se nisi ingratis et ribaldis." Quinto, quod malus in malo sustentatur.

Et econtra, quando datur bonis, eveniunt opposita. Unde fingit Marcianus et poete quod tres sunt sorores dicte Gratie, eiusdem

one has her face turned from us and two their faces turned toward us, signifying that kindness given where it is due, namely to a good and grateful man, goes out onefold and comes back twofold. Ecclesiasticus 12: "If thou do good, know to whom thou dost it, and there shall be much thanks for thy good deeds." And Ecclesiasticus goes on to specify four adjectives, which stand in his eyes for four types of men to whom in particular one should give: the just, the merciful, the good, the humble. To a bad man you should not only not give charity, but give punishment; and you should block others who want to do good to him. The just man is he who renders another his due, not takes it away from him. I take this to mean a poor man who steals unwillingly. The merciful here stands for the needy man whose heart is sad, and especially the man who has fallen from wealth into want, and when he was wealthy used to give alms. A man is to be called good if he isn't bad. While you have no evidence of mortal sin in him, you should consider any man good. The humble man is he who does not complain about hard luck in adversity or poverty. For these reasons it is better to give alms to poor religious than to other beggars—commonly, not always, because sometimes a layman has a stronger claim than a religious, and sometimes a layman is in extreme need and a religious is not. In the first case you should do good to a good layman, ignoring the religious if you cannot give to both, and in the second case you should support the layman entirely even if he be a sinner. Take the phrase in Ecclesiasticus 12, "receive not a sinner," to mean "insofar as he is a sinner," because in such a case nature takes precedence over guilt.

Against this: Luke 6: "Give to every one that asketh thee." Similarly, Matthew 5, "Do good to them that hate you, etc. … that you may be children of your Father, etc. … who maketh his sun to rise upon the good and bad." And Proverbs 25, "If thy

483 **Malo*** malis CJ. 499 **Ecclesiastici 12** *in margin* C. 502 **te** *repeated* C.

forme et pulchritudinis, quarum una habet faciem aversam a nobis, et due facies conversas, et significat quod gratia facta debite, scilicet bono et grato, simpla procedit, et dupla redit. Ecclesiastici 12 (.1): "Si benefeceris, scito cui benefeceris, et erit gratia bonis tuis multa." Et [f. 81] specificat ibi (12.2-6) quatuor nomina per que intelligit quatuor genera hominum quibus precipue dari debet: iusto, misericordi, bono, et humili. [Malo] autem non solum non debes dare beneficium, sed supplicium; et prohibere volentes ei benefacere. Iustus est ille qui non aufert alicui quod suum est, sed potius reddit. Per hoc intelligo pauperem qui invite furatur. Misericors stat hic pro indigente cui est miserum cor, et precipue qui a prosperitate incidit in inopiam, in qua prosperitate dum eam habuit fuit elemosinarius. Bonus est dicendus de cuius malo non constat. Dum non constat tibi de mortali aliquo peccato, debes quemlibet reputare bonum. Humilis est qui non murmurat in adversitate vel paupertate. Pro hiis causis melius est dare elemosinas pauperibus religiosis quam aliis mendicantibus—ut communiter, non semper, quia aliquando secularis potioris est conditionis quam religiosus, et aliquando secularis est in ultima necessitate constitutus et non religiosus. In primo casu benefaciendum est bono seculari, omisso religioso si non potest utrique fieri, et in secundo casu omnino subveniendum est seculari quantumcumque sit peccator. Et cum dicitur Eccleiastici 12 (.4, 5), "Ne recipias peccatorem," intelligendum est "in quantum est peccator," quia in tali casu natura non culpa consideranda est.

Contra ista Luce 6 (.30): "Omni petenti [te] tribue." Item Mathei 5 (.44-45): "Benefacite hiis qui oderunt vos, etc.," "ut sitis filii patris vestri, etc.," "qui solem suum facit oriri super bonos et malos." Item

enemy be hungry, give him to eat." Also Seneca: "Many things are to be lost in order that one thing may be well given." On the other hand, Matthew 7, "Give not that which is holy to dogs," which they seem to do who give the goods of the church to actors and wicked men. Whence Jerome, "To give to actors is to make sacrifice to devils." Likewise, Tobias 4, "Lay out thy bread upon the burial of a just man, and do not eat thereof with the wicked." Again, in Ecclesiasticus, "Let your alms sweat in your hand until you find someone to give it to."

In view of all this, you should know that one can be required to give by command, by counsel, or by prudence. You are required by command to give alms if you can, that is, if you have more than what you judge you and those you must provide for need. But in such a case, if you cannot help all the needy, a really prudent and gracious thing to do is to help those especially from whom the greatest spiritual profit is likely to result, that is, those you think just and good, and the church holds to be such. Therefore the wise man says, "Make thyself loveable to the congregation of the saints." This is also prudent in temporal terms, because sometimes alms given to the congregation of the good makes them for a time be valuable to their benefactors, even in a temporal way; one often sees this. Paul is of this opinion, Galatians 6: "Whilst we have time, let us work good to all men, but especially to those who are of the household of the faith." Therefore, the more familiar in faith and virtue they are, as far as you can judge, the more readily and abundantly you should assist them with your superfluous funds.

As for counsels, the maxims I quoted above, "Give to every one that asketh thee," and so on are all counsels. For you cannot give to everyone that asks you, unless

528 **quantum** quales? quantis? J. 531 **consilio** concilio J.

Proverbiorum 25 (.21): "Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum." Item Seneca: "Multa perdenda sunt ut unum bene detur" (cf. *De beneficiis* 1.2.1). Ad oppositum Matthei 7 (.6): "Nolite sanctum dare canibus," quod videntur illi facere qui bona ecclesiastica dant histrionibus et malis. Unde Ieronymus: "Histrionibus dare est demonibus immolare." Item Thobie 4 (.18): "Panem tuum super sepulturam iusti constitue, et noli ex eo cum peccatoribus manducare." Item in Ecclesiastico: "Desudet elemosina in manu tua donec invenias cui des."

Pro istis sciendum quod ad dandum potest aliquis teneri ex precepto, vel ex consilio, vel ex prudentia. Ex precepto tenetur elemosinas dare qui potest, id est, qui plura habet quam ea quibus conicit indigere se et suos quibus tenetur providere. Sed in casu tali si non potest omnibus succurrere indigentibus, prudentie est et gratie singularis illis precipue succurrere ex quibus maius emolumentum spirituale consequi potest, videlicet illis quos credit iustos et bonos, quos ecclesia pro talibus habet. Ideo dicit Sapiens, "Congregationi sanctorum amabilem te facito" (cf. Ecclus. 4.7). Hoc etiam prudentie est quo ad temporalia, quia aliquando elemosina data congregationi bonorum facit eos pro tempore valere suis datoribus, etiam temporaliter; et hoc frequenter est compertum. Huius sententie est Paulus, Galatas 6 (.10): "Dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei." Unde quanto magis familiares sunt fidei et virtutibus, quantum connicere potes, tanto citius est eis et abundantius subveniendum de superfluo.

Ex consilio dicuntur illa preallegata, "omni petenti te, etc." Non enim potest aliquis omni petenti tribuere, nisi de mentali compas-

what is meant is mental compassion, which perhaps is commanded, since, as Bede says, "true justice has compassion." The other quotations are obviously counsels.

Out of prudence you can even give the church's goods, even to the wicked, to keep from losing more. It is true that to give to actors and minstrels in order to encourage them in their lies and the like illicit things is to make sacrifice to devils. But to give to them moderately because they have brought some merriment to you or yours is justice, as Saint Thomas Aquinas teaches clearly. Even to give them more than they have earned can sometimes be lawful and very prudent, namely when you judge that otherwise they might make you lose a lot more; and this donation is to be thought of as insurance against unjust harassment, and the man who does not know how to take such prudent measures does not know how to get along in the modern world.

Be careful to whom you give yourself. Be careful of six things: to whom you give your body to guard it, that is, to what doctor; to whom you give your soul to confess it, that is, to what confessor; to what guide you give your whole self to direct and advise you, that is, to what friend or counselor; to what administrator you give yourself, to manage your estate; to what master you give yourself in service; to what friend you give yourself to enjoy yourself with. The man who looked to these six things would live most securely.

A bishop had two close companions whom he trusted in everything, his doctor, whom he trusted in what pertained to his body, and his steward, whom he trusted in outward affairs. The steward was often dishonest, but the bishop had no desire to hear people complaining about such matters, as is often the case with men who are rich in the things of this world and blinded by the honor paid them. Eventually the bishop got sick, and when his doctor went to purge him of the noxious humor that was getting the better of him, he purged him instead of the fifth humor, namely of his soul; and when he knew he was dying, he cried, "Look at me! I trusted my body

535 **consilia** concilia J. 536 **et** *om.* J. 537 **amittat*** admittat CJ. 540 **sanctus** beatus J.

sione intelligatur, et forsan istud cadit sub precepto, quia, ut dicit Beda, "Vera iusticia compassionem habet" (*PL* 92.519). Alia que secuntur, plane consilia sunt.

Ex prudentia potest homo dare etiam bona ecclesiastica et malis, ne plura [amittat]. Verum est quod histrionibus et menestrallis dare ad fovendum eos in mendaciis vel similibus illicitis est demonibus immolare. Sed dare eis moderate pro eo quod fecerunt tibi solatium vel tuis iusticie est, sicut docet manifeste sanctus Thomas de Aquino. Dare autem eis ultra quam meruerunt in casu est licitum, et magne prudentie, quando scilicet connicis quod aliter facerent te amittere maiora; et ista datio est pensanda sicut redemptio vexationis iniuste, et qui nescit talibus cautelis uti, nescit debite regere secundum tempora moderna.

Videto cui te des. Videto 6: cui des corpus ad custodiendum, id est cui medico; cui animam ad confitendum, id est cui confessori; cui ductori te totum ad regendum vel consulendum, id est cui amico vel consiliario; cui dispensatori ad bona tua ordinandum; cui dominatori ad serviendum; cui socio ad convivendum. Qui ista sex provideret, securissime viveret.

Quidam episcopus habuit secum duos familiarissimos quibus in omnibus credidit, scilicet medicum cui credebat in hiis que ad corpus pertinebant, senescallum cui de extrinsecis pertinebat. Senescallus multa iniuste fecit, nec voluit episcopus alios super talibus conquerentes audire, sicut consuetudo est divitibus prosperitate mundi et honoribus excecatis. Tandem episcopus incidit in infirmitatem, et cum medicus suus debuisset eum purgasse ab humore nocivo dominante, purgavit eum a quinto humore, scilicet anima. Et cum mori deberet, clamavit, "Ecce tali medico corpus meum

to the likes of this doctor, and my soul and conscience to the likes of that steward, and so, wretch that I am, I have now lost both." And so he died. It is likely that he had seen his own judgment. On the first of the six, let this be said: even though a doctor must necessarily be honored, because the Most High created medicine from the earth, nevertheless you should find out first if he is a god-fearing man, as far as you can tell from the signs, because otherwise for the health of the body he may prescribe things that imperil the health of the soul—or he might even, if offended or induced by a bribe, be able to make you drink medicines that will harm your body.

On the second point: according to the canon, because Judas confessed to the Pharisees and others like them, he perished; if he had come to Christ and the Apostles, he would have been saved. Again, in the Lives of the Fathers there is a story about a man who revealed his thoughts to an old man, who replied that he was unworthy of the name of monk, and he scared him so much that in despair he abandoned his cell and returned to the world, and he would have perished if the abbot Appollonius had not called him back.

On the third point: "If thy right eye scandalize thee, etc." Your eye is the person by whose guidance you are guided, that is, your counselor.

On the fifth point, to serve the world for gain is foolish, because the world dismisses its servants empty-handed. To serve the flesh, that is, luxuries, is wrong, because the flesh ought to be the servant. And the more it is served, the wilder and more rebellious it gets, and drives its servant down. To serve the devil and his pomps is utterly irrational, because he is a worse master than the world, for not only does he dismiss you empty-handed like the world, but drags you down to him to eternal punishment. But to serve a woman, that is, to be under her rule, is very hard. Once a cleric made a lewd proposition to a woman, and afterwards she kept demanding to have everything he had, to the point that, if he denied her anything, she swore at once that if he did not give her what she wanted, she would betray him and ruin

dedi in custodiam, et tali senescallo animam et conscientiam, et ideo ego miser iam utrumque perdidi!" Et sic expiravit. Verisimile est eum suum iudicium vidisse. Circa primum sciendum: etsi honorandus est medicus propter necessitatem, quia etiam Altissimus creavit de terra medicinam, tamen videndum est in principio si sit homo timens Deum, quantum ex signis potest sciri, quia aliter pro salute corporis consulet aduersa saluti anime, quia aliter vel offensus vel premio conductus etiam nociva corpori posset propinare.

Circa secundum: secundum canonem, quia Iudas confitebatur Phariseis et ceteris sibi similibus, periit; si venisset ad Christum et apostolos, fuisset salvatus. Item in Vitis Patrum (*PL* 73.874) narratur de quodam qui dixit cogitaciones suas seni, qui respondit eum esse indignum nomine monachi, et sic deterruit ipsum quod desperans relicta cella redibat ad seculum, et perisset nisi abbas Appollonius revocasset eum.

De tercio, "Si oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te, etc." (Matt. 5.29). Oculus tuus est cuius ducatu duceris, id est consiliarius [f. 81v].

De quinto, servire enim mundo per cupiditatem est fatuum, quia servitores suos vacuos dimittit. Carni servire, id est deliciis, iniustum, quia deberet ancillari. Et quanto ei plus servitur, plus sevit et rebellat, et deprimit servientem. Servire diabolo in ambitionibus est omnino irrationale quia peior dominus est quam mundus, quia non solum vacuos dimittit ut mundus, sed ad eterna supplicia sibi attrahit. Servire autem mulieri, id est, esse in domigerio eius, est valde durum. Quidam clericus inhoneste loquebatur cuidam mulieri que postea ita inportuna sibi fuit ad habendum omnia que habuit, quod si ille quicquam ei negaret, ista statim iuravit quod nisi daret que vellet, proderet eum et confunderet. Et ille timore

him. And he so feared being ruined that he gave her whatever he could get, and he remained forever a poor wretch, even though he received many gifts from his friends. Therefore, it is miserable to serve a woman, who is an insatiable animal, as Solomon says. If she wants honor, she never thinks she is honored enough, if she goes to law she is never satisfied, and so of all else.

Therefore, whoever subjects himself to the will of one of these is truly a slave though he may seem to be the master. For a master is one who can do what he wants with the thing he is supposed to be master of. But a husband, even though he is supposed to be master and is called that by his wife, cannot do what he wants with her—make her faithful and unchanging, for instance, which is what he wants especially. And it is the same with all the other things I have listed. For a rich man, though master of worldly things, cannot have them forever, nor take them with him. And so all these people, because they worry more over the things they are supposed to be master of than those things worry over them, are more servants than masters. Romans 6: "To whom you yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants you are whom you obey, whether it be of sin unto death, or of obedience unto justice."

On the sixth point: Seneca, "In all things take thought with your friend." This means first that, with regard to the friend himself, you must first think about whether his condition in life matches yours, and whether it is good, before you go telling him your secrets or asking his advice. This matter is treated well in Ecclesiasticus 37, thus: "Consult not with your father-in-law," that is, with not only your wife's father but any of her relatives, or indeed with any relative of your own. And that is wise, for blood feeling is stronger than reason, and so if you seek advice from such people they will say what they feel impulsively, not what is in accordance with right reason. Jeremiah 9: "Let every man take heed of his neighbor, and let him not trust in any

600 **est** *om.* J. 613 **affini** affine C.

confusionis quecumque adquirere poterat illi dabat. Et ille semper miser remansit et egenus, cum tamen multa reciperet ab amicis. Ideo miserabile est mulieri servire, que bestia est insaciabilis, ut dicit Salomon (cf. Prov. 30.15-16). Si querit honorem, nunquam sibi videtur quod satis honoratur, si litigat non satiatur, et ita de omnibus aliis.

Unde quicumque voluntatem sequitur alicuius horum, vere servit quamvis dominari videatur. Dominus enim est qui potest facere de eo cuius dicitur dominus quod vult. Sed vir licet dicatur dominus et sic ab uxore vocetur, non tamen potest facere de ea quod vult, ut scilicet faciat eam fidelem et immutabilem, quod tamen precipue optat. Et ita est de aliis predictis. Non enim potest dives vel dominus mundanorum ea secum perpetuo habere, nec secum asportare. Unde omnes predicti quia magis sunt solliciti circa ea quibus dominari dicuntur quam ipsa possessa circa possessores, magis serviunt quam dominantur. Romanos 6 (.16): "Cui exibuistis vos servos ad obediendum, servi estis eius cui obedistis sive peccati ad mortem, sive obeditionis ad iusticiam."

De sexto Seneca: "De omnibus delibera cum amico" (cf. *Ep.* 3.2). De ipso amico prius vult dicere quod prius debes deliberare utrum conditiones illius tecum concordent, et utrum bone sint antequam secreta tua illi dicas, vel consilium ab eo queras. Ista materia bene tractatur Ecclesiastici 37 (.7), sic: "Noli consiliari cum socero tuo," id est cum patre vel consanguineo uxoris tue, vel quocumque [affini] vel consanguineo. Et est ratio, quia carnalis affectus imperat rationi, unde si a talibus queratur consilium, dicent quod carnaliter sentiunt, et non quod est secundum rectam rationem. Ieremie 9 (.4): "Unusquisque a proximo suo se custodiat, et in omni fratre

brother of his." And Micah 7, "Keep the doors of thy mouth from her that sleepeth in thy bosom." Sampson perished because he did not do that. Take *socerus*, which is any relative on the woman's side, also as anyone who has a feminine and unstable mind, and so the verse "consult not with your father-in-law" excludes from safe counsel not only all relatives of any kind, but also all unstable or impulsive men.

Verse 7 goes on, "and from them that envy thee," that is, from those who either love you too much or hate you too much, "hide thy counsel." Your sons, your wife, your family, and your enemies are not to be chosen as counselors, for the reasons just given. The next verse gives a further reason, that "every counselor"—that is, every such counselor—"giveth out counsel, but there is one that is a counselor for himself." Although the gloss explains this verse otherwise, I take it to mean that one who has the spirit of counsel in himself can easily have right counsel. And so a good outside counselor can be good only for someone who knows how to understand right counsel and follow it, and who knows how to recognize who is a good counselor and stick to him. And so people are clearly wrong, when someone is praised on the basis of his actions for being sensible and clever, to undermine the praise and say, he isn't clever, he just gets good advice. Clearly what they say is false. For if he understands good advice and sticks to it, he is highly prudent. If he gets good advice and doesn't follow it, he is not prudent. Therefore a man whose actions show prudence because he gets good advice shows he is doubly prudent, because he knows how to get good advice and knows enough to stick to it. I will say further that good advice is no good to a foolish man, because "A fool receiveth not the words of prudence."

I take this verse in a further sense, thus. Seneca says, "If you want to keep some-

625 **consilium** *add* tuum J.

suo non habeat fiduciam." Et Michee 7 (.5): "Ab ea que dormit in sinu tuo custodi claustra oris tui." Quod quia Sampson non fecit, periit. Intelligitur etiam per socerum, qui est affinis ex parte feminea, omnis femineum et instabilem animum habens, unde per hoc quod dicitur "Noli consiliari cum socero" excluduntur a tuto consilio omnes quicumque affines vel consanguinei, vel instabiles vel carnales homines.

Sequitur "et a zelantibus te," id est, nimis diligentibus vel nimis odientibus, "absconde consilium" (Ecclus. 37.7). Filii enim tui et uxor et familia et inimici non sunt elegendi in consiliarios, ratione qua supra. Sequitur etiam alia ratio, quia "omnis consiliarius" scilicet talis "prodet consilium, sed est consiliarius in semetipso" (Ecclus. 37.8). Licet glosa (*PL* 113.1219) aliter exponat, hoc sic intelligo quod rectum consilium faciliter habere potest qui habet spiritum consilii in semetipso. Unde soli illi valet bonus consiliarius extra qui scit intelligere rectum consilium et illud sequi, et qui scit cognoscere quis est bonus consiliarius et ei adherere. Unde patet error eorum qui cum aliquis commendatur quod sit circumspectus et sciens, utpote cuius opera hoc declarant, pervertunt et dicunt, "Non ipse est sciens, sed habet bonum consilium." Patet enim quod falsum dicunt. Si enim intelligit bonum consilium et ei adheret, summe prudens est. Quia quamvis habeat bonum consilium et non sequatur, non est prudens. Igitur cuius opera declarant prudentiam, quia habet bonum consilium, ostenditur habere duas partes prudentie, unam quia scit eligere bonum consilium, aliam quia scit adherere bono consilio. Dico quidem parum valere fatuo bonum consilium quia "non recepit stultus verba prudentie" (Prov. 18.2).

Aliter intelligo illud sic. Seneca dicit, "Quod secretum esse volu-

thing a secret, don't tell it to anybody. For nobody is closer to you than you yourself." This means, if you can't keep to yourself what should be secret, how will somebody else do it? Then the sense of "there is one that is a counselor for himself" is this: he who keeps his secret inside himself is his own right counselor no matter how much somebody may seem to be his friend, because it is hard to know who is truly your friend, that is, who is not merely pretending to stick to the friendship and who will not abandon it. Therefore, truly able men consider it the safest policy simply to keep silent about their secrets to absolutely everybody, because, as they say, a man cannot be too close except in three cases. One, when you have to go to confession for the salvation of your soul. And even then, if the confession is about something dangerous, very great care must be exercised in choosing a confessor, so that in confessing you do not risk being undone by the sacrament of Penance or Confession, which God established for salvation, not destruction. Suppose I have a superior who is the only one who can absolve me of a sin I have fallen into. I judge that if I confess to him he is likely to ruin me, because he once did something similar. If I ask his permission to confess to someone else, he will not give it. Or I know that even if he gives it, still he will be suspicious of me and hound me, and explore and inquire discreetly about my sin, which he would not do if I had not asked him for such permission, and so he will get me in trouble or ruin me utterly. What should I do? I answer: you should act—unless the sin may involve excommunication—just like a man who has no access to a priest, that is, wait for a superior you can trust, and who will uphold the Psalm, "I said I will confess, etc. … and thou hast forgiven, etc." Or if I cannot have the superior of my choice within my community, I should consult someone outside under the bond of confession, or some discreet man in the lap of my own

646 **Vult dicere** *om.* J. 655 **alicui** *om.* J. 667 **respondeo** *repeated* C. 670 **potero** potuero J.

eris, nemini dixeris. Nullus enim tibi plus tenetur quam tu ipse." Vult dicere, "ex quo nescis celare tuiipsius consilium quod deberet esse secretum, quomodo alius hoc faciet?" (cf. Martin of Braga, *PL* 72.29). Tunc est sensus, "Est consiliarius in semetipso," id est, qui in semetipso custodit secretum suum est rectus consiliarius, scilicet suiipsius, quantumque aliquis videatur amicus, quia difficile est cognoscere quis veraciter sit amicus, qui scilicet nec ficte adheret nec amiciciam deseret. Ideo reputant valentes viri tuciorem viam silere simpliciter secreta omni homini, quia, ut dicunt, homo non potest esse nimis securus exceptis tribus casibus. Uno, quando oportet pro salute anime confiteri alicui sacramentaliter. Et tunc etiam si periculosum est de quo est confessio, valde magna diligentia est adhibenda de confessore eligendo, ne periclitetur vel confundatur confitens per sacramentum penitentie vel confessionis, quod Deus non ordinavit ad perniciem sed salutem. Ecce pono casum. Habeo prelatum qui solus potest me absolvere a crimine in quod lapsus sum. Si sibi confitear, connicio verisimiliter quod me confundet, quia prius aliquid simile fecit. Si peto ab eo licentiam alteri confitendi, non dat.Vsel scio quod quamvis det, nichilominus habebit me suspectum et persequetur, et explorabit vel inquiret caute de scelere meo, quod aliter non faceret nisi licentiam talem peterem, et sic deprimet me vel confundet. Quid hic facere debeo? [Respondeo]: per omnia sicut ille qui non habet copiam sacerdotis nisi sit sententia excommunicationis annexa, id est, expectare superiorem qui sit securus, et sustinet illud Psalmi, "Dixi confitebor, etc.,""et tu remisisti, etc." (Ps. 31.5).Vel si non potero quemcumque [f. 82] superiorem intrinsece habere, consulere extrinsecum sub ligamento confessionis, vel aliquem discretum intrinsecum, id est

community, under the same seal.

The second case is in a legal proceeding, when on account of an outcry the proceedings move, according to the rules, to an inquisition, in which case it is not lawful to say what is false, but it is lawful, if imperfect, to resort to equivocations. For example, I have slipped into fornication: an outcry goes up, scandal does its work. Meanwhile in my private person I have repented and confessed and done my penance. But the judge, because of the scandal, proceeds to public inquisition and correction. If during the trial the judge asks me, "Did you commit this fornication?", can I lawfully deny it? Surely not, according to Thomas, because that would be perjury, which is a mortal sin. But I can say, "Your Honor, it does not seem to me that I am obliged to answer that, because you are trying to accuse me unjustly even though I am free of that sin," or something like that. Suppose the judge commands me to answer the question plainly, without equivocation. It seems to me that the command is unjust, because he may as well have said, "You have no right to help or defend yourself," and therefore I am not obliged to obey it.

The third case is when something cannot remain a secret for long, and unless the revelation is prepared for with good counsel, ruin threatens. For example, a woman knows she is pregnant from an adulterous union, of which she will eventually be convicted—or something else like this that cannot stay hidden. In such a case, since it cannot stay secret long, a safe counselor should be chosen to whom it can be laid bare before the time. For a good counselor knows what to advise in such cases, and how to solve the problem, although it might seem impossible to an unschooled person.

The chapter (i.e. Ecclesiasticus 37) goes on, "Beware of a (bad) counselor. And know before what need he hath: for he will devise to his own mind." Rabanus: "The prudence, faithfulness, will, religion of a counselor must be seen beforehand."

de proprio gremio, sub eodem sigillo.

Secundus casus est in processu iudiciali, quando secundum ritum processum propter clamorem proceditur ad inquisitionem, in quo casu non licet falsum dicere, sed tamen licitum est cautelis uti, licet hoc non sit perfeccionis. Verbi gratia, lapsus sum in fornicationem; clamor surgit et fama laborat. Ego autem contritus et confessus sum de hoc et penitentiam perfeci in foro privato. Iudex procedit propter infamiam ad puplice inquirendum et corrigendum. Numquid si iudex in iudicio querat a me, "Fecisti hanc fornicationem?," possum licite respondere negando? Certe non, secundum Thomam, quia hoc esset mentiri in iudicio quod esset mortale peccatum. Sed possum dicere, "Domine, non videtur mihi quod debeam hic respondere, quia nitimini gravare me iniuste, cum sim tamen immunis a tali malo"; vel aliud simile [possum] dicere. Posito quod iudex precipiat quod respondeam nude ad interrogata sine cautela quacumque. Videtur mihi quod preceptum est iniustum, quia idem est ac si diceret, "Non iuves teipsum licite," vel "Non defendas te licite"; ideo non teneor obedire.

Tertius casus est quando res non potest esse diu secreta, et nisi per bonum consilium preveniatur, iminet confusio. Verbi gratia, mulier ex adulterio scit se inpregnatam, de quo poterit postea convinci, vel de simili quod non potest latere. In tali casu quia secretum esse non poterit diu, eligendus est tutus consiliarius cui ante tempus manifestetur. Novit enim bonus consiliarius in talibus consulere et liberare, licet insipienti videatur inpossible.

Sequitur in auctoritate, "A consiliario malo serva animam tuam. Prius scito que sit illius necessitas et quid ipse in animo suo cogitabit" (Ecclus. 37.9). Rabanus: "Previdenda est consiliarii prudentia,

Rabanus lists four things to look for when selecting a good counselor: that he be prudent, that is, wise—Tobias 4: "Seek counsel always of a wise man." Second, that he be faithful, that is, secret, true, and stable, for he who tells is not faithful. Likewise, he who pretends he is your friend and wants what is good for you, and yet does not care how it comes about, is not true, and therefore not faithful. And he who deserts you early, or when he should not, is not stable, and therefore not faithful. Third, that he be of good will toward you, that is, not seeking only how you will be useful to him; for even though your counselor or secretary will sometimes look out for himself, do not reject him just for that, because he may be in need, for himself or his family, and deserves to try for his share; but watch out for the sort who is constantly looking out for his own profit, and reject him, because such a man loves no one. Fourth, that he be a man of good religion, that is, life, and this is more important than to have a counselor who knows a lot. The reason for this is given a little farther down (Ecclus. 37.18): "The soul of a holy man discovereth sometimes true things, more than seven watchmen that sit in a high place," that is, in a master's chair, "to watch," namely fine points. But you may say, "How can I know whether he whose advice I want fits this description, since 'the Lord alone knows thoughts?'" I answer, you can judge from three things: the questions you ask him, external signs, and his reputation, which you can ascertain by asking others.

The next verse (10) is "lest he thrust a stake into the ground." Join them this way: "Know before what need he hath lest he thrust a stake into the ground," that is, lest he take you in with his advice and ruin you, as wild animals are taken by a stake fixed in the ground. (*Sudis* is a synonym for *palus*, "stake.") "And say to thee:

720 **descriptum** discriptum C. 727-28 **Sudes et palus idem sunt** *om.* J.

fides, voluntas, religio" (*PL* 113.1220). Quatuor ponit Rabanus de bono consiliario eligendo. Quod sit prudens, id est sapiens, Thobie 4 (.19): "Consilium semper a sapiente require." Secundo quod sit fidelis, id est secretus, verax, et stabilis. Ille enim qui prodit non est fidelis. Similiter ille qui simulat se esse amicum et velle prodesse et tamen non curat quomodo sit, non est verax, et ideo nec fidelis. Similiter qui deserit cito, vel cum non deberet, non est stabilis, et ideo nec fidelis. Tercio quod sit bone voluntatis ad te, id est non querens tantum utilitatem propriam, licet enim consiliarius tuus vel secretarius aliquando querat utilitatem propriam, non ideo repudiandus est, quia forsan indiget pro se vel pro suis, et meretur quod petit pro parte; sed qui communiter versatur circa hoc ut querat emolumenta propria, summe cavendus est, et repudiandus, quia talis neminem diligit. Quarto quod sit bone religionis, id est vite, et hoc est magis necessarium quam habere consiliarium excellentis scientie. Cuius causa assignatur postea sic: "Anima viri sancti annunciat aliquando vera plusquam 7 circumspectores sedentes in excelsum," id est in cathedra magistrali, "ad speculandum" (Ecclus. 37.18), scilicet subtilia. Sed dices, "Quomodo possum scire si ille cuius affecto consilium sit talis ut [descriptum] est, cum `Dominus solus cogitationes novit? '" Respondeo: per tria potes connicere: per interrogationes sibi propositas, per signa exteriora, et per famam eius, quam potes ab aliis inquirere.

Sequitur, "Ne forte mittat sudem in terram" (Ecclus. 37.10). Coniunge sic: "Scito prius que sit illius necessitas ne forte mittat sudem in terram," id est, ne te capiat per consilium suum et confundat, sicut fere capiuntur per sudem defixam in terram. (Sudes et palus idem sunt.) "Et dicat tibi, bona est vita tua" (Ecclus. 37.10–

Thy way is good" (10-11), that is, watch out for him when he says, "Thy way is good," because right here he has thrust a stake into the ground, that is, he is scheming trickily to flatter you with his advice so that he can extract material profit from it, "and then stand on the other side to see what shall befall thee" (11). For such a counselor-flatterer is waiting to see the end and laugh. For if it turns out well, right away he praises his own advice in a self-important way. If badly, he says, "You did not do what I advised in the way I said to," or "as I meant it," or some such thing. Which is especially the way with doctors, advocates, and pleaders, as Hugh of St. Cher says on this verse.

The next sentence is ironic, so it must be explained by its opposite. For example, "Treat with a man without religion concerning holiness" (12), that is, "do not treat," and so of the others, whence it follows (14-16), "Give no heed to these in any matter of counsel, but be continually with a holy man, whomsoever thou shalt know to observe the fear of God, whose soul is according to thy own soul." Then, "Establish within thyself a heart of good counsel, for there is no other thing of more worth to thee than it" (17), that is, you can have nothing better than good advice. Next, "But above all these things," namely, choosing, understanding, and carrying out the advice of counselors, "pray to the most High, that he may direct thy way in truth" (19). Otherwise, if a man does not rely principally on his God and His advice, he will be deceived. James, 1: "If any of you want wisdom, let him ask of God." See the example of Solomon, 3 Kings 3.

Fourth, *Be careful to whom you give yourself*, that is, to what manager to administer your property, or to keep your affairs in order. Matthew 5: "If thy right hand scandalize thee, etc." If your agent is the kind that keeps you from giving alms, speaks ill of good men and religious, and so on, do not believe that he will be faithful to you,

738 **Viennensis** vieniensis J. 746-47 **consilio** consilia, *with o above the a as if to correct it, but the a is not expunged* C.

11), id est, per hoc quod dicit "bona est vita tua," cave tibi ab eo, quia in hoc misit sudem in terram, id est, dolose machinatur dare tibi consilium adulatorie, ex quo ipse possit consequi terenum emolumentum, "et stet econtrario videre quid tibi eveniat" (Ecclus. 37.11); talis enim consiliarius adulator expectat ut videat finem et rideat. Si enim bene accidat, statim pompose extollit consilium suum. Si autem male, dicit, "Non fecisti consilium meum eo modo quo dixi," vel "sicut intellexi," vel aliquid tale. Quod maxime est proprium medicorum, advocatorum, et narratorum, sicut dicit Viennensis hic.

Sequitur postea sententia yronica, unde debet exponi per oppositum, verbi gratia: "Cum viro irreligioso tracta de sanctitate, etc." (Ecclus. 37.12), id est, non tracta, et ita de aliis, unde sequitur, "Non attendas hiis in omni consilio, sed cum viro sancto assiduus esto, quemcumque cognoveris observantem timorem Domini, cuius anima sit secundum animam tuam" (Ecclus. 37.14–16). Et sequitur, "Cor boni consilii statue tecum. Non enim est tibi amplius plus illo" (Ecclus. 37.17), id est, nichil melius habere potes bono [consilio]. Sequitur, "Et in hiis omnibus," scilicet consiliariis eligendis, intelligendis, et eorum consiliis peragendis, "deprecare altissimum ut dirigat in veritate viam tuam" (Ecclus. 37.19). Aliter nisi homo innitatur principaliter super Deo suo et eius consilio, decipietur. Iacobi, 1 (.5): "Si quis indiget sapientia, postulet a Deo." Exemplum de Salomone, 3 Regum 3.

Quarto, *Vide cui te des*, id est, cui dispensatori ad bona tua dispensanda, vel de eis ordinandis. Matthei 5 (.30): "Si manus tua dextera scandalizat te, etc." Si talis sit dispensator qui retrahit te ab elemosinis, obloquatur bonis viris et religiosis et similia faciat, noli

for he is bad to his God.

Fifth, *Be careful to whom you give yourself*, that is, in service; see above (line 492) where it says, "for to serve the world through greed, etc."

Sixth, *Be careful to whom you give yourself*, that is, to what friend, or what group of friends to enjoy yourself with. In nature, if you live among lepers you catch leprosy. In art, what is rubbed together with aromatic spices or is stored with them takes on a similar smell. Thus "with the perverse thou wilt be perverted, and with the elect, etc." (cf. Ps. 17.27). Seneca: "A bad friend will rub rust onto your white innocence." And again: "A mob of people different from them could knock the virtue out of a Socrates or a Laelius or a Cato." The prophetic wisdom of David begins with the verse, "Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, etc." (Psalm 1.1). And the Wisdom of Solomon begins this way, Proverbs 1, "My son, walk not thou with them," that is, with sinners. The daughter of Lot could not be saved unless she left Sodom. Jacob cared to be neither companion to Esau on a journey nor his fellow citizen in his native land. But who is to be considered a good friend, and therefore to be chosen, and what friendship is to be shunned, is taught in part in the Lives of the Fathers, where friendship is forbidden with boys, women (N.B.), and heretics. And Saint Bernard agrees: "Avoid, as far as you possibly can," he says, "association with young men, and especially those who are smooth-cheeked." Again, Bernard says we should choose a friend who is a burden on no one, amenable to all, humble and sober.

The banners of chastity. He means that the number of bad women far exceeds the number of good. Morally this is true, even of men, which is a great pity. Bernard gives a good example from nature: "Do not wonder if many are called but few are chosen, because if you compare wheat, chaff, and bran, the quantity of truly pure

758-59 **cum dicitur . . . et cetera** ad manum C. 765 **inducit** induit J. 774 **inquam** nequam J.

credere quod tibi fidelis erit, quia Deo suo est malus.

Quinto, *Vide cui te des*, ad serviendum, supra [cum dicitur "servire enim mundo per cupiditatem, etc. "].

Sexto, *Vide cui te des*, id est, cui socio, vel societati ad convivendum. Naturaliter vivens inter leprosos contrahit contagium. In arte, quod confricatur speciebus aromaticis vel iacet cum eis contrahit similem odorem; sic "cum perverso perverteris, et cum electo, etc." (cf. Ps. 17.27). Seneca: "Candido et innocenti socius malus rubiginem inducit," et iterum, "Socrati et Lellio et Catoni graves mores excutere [f. 82v] posset dissimilis multitudo" (cf. *Ad Lucilium epistulae morales* 7.7, 6). Sic incipit prophetica sapientia David: "Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, etc." (Ps. 1.1). Sic incipit Sapientia Salomonis, Proverbiorum 1 (.15): "Fili mi, ne ambules cum eis," id est, malis. Filia Loth non poterat salvari nisi exiret de Sodomis; nec Iacob voluit esse comes Esau in via, nec cohabitator in patria. Quis autem censendus est bonus socius, et ideo eligendus, et que societas fugienda, docetur pro parte in Vitis Patrum (*PL* 73.857), ubi prohibetur societas pueri, mulieris (inquam), et heretici. Et concordat Bernardus: "Consortia," inquit, "iuvenum, et maxime illorum qui inberbes sunt, summe in quantum convenienter potes devita" (*PL* 184.1170). Iterum eligendus est socius nulli onerosus, omnibus obsequiosus, secundum Bernardum, humilis et sobrius (cf. *PL* 184.1163?).

Vexilla pudicicie. Vult dicere quod excessive est maior multitudo malarum mulierum quam bonarum. Moraliter hoc verum est, etiam de viris, quod dolendum est; hoc patet per exemplum in natura, sic, secundum Bernardum: "Ne mireris si in multitudine vocatorum sit paucitas electorum, quia in comparatione areste, palee,

flour is small." Again, Esdras 19 (4 Esdras 8.2): "The earth will produce much clay for making earthen vessels, but little dust from which gold may be made." In art, pure archers are deficient in many respects. Figuratively, only eight souls in the whole world were saved, Genesis 7. Likewise, from the five cities, three souls. Out of six hundred three thousand, five hundred and fifty, not counting children, women, and Levites, only two entered the promised land, Numbers 1. "Out of the sixteen thousand persons, there fell to the portion of the Lord thirty-two souls," Numbers 31. Also in the Chronicles of Martin (of Troppau) the story is told of the Emperor Leo the Third that in his time "by the preaching of Bishop Wulfram of Sens, Radbod, duke of the Frisians, was led to be baptized, but when he had placed one foot in the font, he held the other back, asking whether there were more of his ancestors in hell or heaven, and when he was told hell, he took back the wet foot too. 'It's luckier to follow the many than the few,' he said, and thus fooled by the devil, although he had promised himself many good things for many years to come, he died in three days." A wretched consolation, for just as the more logs there are, the hotter the fire, the more people in hell, the greater the pain.

Jupiter, an earthly king. This could be applied to a bad singer, who, in order to please layfolk, or rather, women, so strains his voice that he seems to moo or whinny rather than sing.

Phoebus. This could apply to a man who keeps falling into lechery, repenting, and falling again.

Mars. This can serve you well for a sermon about wicked and hidden chains.

By the false judge of the goddesses. Morally: happiness is located in three things in

788 **tantum** *om.* J. **8*** 9 CJ. 795 **quoque** *om.* J. 796 **Radbodus*** Richodus CJ. **Frisonum*** Frisonis CJ. 797 **Wulfranni*** Waleranni CJ. 810 **Hoc** ho C. 812 **dearum** deorum C.

et furfuris, parva est quantitas simile purioris." Iterum, Esdras 19 (4 Esdras 8.2): "Terra dabit terram multam unde fiat fictile, parvum autem pulverem unde fiat aurum." In arte, puri sagittantes in multis deficiunt. Per figuram, de toto mundo tantum [8] anime salvate sunt, Genesis 7 (.13). Item de Pentapoli 3 anime (cf. Gen. 19.15-26; Wisdom 10.6). De sexcentis et tribus milibus quingentis et quinquaginta, non connumeratis parvulis, mulieribus, vel Levitis, tantum duo ingressi sunt terram promissionis. Numerorum 1 (.45-47; 14.22-38). "De animabus hominum sexdecim milibus, cesserunt in partem Domini 32 anime," Numerorum 31 (.40). In Cronicis quoque Martini, de Leone Tertio imperatore narratur quod huius Leonis tempore "R[adb]odus dux Frison[um], ad predicationem W[ulf]ranni Senonensis episcopi adductus ut baptizaretur, cum unum pedem lavacro imposuisset, alterum retraxit, querens utrum plures maiorum suorum essent in inferno vel paradiso; et audiens quod in inferno, intinctum pedem retraxit. "Letius est," inquit, "ut plures fannos plurimos promitteret, die tertia extinctus est" (*MGH*, Scriptores, 22.460). Miserabilis consolatio, sicut enim quanto plures sunt facule tanto calidior ignis, ita quanto plures in inferno, tanto maior pena.

Iupiter rex terrenus. Hoc aptari poterit malo cantori, qui ut secularibus vel potius mulieribus placeat vocem suam ita exerit ut mugire vel hinnire videatur potius quam cantare.

Phebus. Hoc aptari poterit ei qui frequenter in luxuriam cadit, et frequenter penitet, et iterum recidivat.

Mars. [Hoc] ministrare poterit ubicumque de malis vinculis et occultis est sermo.

De falso [dearum]. Moraliter precipue in tribus ponitur beatitudo.

particular. In worldly prosperity, where the Jews used to put it and still do, and of this opinion are those who, as it were, say that Juno is the most beautiful. Some put it in pleasure, such as Epicureans once and Saracens now; these prefer Venus. The third party is philosophers, who prefer Athena, because they put happiness in wisdom, as is clear in the *Ethics* 10.

I see you now with a sneering attitude. With this you can inveigh against those who care more for eloquence than for wisdom, more for sound than for sense, like the fool who took more pleasure in cracking a nut and its pleasant sound than in eating the meat. It will also serve you well in letters to friends.

Julius Caesar. Note that it is healthier to listen to advice from poor men than from rich men.

Phoroneus. Women even conquer lawyers.

Again, *if only you had been married once*. Interpret: it is better to have been a husband than to be about to become one, because future husbands are blinded by sexual desire, whereas those who have been husbands know from experience the misfortune of it. It is better yet neither to have been nor to be about to be one—nor does Valerius deny that. Also note here that some clerics, even professors of theology, are less perfect than this pagan was, because he did not mind communicating his wisdom. These "hide their fruit and are thus cursed by the people" (Prov. 11.26).

The emperor Valentius. This can be applied to Saint Luke thus: "Saint Luke deserves the very same encomium with which Valerius praises the emperor Valentius in his letter to Rufinus: that he died *eighty years old and still a virgin*. Jerome says the same of Saint Luke, whence truly he could *boast of this victory* above all, that he *overcame the worst of his enemies, his own flesh*." Again, it is useful whenever your subject touches

814 **qui*** quasi CJ. 834 **et ideo in populo*** in populo et ideo CJ. 840 **victoria** vincere C.

In prosperitate mundana: sic posuerunt Iudei et ponunt, et huius opinionis sunt [qui] dicunt Iunonem pulcriorem esse. Aliqui in voluptate; hoc Sarraceni nunc, quondam Epicurei; hii preferunt Venerem. Tercia est secta philosophorum, qui preferunt Palladem, quia in sapientia ponunt felicitatem, ut patet Ethicorum 10 (.7.9; 1178a, 4-9).

Video te fastidienti. Per hoc potest invehi contra eos qui magis attendunt eloquentie quam sapientie, plus voci quam sensui, sicut quidam fatuus plus delectabatur in fractura nucis et sono illo quam in commestione nuclei. Potest enim ministrare in litteris que amicis mittuntur.

Iulius Cesar. Nota quod salubrius est audire consilia pauperum quam divitum.

Foroneus. Etiam legistas mulieres vincunt.

Item, *Utinam semel maritus fuisses*. Sic intelligendum est: melius est fuisse maritum quam futurum fore, quia futuri excecantur voluptate, qui fuerunt sciunt per experientiam infortunium eius. Tamen simpliciter melius est nec fuisse nec futurum fore, nec hoc negat hic. Item hic nota quod quidam clerici, etiam professores theologie, minus perfecti sunt quam iste paganus fuit, quia iste non invidit communicare sapientiam suam. Isti "abscondunt frumentum [et ideo in populo] maledicuntur" (Prov. 11.26).

Valentius imperator. Potest applicari beato Luce sic: "Beatus Lucas merito potest extolli eodem preconio quo Valentium imperatorem extollit Valerius ad Ruffinum, quod obiit *octogenarius et adhuc virgo*. Idem dicit Ieronymus de beato Luca (cf. *PL* 30.567), unde vere de hac *victoria* potuit quasi singulariter *gloriari*, quod *inimicorum maximum domuit, carnem suam*." Item valet quociens materia de [victoria]

on victory or glory.

Cicero. This can be preached to clerics studying at a university to warn them to be wary of women.

Canius. This can be applied in part to the same purpose as the preceding paragraph.

Pacuvius. The wood of the cross is that happy tree in which three evils of human nature—espoused and married, as it were—were hung, that is, consumed. For through the sin of our first parents human nature was made easy to seduce, weak to resist, feeble and remiss at doing good. But this tree is the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, through which we can know what is good and what is evil. Since God who was wise chose pain, it follows that his choice was good. The result is that we are not deceived by ignorance, and the first wife is hung. Also this tree is strong and will not rot; therefore the man who fastens himself to it is strong in resisting, and thus the second wife, powerlessness, perishes. This tree also produces good fruit. Therefore the man who sticks to it becomes diligent and hardworking, and thus is hung the third wife, that is, sloth.

Sulpicius felt. It happens sometimes in a religious order that someone is relieved of duty for a certain fault that the order cannot tolerate, and yet they spare his good name although they punish him as much as they can. To seculars and outsiders this frequently seems unjust and they say, "He was relieved because he was of the court party," or "liberal," or some such. These have not felt all that those near it have. *Sulpicius felt where his shoe pinched him*: the order, which knows its customs, has felt the insolence acutely.

Also it is told elsewhere that this Sulpicius took a stick to his wife every day. When his friends objected, he answered as above. Whence while he had her he beat her, and at last he divorced her. He assigned one cause to both actions, as the story

853 **suspenditur*** suspensa CJ. 861 **autem** *om.* J.

vel de gloria incidit.

Cithero. Hoc est predicabile clericis in universitate studentibus ut caveant a mulieribus.

Caonius. Ad idem potest aptari pro parte sicut precedens paraffus.

Pacuvius. Lignum crucis est illa felix arbor in qua tria nature humane infortunia, quasi desponsata et coniuncta, suspensa, id est consumpta, sunt. Fuit enim per peccatum primorum parentum natura humana effecta facilis ad seducendum, fragilis ad resistendum, debilis et remissa ad bene operandum. Sed lignum istud est lignum scientie boni et mali, per quod scire possumus quid sit bonum, quid malum. Ex quo Deus penam elegit qui sapiens fuit, sequitur quod fuit bonum. Et sic ex hoc habemus ne decipiamur per ignorantiam, et uxor prima [suspenditur]. Item lignum istud est forte et inputribile; ideo qui se illi configit fit fortis ad resistendum, et sic secunda uxor, scilicet inpotentia, perit. Item arbor ista bonos fructus facit. Ideo adherens ei fit diligens et operosus, et sic suspenditur tercia uxor mala, id est negligentia.

Sensit Sulpicius. Contingit aliquando in religione quod aliquis absolvitur ab officio aliquo vel amovetur ex certa culpa quam ordo non debet sustinere, et tamen parcunt fame illius quem puniunt quantum possunt. Secularibus autem et extrinsecis hoc frequenter videtur iniustum; unde dicunt, "Ideo amotus est quia fuit curialis," vel "liberalis," vel aliquid tale. Isti non omnia senserunt sicut propinqui: *Sensit Sulpicius ubi a calceo premebatur* [f. 83]; sensit ordo, qui mores novit, ubi insolescit malus.

Item alibi legitur quod hic Sulpicius omni die uxorem suam virgis cedebat. Qui cum argueretur ab amicis, respondit ut prius. Unde dum tenuit eam, sic verberavit, et tandem repudiavit. Utriusque

says—that he himself felt and knew in her what they did not, but he never said what it was. Perhaps it was a proneness to lechery, and the beatings for a while kept her from acting on it. But when in the end he could not tame his wife's appetites, he divorced her, and yet kept her failing hidden.

Thus it happens in the religious life. For God commanded in the Law that if the whiteness of leprosy appeared on a man, he would first be secluded by a priest, and the priest would determine whether it was growing; and if it was, he would put him out of the city. There is an example for superiors here about what is lawful for them. They also have the right to flog young people to an extent because they are prone to lechery, not because they are bad, but lest they turn bad. Ecclesiasticus 11: "The affliction of an hour maketh one forget great delights." An example in nature: meat must be salted before it goes bad, otherwise it will be worthless. Bernard is of this opinion in his letter to his nephew Robert. There is a relevant story in the Lives of the Fathers, how an abbot ordered flogging for a whole year for a man who was tempted by an evil spirit of fornication, and in that way neutralized the temptation. But when the abbot asked the man at the end of the year if the temptation had stopped, he replied, "I am not even allowed to live, how can I fornicate?" What Sulpicius did can be used to make the same point, though the story is not told here.

Cato of Utica said. The plural "gods" is applied sometimes to the one God who is God in His essence, sometimes to good angels, sometimes to good men. In the first sense, woman did not keep the gods from the earth: rather, the blessed woman Mary drew God down from heaven to earth. Likewise of "gods" in the second sense. For God the Father endowed Mary with a great privilege, and in a way made her equal to Himself so that of the one Son He might be the father and she the mother. God

881 **hore** ho *with space* C. 893 **immo** imo J.

causam assignavit unam, sub exemplo predicto, quod ipse sensit in ea et scivit quod non ipsi, nec tamen quid hoc fuit expressit. Forte fuit pronitas ad lasciviam, et tribulatio talis ad tempus compescuit eam, ne in actum procederet. Unde cum tandem petulantiam mulieris sedare non posset, eam repudiavit, et tamen defectum eius celavit.

Sic fit in religione. Ita enim precepit Dominus in lege (Lev. 13.4-7) de leproso, quod si appareret in eo candor lepre, prius includeretur a sacerdote, et sacerdos consideraret si cresceret; et si sic, eum abiceret extra castra. Ex hoc habetur exemplum prelatis, quod licitum est eis; et etiam discretio est affligere quodammodo iuvenes, quia proni sunt ad lasciviam; non quia mali sunt, sed ne mali deveniant. Ecclesiastici 11 (.29): "Malicia [hore] oblivionem facit luxurie maxime." Exemplum in natura: caro salienda est antequam feteat, aliter parum valebit. Huius sententie est beatus Bernardus ad Robertum nepotem suum (*PL* 182.77). Historia ad hoc in Vitis Patrum (*PL* 73.810), quomodo abbas ordinavit iniurias fieri per annum integrum ei qui spiritu fornicationis temptabatur, et sic adnullavit in eo temptationem. Qui cum in fine anni quereretur ab eo si cessavit temptatio, respondit, "Vivere non licet, et quomodo fornicari libet?" Ad idem est factum Sulpicii ut dictum est, licet hic non legatur.

Ait Cato Uticensis. Dii vocantur in plurali unus Deus qui est Deus per essentiam, aliquando boni angeli, aliquando boni viri. Primo modo, mulier non impedivit deos a terra, immo mulier benedicta Maria Deum de celis ad terras attraxit. Et idem dicendum de diis secundo modo. Nam hanc Deus Pater magno privilegio donavit, et sibi quodammodo adequavit ut unius filii esset ille pater et illa

the Son dwelt in her body, the Holy Ghost overshadowed her, the angel made his annunciation to her.

But Cato's remark is true enough in the third sense, in which it means, "If the world could be without women, human intercourse in it would not be without virtuous men." Or you could say that Cato was expressing an impossibility, as if he were saying, "Just as the world cannot go on existing without women, so too human intercourse would not be possible if angels did not watch over it," as Dionysius implies in *The Angelic Hierarchy*. Valerius, though, applies it in still another sense, as if women kept angels off the earth, and he insists that it is true because Cato never lied, authenticating not merely this saying of Cato's but all his sayings. If only modern Christians would imitate this pagan, who *spoke nothing except things true and known*! For not even true things should be spoken when they are not fully known.

But since there are in fact angels on earth, as is evident from their frequent appearances and doings, and from the authority of the saints, how should women keep them off the earth, especially when every woman has her own guardian angel? The more women are born, the more gods, that is, angels there are on earth. The answer is that angels are, or can be, on earth in various ways and degrees. They can be on earth in simply standing by to us and in being obedient to God, as they are believed to be in church, where they station themselves out of reverence for the Lord's body, and obey God Who sends them for that purpose, yet sometimes do not protect wicked men in church, but oppress them. Therefore a Collect says, "May your holy angels dwell in it and keep us in peace," that is, not only stand by us but protect us. And they can protect us in varying degrees, sometimes from the evil of pain or

903-4 **conversatio humana** humana conversatio J.

mater. Deus Filius eam corporaliter inhabitavit, Spiritus Sanctus obumbravit, angelus nuntiavit.

Potest autem intelligi verum tertio modo, ut sit iste sensus, "Si absque femina posset esse mundus, in eodem loco conversatio humana non esset absque viris virtuosis." Vel potest dici quod Cato hoc dixit tanquam inpossibile, quasi dicat, "Sicut inpossibile est quod mundus duret sine feminis existens, ita nec conversatio humana potest esse, nisi angelis eam regentibus," sicut vult Dionysius *De angelica ierarchia*. Tamen ad alium sensum adducit hoc Valerius, quasi femine impediant presentiam angelorum in terra; et hoc asserit verum, quia Cato non nisi vera dixit, et in hoc Valerius non dictum istud Catonis sed omnia eius dicta autenticat. Utinam moderni Christiani hunc gentilem imitarentur, qui nulla *nisi vera et cognita loquebatur*! Nec enim vera loquenda sunt dum dubia sunt.

Sed cum constet quod angeli sunt in terris, ut patet per eorum frequentem apparitionem et operationem, et per auctoritatem sanctorum, quomodo eos femine a terra impediant, presertim cum quelibet femina suum angelum habeat? Ergo quanto plures femine nascuntur, tanto plures dii, id est angeli, sunt in terra. Dicendum quod angeli diversis modis et gradibus sunt vel esse possunt in terra. Possunt enim esse in terra simplici assistentia quo ad nos, et obedientia quo ad Deum, sicut creduntur esse in ecclesia, ubi propter reverentiam corporis dominici sunt et obediunt Deo eos ad hoc mittenti—sed tamen malos qui sunt in ecclesia aliquando non protegunt, sed aliquando in eisdem locis opprimunt. Ideo dicitur in Collecta: "Angeli tui sancti habitantes in ea nos in pace custodiant," id est, non solum assistant, sed etiam protegant. Protegere autem possunt diversis gradibus, aliquando ne malum pene vel

ruin, sometimes from mortal sin; sometimes also they save us from venial sins. But an angel can also be said to be on earth for some delight, as, for example, delighting there in the good and chaste morals of men, who would be good and chaste if the presence of women did not entice them into sin—and this is perhaps the best way to take it.

An objection: men could be impure for other causes than just women: indeed most would perhaps at times be even more impure. I reply that that is not true. Take twenty men and separate them from women, and take another twenty of the same order and let them live among women: the second group will commit many more sins than the first. Therefore women keep the angels away.

Morally, there are five things to note about Cato. First, his condition in life, which the commentary explains. Second, his opinion, that it is useful to be separated from women and pleasure. The Epicureans thought just the opposite, and many nowadays do too. Third, his speech, which was *of nothing but true things and things he knew*. Fourth, the conforming of his adage with other true things. This adage is well put: *The pleasure pleases, but the sin stings*. Fifth, the poetical confirming of the adage with an example from nature: just as the rose beneath its lovely delightful leaves has many thorns, so sexual delight has many hidden griefs and pains, which is why poets have likened the rose to Venus. May his life be a model for us to follow, his opinion a model for us to think likewise, his speech for us to speak likewise, his adages for us to recall constantly, his similes for impressing his adages on us more firmly.

Metellus. He chose freedom over riches, pleasure, power, reputation—the freedom that consists in not being tied down by a woman, to marry whom is to be subjugated. Whence Aristotle says in the *Categories* that the way a man is said to have

926 **venialibus** venalibus C. 931 **immo** imo J. 952 **modus** *om*. C.

confusionis eveniat, aliquando ne mortale incidat; aliquando etiam a [venialibus] conservant. Potest etiam dici esse in terra per quandam delectationem utpote delectans in ea bonis et castis moribus hominum, qui casti et boni forent nisi presentia feminarum eos ad malum alliceret, et sic forsan potest sanius intelligi.

Contra, alio modo quam ex feminis possent homines esse inpuri, immo inpuriores forsan essent ad tempus plerique. Dicendum quod hoc non est verum. Accipiantur xx viri et separentur a feminis, et accipiantur alii xx eiusdem ritus et secte et vivant inter mulieres: multo plura mala committent isti secundi quam primi, et sic presentia mulierum obest presentie angelorum.

Notanda moraliter sunt hic 5 de Catone. Primo, vite eius condicio, ut patet in expositione. Secundo eius opinio, quod utile est sequestrari a mulieribus et voluptate, cuius contrarium opinabantur Epicurei, et plerique nunc etiam opinantur. Tertio eius locutio, que *non fuit nisi de veris et cognitis*. Quarto sententie sue cum aliis veracibus conformatio. Hec est autem sententia pulchre dicta: "*Placet delectatio, pungit delictum*." Quinto sententie sue poetica confirmatio, et hoc sub exemplo naturali: sicut rosa sub pulchris et delectabilibus foliis continet multos aculeos, sic delectatio venerea continet occulte multa gravamina et penas, unde poete rosam Veneri aptaverunt. Utinam sit eius vita nobis in exemplum ad sequendum, opinio ad idem sentiendum, locutio ad similiter loquendum, sentencia ad iugiter memorandum, similitudo ad forcius inprimendum.

Metellus. Plus elegit libertatem quam divicias, voluptatem, potentiam, famositatem—libertatem, inquam, que est in solutione a muliere, cui coniungi est subici. Unde dicit Aristoteles in libro Predicamentorum (15) quod est "alienissimus [modus] habendi"

a wife is the oddest kind of having, because though he seems to have, he is had. The moral to be drawn here is that one great good, especially freedom, is better than many little goods that seem great, such as riches and the others listed above. Similarly, Bernard says, "Think of three things before you act: Is it lawful? is it fitting? Is it worth it?" Likewise, note that it is dangerous to offend wives, because wives drag their husbands to the side they want them on—whence the *predicates*, that is, husbands are *such as the subjects*, that is, wives *permit*.

Lais the Corinthian. Note here that to look up toward heaven helps you stay chaste. Whence it is said that Demosthenes, *looked up to heaven, and said, "I will not buy*, etc." Whence the priests in Daniel who were enflamed with lust "turned their eyes that they might not look unto heaven, etc." Note too that men who stay chaste are compared to stones. And note that it is better not to commit what you will repent of than to repent what you committed.

Livia. *Aconiton* (or *aconita*, penultimate long), etc., as in the commentary. Morally, the hating wife is worldly adversity, the loving and beloved wife is worldly prosperity. And no matter how well or badly a man gets along in the world he will die at the hands of one or the other of these wives. Or the two wives can be the justice and mercy of God. For if a man goes solely by God's justice, always considering it and never His mercy, he will die spiritually by falling into despair, and if he considers only mercy, by presumption. We should fear God's justice and as we fear we should hope for His mercy. Whence someone: "If there is fear without hope, despair wounds; and unless hope fears, presumption damns. So neither fear without hope nor hope

970-71 **vel . . . expositione** *om.* J. 979-81 **Si . . . timore** versus *in margin* CJ.

quemadmodum vir dicitur habere uxorem, hoc est, quia cum videatur habere, magis habetur. Ex isto moraliter elicitur quod melius est vnum magnum bonum, precipue libertas, quam multa parva bona que tamen magna videntur, puta divicie et cetera predicta. Item dicit Bernardus, "Omnem operationem tuam consideratio trina precedat: primo an liceat, secundo an deceat, tertio an expediat" (*De consideratione, PL* 182.766). Item nota quod periculum est offendere uxores, quia uxores trahunt viros ad partem quam volunt, unde *talia sunt predicata*, id est viri, *qualia subiecta*, id est mulieres, *permiserint* [f. 83v].

Lais Corinthia. Nota hic quod respicere in celum iuvat ad castitatem servandam. Unde dicitur quod Demostenes *in celum suspiciens, ait, "Non emo*, etc." Unde illi sacerdotes in Daniele (13.9), qui concupiscentia exarserunt "declinaverunt oculos suos ut non viderent celum, etc." Item notandum quod viri constantes in castitate lapidibus comparantur. Item nota quod melius est non committere penitenda quam penitere commissa.

Livia. Achoniton (vel achonita, penultima producta) etc., sicut in expositione. Moraliter, uxor odiens est adversitas mundi, uxor diligens et dilecta prosperitas mundi. Et quocumque modo homo cum mundo tractaverit, altera uxorum istarum quodammodo morietur. Vel potest aptari ad iusticiam Dei et misericordiam. Sive enim aliquis adhereat soli iusticie, illam considerans et non misericordiam, moritur spiritualiter, in desperationem cadens. Si solam misericordiam, presumit. Timenda est iusticia, et cum timore est misericordia speranda. Unde quidam,

> Si timor est sine spe, tunc desperatio ledit.
> Et nisi spes timeat, statim presumptio dampnat.

without fear is good."

Deianira. Morally, it happens often that many die the same death they have prepared for others, or by which they have killed another. Thus here, Hercules died from the poisoned shirt after killing others with poisoned arrows. It is a type of the story of Haman and Mordecai. Note also: "Both were just, and no law is fairer than that the artificers of death should perish by their own art." Note too that anyone who believes the devil's promptings is deceived. For he promises delight, or long life, though either one is very short here, and the death that ensues very long. Thus Nessus deceived Deianira, telling her that what was poison was good for love. The poison of love is wanting more. Thus the devil tempts you to greed under color of love, saying, "Earn all the money you want, you will be able to give more alms," and so on. And so for Deianira, that is, for the soul, sometimes *what she contrived to bring her joy ends in tears*.

Twelve labors. When your sermon theme has the word "labor," for example, in the Mass for one martyr or apostle or Doctor of the Church: "I have labored a little, and have found much rest to myself," or for several martyrs: "God will render the wages of their labors," you can bring in the labors of Hercules, because Hercules is the emblem of a virtuous man. He kills the centaurs who represses emotions that sometimes appear human, that is, rational, and yet are horsish or horse-borne, that is, bestial or ruled by bestiality. Again, he kills the lion who tames anger or pride. And so on with the other labors.

Finally. What is said here in condemnation of women is singularly true of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who never *refuses completely* a just petition. For just as foolish women say yes quickly to sin, this woman who is the flower of good women says

986-87 **Iustus . . . sua** versus *in margin* CJ. 991 **amorem** a/rem C. 1003 **imperati** imperate

Ergo timor sine spe, nec spes valet absque timore.

Deianira. Moraliter, sic est frequenter quod multi moriuntur eadem morte quam aliis paraverunt, vel qua alium occiderunt. Sic hic Hercules veneno interule interiit, qui veneno sagitte alios interfecit. Figura de Aman et Mardocheo (Esther 3–7). Item nota:

Iustus uterque fuit nec lex est equior ulla

Quam necis artifices arte perire sua. (Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 1.655–56)

Item nota quando aliquis credit diabolo et sugestioni sue, decipitur. Promittit enim delectationem, vel longam vitam, cum tamen sit utraque hic valde brevis, et mors sequens valde longa. Sic Nessus decepit Deianiram, dicens sibi ad [amorem] valere quod venenum fuit; venenum caritatis cupiditas. Sic diabolus sugerit cupiditatem sub colore caritatis, dicens realiter, "Bonum est pro elemosinis faciendis quod studeas circa ista temporalia, etc." Sicque Deianire, id est anime, aliquando *procedit ad lacrimas quod ad leticiam machinata est*.

Duodecim labores. In thematibus que sunt de labore, puta, unius martyris, apostoli, vel doctoris: "Modicum laboravi et inveni mihi multam requiem" (Ecclus. 51.35); vel plurimorum martyrum; "Reddet Deus mercedem laborum" (cf. Sap. 10.17), potest trahi de laboribus Herculis, quia per Herculem vir virtuosus significatur. Interficit centauros qui monstruosos motus reprimit, qui aliquando apparent humani, id est rationabiles, et tamen sunt equini vel equo portati, id est bestiales vel a bestialitate [imperati]. Secundo interficit leonem qui iram vel superbiam domat; et ita de aliis laboribus.

Tandem. Quod dicitur in vituperium mulierum singulariter est verum de Beata Virgine Maria, que nunquam in petitione iusta *pernegat*. Sicut enim fatue mulieres cito in malum consentiunt, multo magis et citius hec que est flos bonarum mulierum invocata as-

yes much more quickly to those who call upon her. Whence Bernard: "Let him be silent about mercy, Blessed Virgin, who has felt you fail him when he called upon you in his need."

Gold broke through. Note that everything obeys money. Again, *The tree*. Note similarly that those whom the devil cannot destroy through prosperity he destroys through adversity, and those whom he cannot undermine with subtle promptings he sometimes pursues with blatant terror.

(Perriccion), a virgin. I think it is true that a woman can conceive while she is sleeping. But it would be useful for both men and women to know how they can preserve themselves from wicked dreams of this kind. Above all, by sobriety, by occupying the mind vigorously with things opposed to or disparate from sin; by avoiding enticing groups or individuals; by detesting and avoiding filthy talk. And when you are going to sleep, do not reflect on what the saints have said on the subject, because that will make it linger in your memory. The fifth thing is to make the sign of the cross devoutly on your forehead and breast as you go to bed, and commend yourself to God and the Blessed Virgin and your special saints, and especially to the angels. And, as one Doctor suggests, recite the hymn, "Worshipper of God, remember that you have been bathed in the holy dew of the baptismal font, that you have been made new by chrism," and concentrate on the meaning of the words.

Again, morally: something always comes up by which men may die. If they keep themselves from one weakness, they fall into another. Thus *any rose garden will eventually be robbed of its red blossoms by a blast of wind*. Again, here it might be asked whether it is lawful for a person to seek a forbidden liaison in order to produce a remarkable son. Or if someone had begotten a remarkable child outside of marriage,

C. 1016 **huiusmodi** huius C. 1017 **ista** *add* id est C. 1020 **Immo** imo J. 1028-30 **Te . . . innovatum** *om*. J. 1030 **innovatum**: *the C scribe leaves three lines blank after this word*. 1034 **a** *om*. J.

sentit. Unde Bernardus: "Sileat misericordiam tuam, Beata Virgo, qui te in necessitatibus invocatam senserit defuisse" (*PL* 183.428).

Irrupit aurum. Nota pecunie obediunt omnia. Item sic, *Arborem*. Nota similiter hoc, quod diabolus quos non potest deicere prosperitate deicit adversitate, et quos non potest subvertere blanda suggestione, aliquando visibili persequitur terrore.

Penucia virgo. Puto verum esse quod mulier dormiendo possit concipere. Sed quomodo vir et mulier possent se ab [huiusmodi] illusione preservare utile esset scire. Et sunt [ista]: precipue, sobrietas; occupatio mentis intensa circa opposita carnali peccato, vel circa disparata; fuga societatis vel persone allicientis; detestatio et fuga scurrilium verborum. Immo vadens dormitum non debet respicere dicta sanctorum circa illam materiam, quia facient in eo memoriam illius rei. Quintum est quod devote se signet dormitum pergens signo crucis in fronte et pectore, et commendet se Deo et Beate Virgini et sanctis quibus est devotus, et precipue angelis. Et sicut dicit unus doctor, dicat illum himpnum (Prudentius, *Hymnus ante somnum, PL* 59.838–39),

> Cultor Dei, memento
> Te fontis et lavacri
> Rorem subisse sanctum
> Te crismate innovatum,

et applicet mentem eius ad sententiam ympni.

Item moraliter, semper aliquid evenit unde homines moriantur. Si se de una infirmitate servant, incidunt in aliam. Sicut *omne rosarium aliquo turbine a sua purpura spoliatur*. Item hic querendum esset utrum liceat alicui appetere concubitum prohibitum ad generandum filium optimum. Vel si quis extra matrimonium genuisset op-

whether he should be glad he did. It seems that he should, from what Valerius says here, *if such a thing may be well*. But it should be said that a man should not hope to produce a John the Baptist out of such a liaison. And even if he had, as often as he remembered his act he would have been sorry for it. For it was not his act that made his son so good but an act of God, Who sometimes draws the best out of the worst.

My friend, does it shock you. This whole chapter is moral and without other application, and is especially good to follow up a story of pagans who live virtuously.

Venus's. Note from this that we should always take our models of good living from what is better.

Hard. You do not throw away a nut because the shell is bitter; you keep it because the meat is sweet. Bernard says a like thing in his sermon on the death of Saint Hubert, "I know that it is hard for a dissolute man to learn discipline, for a wordy man to keep still, for a man used to wandering to stay in one place; but it is a lot harder to endure the pains to come."

But lest I hang you up in a long. Because prolixity, however useful, is boring. Even useless advice, if it is brief, is at least pleasing in its brevity.

timum filium, utrum sibi gaudendum esset. Videtur quod sic, ex hoc quod hic dicit, *Si quidem bene* [f. 84]. Sed dicendum quod homo non deberet velle de tali concubitu generare ita sanctum hominem sicut Iohannes Baptista. Et si genuisset, quociens recordaretur de facto suo, doleret. Non enim factum suum fuit quod filius eius est ita bonus, sed factum Dei, qui aliquando de pessimis optima elicit.

Amice, miraris. Totum capitulum est morale sine alia applicatione, et precipue valet quociens aliqua historia gentilium virtuose viventium prius narratur.

Veneris. Nota ex hoc quod semper a melioribus sumenda sunt exempla vivendi.

Dura est. Non propter amaritudinem corticis abicienda est nux, sed tenenda propter dulcedinem nuclei. Simile dicit Bernardus in sermone de obitu Sancti Huberti, sic: "Scio quia durum est dissoluto disciplinam apprehendere, verboso silentium tenere, vagari solito stabilem permanere; sed multo durius est futuras molestias tolerare" (*PL* 183.518).

Sed ne te longo. Quod quantumcumque utilia sunt que prolixa sunt, fastidio sunt. Inutilia dum brevia sunt, ex aliqua parte placent, scilicet in eo quod brevia sunt.

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COMMENTARY SIX:
LAMBETH 330 (SELECTIONS)

The commentary found in Lambeth Palace 330 is the longest surviving commentary on Map's "Dissuasio." But its length is well-matched by the sophistication of its contents and the elaborateness of its presentation. Lambeth Palace 330 is a vellum ms., s. xiv/xv, ii + 115 folios, 280 x 195 mm. The hand is a single textura quadrata, 32 lines per page.

Contents:

1. ff. 1-11v: the extensive hortatory prologue to the commentary, inc. "Amicus fidelis, protectio fortis," Ecclesiastici 6. Dicit Ieronimus super illud Matthei 12, "Omne regnum in se divisum . . . ."[1]

2. ff. 12-106v: the commentary proper, divided into thirty-six *partes* and with an elaborate marginal indexing system.

3. ff. 107-14: an alphabetical *tabula* for the text.

Collation:

1-14⁸, 15⁴ (-4); the final surviving leaf is blank.

Provenance:

The only signs of medieval use that the manuscript shows are a few fifteenth-century marginal notations, most of them identifying "versus" used in the commentary. Fol. 115 has a distich called "Proprietates cervi": "Amne natans, portat, vorat ydras, cornua mutat; / Os senis oscussit, salit et sitit et iuvenessit"[2] (not in Walther, *Spr.*). More extensive are sixteenth-century annotations, apparently in the hand of Thomas Bemond, who signs and writes notes on ff. iv and ii. We have been unable to identify him.

Description:

M. R. James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930-32), pp. 435-36.

1. The prologue is divided into four *distinctiones*, each based on a word in the text which provides the incipit; it argues that Valerius wrote the "Dissuasio" to fulfill four requirements of friendship—"vera dilectio," "dilectionis indeficiens continuatio," "subvencio contra nociva," and "subvencionis constancia" (f. 1).

2. Swimming a river, it carries [other deer], it swallows snakes whole, it changes its horns: [when] it has rubbed its face in the dirt [rubbed off its antlers, and grown new ones], it leaps, thirsts, is young once more. Ydras=hydras; oscussit is apparently a coinage, obs-cutio, like concutio/excutio/percutio; senis=caenis. Probably schoolboy verse. All the facts appear in DPR 18.30. The second line expands on the shedding of antlers; it is illuminated by Psalm 42.1-2 (As the deer thirsts for water, so my soul thirsts for God) and exegesis of it, e.g. Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, "Festinant ad baptismum, ut juvenescant, 'quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum'" (PL 170.189), or this remark in the *Expositio in Psalmis* of Gerhoh of Reichersberg, "Cervus serpentes occidit et comedit, cornua ac pilos deponit et juvenescit" (PL 196.618). Indeed, the whole couplet could be based on Gerhoh's remark.

This careful manuscript assemblage was the collaborative effort of at least four individuals. Primary was, of course, the scribe, who copied both the main text and the index at the end.[3] In addition to the commentary proper, he also performed a certain amount of work in red ink. He used this to copy the text of the "Dissuasio," split into thirty-six sections, each standing at the head of the appropriate commentary division: their spacing, vis a vis the commentary, indicates that the scribe simply wrote these as they came up in the course of the whole work. The scribe probably was not copying from an autograph, although, given that the text consists largely of quotation, it is hard to be certain; some manifest scribal errors in his production imply that Lambeth 330 is at least two removes from an authorial holograph.[4]

In addition to the scribe, there was also a rubricator who seems to have treated the pages later. He is responsible for two parts of the apparatus of the volume—its running titles and indexing guide letters. His hand, so far as it can be distinguished (almost the only words he writes in full are numerals and "pars"), appears more current than the scribe's, perhaps a formal anglicana. He followed guide letters in plummet left by the original scribe; for the indexing letters he provided highly decorative cursive capitals, generally one per page. In addition, the rubricator seems to have added, as appropriate, paraphs and red slashes on a number of capitals, especially early in the text.[5]

The finishing of the codex involved at least two artists. One of them painted the elaborate decoration of the opening leaf (f. 1); the other was essentially a limner of initials. Fol. 1, as we will see, has a full border, with other decoration, and is the product of a provincial hand that Kathleen Scott in a personal communication dates in the 1390s.

The second artist contributed at least one of the codex's two sets of capitals. This individual certainly produced the thirty-six ornate ones at the head of each section of Map's text; either he or the rubricator provided the thirty-nine two-line high blue capitals with red penwork tracery at the start of each com-

3. The text is in single column, the *tabula* double column. Although the writing of the latter is smaller and more cramped, the hand appears to us the same.

4. For example, on f. 3v, the manuscript gives "salutem" for the correct "sal" of the quoted source (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, transl. Grosseteste, pp. 302/22-303/2).

5. The indexing signs end at f. 78v (the letter E within part 28). The *tabula* continues to offer index material after this point, however; cf. "Item de bonitate coniugii nota plura notabilia, pars 36.f.g" (f. 108va), with reference to 4.94-145 in our edition below. The completeness of the *tabula,* together with the fact that the guide letters in the text seem to mark off page units of a size slightly larger than the actual pages of Lambeth 330, suggests that the manuscript provides a reference system inherited from its exemplar.

mentary section and of the three inner divisions of the prologue. The ornate capitals are squarish and nearly always four text lines high (three lines on f. 69, five on ff. 57v and 67v), elaborately ornamented and colored. No two capitals are identical: all have diapered, fully-painted floral grounds, with painted leaf-sprays extending into the margins. A wide variety of colors is used. This hand Lucy Freeman Sandler believes may be later than that of the first leaf, perhaps of the fifteenth century.

The decoration of f. 1 is particularly important as an indication of possible provenance. This page has a full border of rather stiff and geometric red and blue vine, into which are intertwined the decorative initial A for the prologue (not historiated, but containing a circle of acorns and oak leaves), as well as a dragon and a hooded man. In the upper left corner, a loop of vine above the initial encloses a white swan gorgetted with a golden crown, a device which M. R. James associated with that of the Bohuns.[6] This badge is balanced, in a lozenge in the lower right corner of the border, by the letter "R," perhaps, as Sandler has suggested to us, for the recipient of the letter, Rufinus. But certainly the implication of the decoration is that the swan also identifies the particular late fourteenth-century Rufinus for whose use this very opulent copy was made.

Here the most obvious possible patron of Lambeth 330 is royal. The Bohun swan was a badge used by Henry IV and Henry V: the former inherited it through his first wife, Mary Bohun, who died in early July 1394. The badge here does not resemble the accepted Henry IV/Bohun swan in the presentation copy of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Huntington Library, EL 26 A 17 (1393). (Nor is the border vine-work of the two manuscripts comparable.) However, Scott tells us that she thinks the swan-badge rather similar to another in a volume she believes presented to either Henry IV or Henry V before he ascended the throne, Bodleian Library, Digby 233, f. 199v. Scott thinks that the heraldry of the first leaf and its dating associate the volume with the widower Henry of Derby—perhaps as a suggestion that he might profitably remain a widower.[7]

But Lancastrian kings are not the only persons who used the swan as a badge and not the only possible recipients of either Digby 233 or Lambeth 330. Scott's

6. However, the Bohuns were not the only family to use this device, only the most visible; see Wagner 1959, with plates. Wagner categorically identifies the Lambeth swan with the Bohuns (p. 127) and provides a photograph (plate 36g). But his genealogical material suggests other possible dedicatees—in addition to those we mention below, the Courtenay Earls of Devon (see plate 37f and j). For a variety of information and suggestions on the art-historical aspects of the volume, we are especially indebted to Scott and Sandler.

7. There is a photograph of the page from EL 26 A 17 in Scattergood and Sherborne 1983, plate

assessment of the former manuscript is not thoroughly compelling. This swan might well be associated with yet another user of the badge (and another "R"), Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who died in 1439.

A. I. Doyle links Digby 233, on the basis of language and illumination, with a group of southwestern manuscripts. Two of these have strong associations with Beauchamp's father-in-law, Sir Thomas Berkeley (as indeed does Digby 233).[8] Richard Beauchamp might have received Lambeth 330 as a very young man in the early 1390s, before he married Elizabeth Berkeley and while he was only beginning his impressive career as "the flower of English chivalry." (He was a widower, and thus again a potential recipient of the counsel of Lambeth 330, for a brief time in 1422–23.) His lifesized recumbent bronze effigy in St Mary's church, Warwick exemplifies his devotion to the swan(badge). As part of the mortuary display, a titling helmet with swan crest lies by his head, and his sightline runs directly to a roof boss that depicts a gorgeted swan. Thus, while one cannot be utterly certain about the provenance of Lambeth 330, the badge certainly identifies it as aristocratic, thoroughly in keeping with the opulence of the volume, and one would imagine the book prepared by someone like a confessor as sage advice for some great man.

Hanna has discussed the genesis of the commentary in his essay, "Compilatio and the Wife of Bath: Latin Backgrounds, Ricardian Texts." Here we first summarize, and then extend, that earlier treatment.

When discussed in the past, Lambeth 330 has been felt to be of minimal interest because derived totally from the early fourteenth-century Parisian florilegium *Manipulus florum*.[9] It is certainly evident that the author knew and pillaged that work. But both Pratt and the Rouses concentrate upon the prologue alone, and although that portion of the commentary is almost totally derived from *Manipulus florum*, the remainder was created by very different means.

15 after p. 148. The border foliage in this manuscript, although much more schematic, resembles that of Cambridge, Trinity Hall 17 (the presentation copy [1395] of Roger Dymmok's anti-Lollard work, given to Richard II and with a portrait of the king); see Steel 1941, plate facing p. vi. In addition, Scott points out to us Malcolm Parkes's tentative identification of another Bohun swan at Oxford, Keble College 47, f. 57^{v}; see Parkes 1979, pp. 218 and 221 (plate 121).

8. Doyle, "English Books In and Out of Court from Edward III to Henry VII," in Scattergood and Sherborne 1983, pp. 163–81, at p. 173. For Beauchamp use of the swan badge, see Warner, "Swan-Badge," plate 36b (Richard) and 36d (his father, Thomas, earl of Warwick, d. 1400). Ralph Hanna has discussed Digby 233 and Richard Beauchamp on two occasions; see Hanna 1989 ("Sir Thomas Berkeley), pp. 897–98, 900–1; and Hanna 1996 ("John Shirley"), p. 99.

9. See Pratt 1962, esp. pp. 16–20; and Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse 1979, p. 210.

The author began with a fairly typical late copy of the "Dissuasio." But within late manuscripts, it stands out from the persistent groups attached to other commentaries (see pp. 11–13 above, "A Note on the Later English Transmission of the Text of *Dissuasio Valerii*"). Significantly, the widely disseminated variant we chose for that note does not appear in Lambeth. Nor does it occur in Bu (Burney 360), which shows such persistent agreement in error with Lambeth that they probably derive from the same archetype. And the source of this lost exemplar was likely a derivative of our early copy Ry; this manuscript shares many readings also common to the later pair, and the three of them agree in unique error on a handful of occasions.[10]

Lambeth 330 is a compilatio, as that was understood in the fourteenth century, a joining together of the statements of others, auctores of the past.[11] The compiler divided Map's text into appropriate units—first the thirty-six large divisions, then these into smaller units, eventually ranging down to the single phrase. In beginning his explanation of any passage, he rearranged Map's elegantly ordered prose to make its grammatical relationships utterly clear, and he offered explanation of Map's verbal choices by citing definitions from quite standard authorities, Isidore of Seville and Hugutio of Pisa.[12]

But most of the commentary provides a sustained moral reading. Here the author shows himself an astute user of indexes to knowledge. He checked Map's words (or their near synonyms) against a bible concordance to find key scriptural verses which could explain their moral purport. And he then offered as his moral explanation of the "Dissuasio" standard readings of the most appropriate proof-text he had discovered. Often this step was very simple: after using his concordance, the compiler just provided the text of the ordinary gloss, as he found it in his glossed bible.[13] More frequently, he used the pellucid arrangement of *Manipulus florum*, key words alphabetically arranged along with elaborate cross-referencing, to find moral materials appropriate to the context. But most frequently of all, he had recourse to further indexes.

10. Bu and Lambeth approach something like 80% agreement in their texts. Among isolated readings they alone share are: **67 odorem . . . gloriam** *trs phrs;* **84 Mirra** Misra; **153 errasse** erravisse; **162 deesset** defuisset; **178 michi spem** *trs*. Ry joins them in unique errors at: **28 miser** tu miser; **170 respondit** alt; **190 fulmineus Libs** *trs;* **232 movisse** movere; **327 producit** promovet.

11. On compiling, see Minnis 1979.

12. There are about 120 citations of Isidore's *Etymologies* (and another fifteen of "De summo bono," i.e. the *Sententiae*). Hugutio is cited about 110 times, and the commentator makes five scattered references to the twelfth-century lexicographer Papias.

13. There are about 35 direct references to the glossa; a variety of other invocations of authority under the name of one Father or another may be from the gloss (see below, p. 385).

For the author was quite serious in his efforts to acquire the most authoritative comments on specific scriptural loci. And even a cursory look at the works cited in the commentary will convince one that the commentator accorded at least two (groups of) works a privileged position. These were, first, Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, with some use of his homilies, both those on Ezechiel and those on the gospels, and his *Cura pastoralis*; and second, Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, along with a number of other works by Augustine. In Lambeth 330, citations from these (groups of) works occur unremittingly.[14]

Moreover, even when the same materials are available through *Manipulus florum*, that text is not the source of the Lambeth compiler's Gregory and Augustine quotations. The manuscript lacks distinctive readings found in *Manipulus florum* and was clearly constructed from the originals, not from it. In returning to those originals, however, the commentator was after all merely following the injunctions of *Manipulus florum*'s compiler, Thomas of Ireland:

> We have indicated, at the end of this work, the books of these authors, giving their names and the number of parts in the book, as well as incipits and explicits. In this way, they may be more easily recognized and cited with greater confidence. . . . You, reader, should not despise the fertile field of the original texts, just because I have given you these modest ears of corn; only a thoughtless man neglects a fire to try warming himself with sparks, or attempts to slake his thirst with drops of dew while ignoring a running stream.[15]

To take a transparent example of this independence from *Manipulus florum*, one might consider the quotation of *Moralia* 2.1.1 on f. 89v. The compiler obviously was drawn to the passage by *Manipulus florum*; he had just cited Jerome from *Manipulus florum,* Scriptura sacra ah, and a version of the Gregory passage forms the adjacent Scriptura Sacra ai. But when the commentator quoted Gregory, he did so from his manuscript of the *Moralia* and produced a passage nearly twice the length of that in Thomas of Ireland's compendium. Further, his

14. Gregory is cited between 95 and 100 times, of which no more than eighteen readings can be from *Manipulus florum*. Most of these derived references are to works other than the *Moralia* (cited seventy times). Forty-six of the more than 140 Augustine citations probably come from *Manipulus florum*; however, none of the sixty of *De civitate* can be from that source. Citations from other works of Augustine, including *De bono viduitatis, De bono coniugali, De doctrina, De vera religione, De Genesi ad litteram,* and various sermons, seem to be from the originals.

15. "Istorum autem auctorum libros quantum ad principia et fines et nomina et parcialium librorum numerum in fine huius operis signavi *ut facilius possent cognosci et securius allegari* .... Propter has autem modicas spicas, agrum fertilem originialium non despicias; improvidus enim est qui neglecto igne se per scintillas nititur calefacere, et qui contempto fonte per roris gutturas sitim conatur extinguere." Cited, with this emphasis added, from Rouse and Rouse, 1979: 238. The Rouses discuss the passage in their "Bibliography before Print" (1986), p. 150.

quotation corresponds to the Gregorian text, as printed in *PL* or *CC*, without *Manipulus florum*'s two transpositions, one insertion, one omitted phrase, one omitted word, and three additional substantive variants.

The citations from Isidore's "De summo bono," i.e. the *Sententiae*, show a similar independence. Ten could be directly from *Manipulus florum*, but the remaining five derive from consultation of the original. For example, the citation of *Manipulus florum* Amicitia ah (from 3.29.6, *PL* 83:703) on f. 9 provoked a search of the immediate context in the compiler's Isidore manuscript. This produced additional, non-*Manipulus florum* material interlarded over the next folio—3.29.3-5 (*PL* 83:703) is cited on f. 9v and 3.28.3 (*PL* 83:702) on f. 10.

To find such materials for his purposes, the author must have relied upon further indexes to knowledge. He would have needed to use some kind of exegetical index, which provided direction to discussions of particular biblical passages. And the index must clearly have provided extended coverage of the compiler's two favorite works, the *Moralia* and *De civitate Dei*. A university context, for example an Oxford college, or, better, the library of a friars' *studium*, would have provided ample materials on which to base such research procedures. Given the paucity both of surviving books and of records from mendicant libraries, some details about one well-documented Oxford college may suggest those materials to which a researcher might have access.[16]

Balliol College, Oxford owned enough volumes of *tabule theologie* c. 1385 to assign them shelfmarks separate from other *libri theologici*.[17] Moreover, in this context, surviving Balliol books are particularly instructive. Balliol 5 (s. xiii/xiv) contains two very large indexes—Robert Kilwardby's *Tabula originalium Augustini* and an anonymous index to the *Moralia*, with an appended list of scriptural passages commented on by Gregory. Balliol 80 (s. xv med.) has a table for Jerome's

16. For the poverty of both surviving records and books, see Humphreys 1990, passim. On the development of university libraries, see Parkes 1992, esp. pp. 431-45, which treat the precocity of the mendicants at insuring corporate access to books (on the paucity of evidence for their collections, see pp. 435-40; on communal preparation of concordances and indexes of the sort useful in producing Lambeth 330, pp. 443-45). Although college libraries developed rapidly through the fourteenth century (see pp. 458-59), towards 1400 a variety of secular (and Lollard) protests against a perceived fraternal monopoly on the tools of learning survive; see the Rouses, 1987 (and Parkes 1992: 455-56), for other examples).

17. For the separately catalogued indexes, see Mynors, 1963: xv-xvi. For the books we mention, see pp. 5, 65, 210-12. Note further Balliol 280A and 280B, two-thirds of a three-volume set of the *Moralia* (s. xiii in., but not certainly at Balliol in the Middle Ages), which have been marked for an index (Mynors, pp. 296-97). On Robert Kilwardby, see Emden, *BRUO,* pp. 1051-52, with bibliography (including Daniel A. Callus 's two articles on the *Tabulae super originalia patrum*).

letters, and Balliol 215 (s. xiii ex., xiv) is composed of a series of indexes, including Augustine, Gregory (with once again a list of "auctoritates biblie exposite in libris"), Peter Lombard, and Hugh of St. Victor. Balliol 216 and 217 (s. xv med. and 1401-3) contain the *Tabula septem custodiarum*, an immense exegetical index prepared by the Oxford Franciscans in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.[18]

But it remains uncertain to what degree the author actually investigated the works of Fathers other than Augustine and Gregory, as opposed to culling bits from compilations. Although he quotes a heady list of Christian *auctoritates*, he could have gathered most of the specific citations from *Manipulus florum*. Yet simultaneously, the compiler recognized the centrality of Jerome to his subject; he cites him on seventy-three occasions, only thirty-one from *Manipulus florum* (outside the prologue, the ratio is sixty-four citations, twenty-four from *Manipulus florum*). He certainly rifled a copy of *Adversus Jovinianum*, cited twenty-three times; in addition, he may have had a copy of Jerome's letters.[19] And he makes scattered references, all apparently the result of his own reading, to Gratian's *Decretum*, Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Comestor, and Martinus Polonus.

Still, we think he derived little of the residue of patristic citations from *originalia*. Too many of the quotations are overtly scriptural exegesis. All eight references to Haymo and all five to Rabanus probably come from appropriate loci in the ordinary gloss. And for those bits of patristic exegesis unparalleled in *Manipulus florum*, the commentator almost certainly relied upon Thomas Aquinas's *Catena aurea*, a voluminous consecutive reading of the gospels composed of lengthy excerpts. Here pointing toward a single passage, our selection iv, lines 136-43, will constitute definitive proof; the three interpretations of John 3:29 quoted there, including that of the infrequently encountered Theophylactus, occur together in this order in Aquinas's treatment of this biblical passage. The citation of the obscure Severian of Gabala (iv.277-81) comes from the *Catena* as well.

Thus, the Lambeth commentator's activity is quite uneven in its nature.

18. See the Rouses and Mynors, *Registrum Anglie*, 1991, pp. xcviii-cxxvi. We are particularly indebted to the Rouses for many kindnesses: they allowed us to read chapters 5 and 6 of their introduction to this book years before it saw print; and they showed us how to use the *Tabula* and lent us a film of Bodleian Library, Bodley 685, the oldest full copy (1339). Our search of this work, which initially seems very promising as a source (it indexes incidental exegesis of more than a dozen fathers) has proved frustrating. We traced over fifty citations from Lambeth 330 in the *Tabula* and could find references to only eleven, all from Augustine or Gregory and thus more easily available from other sources.

19. Other Christian authors cited include, in order of persistence, Ambrose (cited thirty-five times), Chrysostom, Hugh of St. Victor, Bernard, Cassiodorus (all eighteen citations are certainly from *Manipulus florum*), Bede, Haymo, Rabanus, Alcuin, and Cesarius (the last pair only one citation each.

While perfectly capable of moving with ease through an extensive library and often unpredictably moving beyond set aids to knowledge (see, e.g., our discussion of Isidore above or our explanatory note to 4.31-43), he often appears to have taken the easy way, to cite from standard quotation collections. But this activity, of course, implies both access to reference materials and the learning to use them, and additional factors speak in favor of the author's learnedness. There is a reasonable number of original classical citations in the work, thin for individual authors but impressive in the aggregate.[20] The commentary also includes a large number of verse tags, a fact that suggests training of the sort given preachers, the major users of such couplets. And the commentator also cites a variety of works of Aristotle, especially, but not exclusively, the *Nicomachean Ethics* in Grosseteste's translation.[21] This last feature of the commentary implies that the author's training had been at least equivalent to a degree in Arts.

This learnedness is further confirmed (and possibly specified) by some of the author's "silent reading." Although most of the material in the commentary is clearly source-marked, Lambeth 330 includes its share of silent appropriation. We feel sure that we have not recognized the majority of such borrowings, but we can identify at least the following bits of other authors, not offered as citations but absorbed into the argumentation of the commentary: a dictaminal treatise (f. 51rv, in part 16, Map lines 115-35, to illustrate the cursus, a technique whose use the compiler is at pains to debunk!), Nicholas Trivet's commentary on Boethius, *De consolatione* 4.m 7 (ff. 77v-80, in part 28, Map lines 252-64), and Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 3a, Q. 80, art. 7 (f. 83v, in part 30, Map lines 276-83).[22]

The use of Trivet, Aquinas, and perhaps Grosseteste may allow further professional specification. Thomas's *Summa* was not in the Middle Ages the general

20. These include Boethius eight times (two perhaps from *Manipulus florum*), Claudian twice, Juvenal twice, Lucan twice, Macrobius once, Martianus Capella once, Ovid nineteen times, Plato once, Pliny six times, Priscian once, Virgil three times. The commentator is particularly fond of Seneca and Cicero. He invokes the former sixty times, but in every instance from *Manipulus florum*; Cicero occurs thirty-one times, twenty-four from *Manipulus florum*, the remainder learned commonplaces. (Cf. f. 21, which explains the *partes* of the virtue prudence, used as a structuring device in Thomas 's *Summa,* from *De inventione* 2.53.160.) We have not included the verse tags in our count of authorities invoked; these occur on about forty occasions.

21. Twelve of the fourteen references to "philosophus, 8 (etc.) *Ethicorum,"* are exact quotations of the texts in *Aristoteles latinus*; when chapter numbers are cited, they always agree with Grosseteste's division of the text.

22. Another scholastic *quaestio* we have been unable to trace appears earlier in this part (f. 82^{rv}). The *quaestio* quoted was plainly similar to Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 3^{a}, Q. 28, art. 2, but a logical analysis, rather than Thomas's pietistic one. Cf. the opening: "Ad perfectam autem virginitatem tria requiruntur. Unum est principale et formale, scilicet electio sive intencio voluntatis, sicut in omnibus moribus….

dogmatic model it became after the Council of Trent but primarily used within his own order; conjoined with use of another Dominican, Trivet, and a mendicant favorite, Grosseteste (not himself a friar), this suggests very strongly that the author was a friar, and probably a Dominican. And Dominicans (like members of other mendicant orders) routinely functioned, not just as preachers (hence the number of *versus* in Lambeth 330, as well as annotations calling attention to them), but as confessors of the great, a way of connecting the commentary with the possible noble addressees we have discussed above.

Although Lambeth 330 is a *codex unicus*, there is one indication that the commentary may have had some circulation. An entry in the library catalogue of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, cites an unidentified work with the same incipit.[23] Interestingly for our argument that Lambeth 330 reflects a context learned and mendicant, perhaps specifically Dominican, other works in this lost volume of preaching tools were composed by classicizing friars.

The edition that follows was begun by Pratt. He transcribed the entire manuscript and tracked down the greater number of the sources, usually either to *Manipulus florum* or *PL*. Hanna revised and corrected the transcription, rechecked Pratt's sources, and made assays in a variety of exegetical tools in an effort to ascertain the ways the compiler of Lambeth 330 acquired those sources. He is responsible for expanding upon Pratt's (and the Rouses') account of the composition, as well as for producing the final version of the text here printed.

The manuscript is so long that we have decided to print only excerpts, a group of passages comprising about one-tenth of the whole. However, two full transcripts, Hanna's and Pratt's, together with some notes on sources and a film of the codex, are available in the Yale University Library for those who want to do further research. We give four widely separated passages from Lambeth 330. The first excerpt is the end of the prologue, the compiler's accessus to the work with designation of its author and his purpose. Next come two of the thirty-six *partes* which comprise the analysis of Map's "Dissuasio": part 9 on Solomon, a seminal figure of the duped husband; and part 25, on Marius and Metellus, which discusses positive ideals of marriage. Finally, we give the end of part 36 (and of the work), a peroration (or perhaps better, palinode) which, in a manner reminiscent of "The Thrush and the Nightingale" or Chaucer's *Troilus*, deconstructs the entire proceeding, putting the author, along with the authors of *Parvus* and *Religiosos*, in the anti-Valerius camp.

23. See Pratt, "Jankyn 's Book," pp. 18-19, and our manuscript list in volume 1, p. 264 (the first ms. after number 39). Now see Barker-Benfield 2008, 2.892 for a slightly fuller account of the entry in the catalogue of St Augustine's Abbey.

1.

Ecclesiasticus 12:8: "A friend shall not be known in prosperity." Gregory, *Moralia* 5.3: "When someone is placed in prosperity, if he is loved, it's quite uncertain whether it's prosperity or the person that is loved. The loss of happiness examines the strength of love." True friendship between pilgrims based on both good will and good deeds with fidelity and fortitude flourished among the ancients. From such affection and love, Valerius Maximus wrote an epistle for his friend Rufinus to counsel and exhort him not to get married; rather, while preserving his continence, Rufinus should exert himself in the study of letters and especially of Holy Scripture. This Valerius wrote *On the Memorable Things Said and Done by the Romans and Foreign Peoples*.

He dissuaded Rufinus from marriage by this present epistle, but not because marriage is either evil or a sin. Hence the Apostle, 1 Timothy 5:14: "I will therefore that the younger should marry, bear children, be mistresses of families." According to the gloss there: "It is good to marry and to bear children; nevertheless, one may be dissuaded from it as less good and an impediment to greater good." In 1 Corinthians 7, after the Apostle says (2): "Let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband," he adds (6), "I speak this by indulgence, not by commandment." Haymo: "For I do not command but rather permit." The gloss on this passage: "I do not here issue a command to chastity, but I make a concession to infirmity." Hence marriage is permissible and good so far as the indulgence he concedes and permits; however, it is not so good that there should be a commandment or a counsel to do it.

But virginity is so good, and so lofty a virtue that there is a counsel for it, though not a commandment. 1 Corinthians 7:25: "Now concerning virgins, I have no com-

Corrections to the text

3 **Amissio** Amisso. 10 **memorabilibus** memorialibus.

1.
[on f. 10v]

Ecclesiastici 12 (:8): "Non agnoscitur in bonis amicus." Gregorius, 5 *Moralium* 3: "Cum quis positus est in prosperitate, si diligitur, incertum valde est utrum prosperitas an persona diligatur. Amiss[i]o felicitatis interrogat vim dileccionis." Vera amicicia viatorum ex benivolencia et beneficio cum fidelitate et fortitudine multum vigebat in antiquis. Tali affeccione et dileccione, scripsit Valerius Maximus epistolam amico suo Ruffino, ad consulendum et exhortandum ne duceret uxorem, set quod servata continencia intenderet studio literarum et precipue sacre scripture. Iste Valerius scripsit *De memor[abi]libus dictis et factis Romanorum et gencium exterarum*.

Idem per epistolam presentem Rufino matrimonium dissuasit, non quia sit malum vel peccatum. Unde apostolus, 1 Thimothei 5 (:14): "Volo iuniores nubere, filios procreare et matresfamilias esse." Secundum glossam ibidem: "Bonum est nubere et bonum est filios procreare; potest tamen dissuaderi tanquam minus bonum et boni maioris impedimentum." 1 Corinthiorum 7, postquam dixit Apostolus (2), "Unusquisque suam uxorem habeat, et unaqueque mulier virum suum habeat," addit (6): "Dico secundum indulgenciam, non secundum imperium." Haymo: "quia non precipio, set permitto" (*PL* 117.544). De hoc in glossa: "Non hic iubeo castitati, set permitto infirmitati." Unde coniugium est licitum et bonum secundum indulgenciam concessionis et permissionis; non autem est tale bonum ut de eo sit preceptum vel consilium.

Set virginitas sic bona est et virtus ardua, ut de ipsa sit consilium et non preceptum. 1 Corinthiorum 7 (:25): "De virginibus

mandment of the Lord; but I give counsel." The Lord has praised virginity, but he does not command it, lest he seem to condemn marriage. Matthew 19:12: "There are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven"; and then he added, "He that can take, let him take it." Thus the Apostle, having followed Christ, counsels virginity as if it were a perfect good, and he wants that good for all, but he does not command it. Hence he says, 1 Corinthians 7:7: "I would that all men were even as myself." Haymo: "If it could be done, I would like all men to be virgins just as I am, and to love virginity just as I love it"; and farther on: "I know how much power chastity has with God." Chastity makes what is fleshly spiritual and what is earthly heavenly. In contrast, fleshly desire renders the whole man earthly and fleshly. Jerome in one of his epistles: "However strong you are in virtue, however you shine in good works, should you lack the girdle of chastity, you will drag everything through the dirt."

Therefore virginity, which is chastity at its most powerful, makes men most powerfully heavenly. Therefore Ambrose says, on the verse, "Concerning virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord": "Virginity exceeds the condition of human nature and through it men are made like angels." The Apostle says in his commendation of virginity, 1 Corinthians 7:8: "It is good to be so," that is to preserve one's virginity, as if the best thing is to be a virgin. Ecclesiasticus 26:20: "No price is worthy of a continent soul." That is, no worldly thing, however much it is worth, is worth anything in comparison to a continent soul. And the text says expressly, "of a continent soul," because bodily continence without continence of the spirit is like a beautiful lamp deprived of both oil and light. Chrysostom in a homily calls the oil charity and the lamp virginity. Then the man who is continent without either

28 **eunuchi** eumuchi. 39 **niteas** vireas. 49 **qualiscumque** qualicumque.

preceptum Domini non habeo; consilium autem do." Dominus virginitatem laudavit quam non precepit, ne videretur nupcias condempnare. Matthei 19 (:12): "Sunt eu[n]uchi qui se castraverunt propter regnum celorum"; et postea addidit, "Qui potest capere, capiat." Sic Apostolus, Cristum secutus, tanquam bonum perfectum consulit virginitatem, et tale bonum omnibus optat, set non imperat. Unde ait ubi supra (7:7): "Volo omnes homines esse sicut me ipsum." Haymo: "Si fieri posset, vellem omnes homines esse virgines sicut ego sum, et amare virginitatem sicut ego amo" (*PL* 117.544); et infra: [f. 11] "Scio quantum valet castitas apud Dominum." Ipsa vero de carnali facit spirituale et de terestri facit celestem. Econtra carnalis lacivia totum hominem reddit terrestrem et carnalem. Ieronimus in quadam epistola: "Quacumque virtute polleas, quibuscumque operibus [nit]eas, si cingulo castitatis careas, omnia per terram trahes."

Ideo virginitas, que est potissima castitas, homines facit potissime celestes. Propter quod dicit Ambrosius, super illud "De virginibus preceptum Domini non habeo": "Supergreditur virginitas condicionem humane nature, per quam homines angelis assimilantur." Apostolus vero in eius commendacionem dicit, 1 Corinthiorum 7 (:8): "Bonum est sic" esse; id est, in virginitate permanere, quasi optimum est virginem esse. Ecclesiastici 26 (:20): "Omnis ponderacio non est digna continentis anime." Hoc est, nulla res temporalis, quali[s]cumque sit valoris, non est digna ad comparacionem anime continentis. Et signanter dicitur "anime continentis," quia continencia corporis sine continencia mentis est quasi lampas pulcra oleo et lumine privata. Crisostomus in omelia oleum vocat caritatem, lampadem virginitatem. Tunc lampadem portat sine oleo et

charity or voluntary choice carries a lamp without either oil or light. Bernard in one of his epistles: "A chaste man and an angel differ, but only in their degree of happiness, not of virtue. Even if the chastity of the angel is happier, nevertheless the chastity of the man is recognized to be stronger. Chastity without charity is a lamp without oil. Withdraw the oil, and the lamp will not shine; take away charity, and chastity will not be pleasing." Therefore chastity should be voluntary, not constrained, and likewise virginity. Hence Augustine, *On Virginity*: "Where chastity is imposed by necessity, lust is actually encouraged; and so a woman who is compelled by fear is not truly chaste, nor one who is influenced by reward truly virtuous." Therefore it is good that we are counseled not to marry, even though marriage is good and permissible; for virginal chastity is quite simply better than conjugal chastity.

Also even if marriage is good, it nevertheless impedes a great good, contemplation; and it introduces worldly tribulation. 1 Corinthians 7:28: "If you take a wife, you have not sinned. And if a virgin marry, she has not sinned; nevertheless, such shall have tribulation of the flesh. But I spare you." Haymo: "But I persuade and counsel you that you should preserve your chastity." Of marriage as an impediment to contemplation, the Apostle says, 1 Corinthians 7:34: "The unmarried woman thinks on the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit; but she that is married thinks on the things of the world." Augustine, *On Holy Widowhood*: "The Apostle does not say this to suggest that a married woman is not holy both in body and spirit, just less so than an unmarried woman. And so the Apostle, speaking here of both married and unmarried women, wished to emphasize the greater holiness, both in body and spirit of the unmarried; he did not deny holiness to the whole body of married women." Concerning worldly tribulation, one should notice what the Apostle says: "He will have tribulation of his body." Married people believe that

79 **voluit** volunt.

lumine qui continet sine caritate et spontanea eleccione. Bernardus in quadam epistola: "Differunt quidem inter se homo pudicus et angelus, set felicitate, non virtute. Set etsi illius castitas felicior, huius tamen forcior esse congnoscitur. Castitas sine caritate, lampas est sine oleo. Subtrahe oleum, lampas non lucet; tolle caritatem, castitas non placet." Debet igitur castitas esse voluntaria, non coacta; similiter et virginitas. Unde et Augustinus, *De virginitate*: "Ubi necessitas imponitur castitati, auctoritas datur libidini; itaque non casta est que metu cogitur, nec honesta que mercede conducitur." Bene ergo de matrimonio non contrahendo datur consilium, licet bonum et licitum fuerit matrimonium; quia simpliciter melior est castitas virginalis quam coniugalis.

Item si matrimonium bonum fuerit, tamen magnum bonum impedit, nam impedit contemplacionem, et tribulacionem inducit temporalem. 1 Corinthiorum 7 (:28): "Si ceperis uxorem, non peccas; et si nupserit virgo, non peccat. Tribulacionem tamen carnis habebunt; ego autem vobis parco." Haymo: "Suadeo autem vobis et consilium do ut castitatem servetis" (*PL* 117.547). De impedimento contemplacionis dicit Apostolus, 1 Corinthiorum 7 (:34): "Mulier [f. 11v] innupta cogitat que sunt Domini ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu; que autem nupta est cogitat que sunt mundi." Augustinus, *De sancta viduitate*: "Non ideo hoc dicit Apostolus ut ipsa, scilicet nupta, sancta non sit corpore et spiritu, set minus quam innupta. Hic itaque loquens Apostolus de innuptis et nuptis ampliorem innuptarum in corpore et spiritu sanctificacionem inteligi volu[i]t, non corpus nuptarum omnium sanctificacione privavit" (6.8, *PL* 40.435). De presenti tribulacione notari potest quod dicit Apostolus: "Tribulacionem corporis habebit" (cf. 1 Cor

they are delighted in the flesh, but more often they are only subjected to tribulation. Jerome, *To Pammachius*: "We, in our ignorance, think that marriages at least include the joy associated with the flesh. But if married people experience tribulation even in the flesh, where alone they appeared to have pleasure, what will be left to induce them to marry, since they will experience tribulation both in the spirit and in the flesh?"

Also worldly tribulation and punishment follow upon many marriages—and with justice; because people do not enter them in a way suitable to God and to proper intention. Chrysostom, homily 2 on Matthew: "Ruth married Boaz because of the merit of her faith, for she rejected the gods of her fathers and chose the living God"; and he adds: "Now those who choose riches and not goodness, beauty and not fidelity, choose in marriage what is usually sought in a prostitute." Many evils befall from not being joined according to God, and in many cases on God's account there develop disagreement in spirit and separation in body, a sad living together and a bad succession of offspring. Hence Chrysostom, in the same homily: "They do not bear children obedient to themselves or to God, but rebellious against both them and God, so that their children are the punishment of their own irreligious behavior."

Therefore Valerius appropriately as a friend, out of the good will of a faithful friend and the protection of a strong friend, dissuades his friend Rufinus from matrimony by his epistle, so that he won't fall into worldly tribulation but choose the greater good and acquire merit, for which he will obtain a worthier reward. That is the halo of virgins and the hundredfold fruit which is paid to virgins alone. My intention for this exposition of the said epistle accords with Christian behavior, by drawing witnesses from authorities just as seems to agree with the intention of the author; I do this to honor God and with his aid, to gain salvation.

85 **videbantur** uidebatur. 103 **dignius** dignus. 105 **Huic** De huic.

7.28). Credunt coniugati carnaliter delectari, quos sepius contingit tribulari. Ieronimus, *Ad Pamachium*: "Nos ignari rerum putamus nupcias saltem habere carnis leticiam. Si autem nubentibus et in carne tribulacio est, in qua sola videba[n]tur habere delicias, quid erit reliquum propter quod nubant, cum et in spiritu et in ca\r/ne tribulacio sit?" (Ep. 48.18, *PL* 22.508).

Item multorum matrimonia iuste consequitur presens tribulacio et pena, quia non contrahant secundum Dominum et rectam intencionem. Crisostomus, *Super Mattheum*, Omelia 2: "Ruth pro merito fidei sue nupsit Booz, quia deos patrum suorum reppulit et Deum viventem elegit"; et infra: "Nunc qui divicias eligunt et non mores, pulcritudinem et non fidem, quod queri solet in meretricio hoc optatur in coniugio." Hinc multa contingunt mala, quia non uniuntur secundum Deum, et propter Deum fit in pluribus animorum dissencio et corporum divisio, cohabitacio tristis, et mala successio prolis. Unde Crisostomus, ubi supra: "Non generant subditos filios sibi vel Deo, set contumaces contra se et contra Deum, ut filii eorum sint pena irreligiositatis ipsorum."

Congrue igitur Valerius tamquam amicus, ex benivolencia fidelis et proteccione fortis, per suam epistolam amico suo Rufino dissuadet matrimonium, ne cadat in presentem tribulacionem, set eligendo maius bonum sorciatur meritum, quo dign[i]us consequatur premium. Quod est aureola virginum et fructus centesimus qui solis virginibus retribuetur. [H]uic exposicioni dicte epistole est intendendum ut congruit moribus, testimonia sumendo ex auctoribus sicut convenire videbitur auctoris intencioni, ad Dei honorem et ipso adiuvante ad nostri salutem. [f. 12]

2.
The ninth part.

Solomon is praised a great deal, first because he deserved to be called *the sun of men*. Isidore, *Etymologies* 3.73: "*Sol* 'the sun' is called that because he appears *solus* 'alone,' since all the stars are obscured by his shining." Hence it may be called *sol* as if *solus lucens*, "shining alone," because it is the source of all light by whose gleaming higher and lower things are illuminated. And Isidore says, *Etymologies* 3.53: "The sun is said to be moved through its own power, not to be turned with the earth, for if it remained fixed in the sky, all days and nights would be equal." According to some, the sun is greater in size than all the other heavenly lights; of its size Isidore says, book 3.51: "The size of the sun is greater than the earth. Hence at the very moment when it rises, it appears at once and equally to the east and to the west." Also it excels other lights in brightness and worth. Macrobius, *On the book of Cicero*: "Plato's definition was that the lights of all bodies come from the sun." For Plato says in *Timaeus*, "God, the creator of things, lit that brightest light which we call the sun, that by its shining the heaven and all lower things should be illuminated, and the number of all living things should come into view." And in *The Book about Elements* Aristotle says that the sun has its own light, but the stars and the moon, only a light they get from the sun, just as when a mirror placed opposite a candle is lit by it. That Solomon is called *sun of men* indicates his great worthiness, as if Solomon excelled among men just as the sun excels among lights. Hence Psalm 88:38 may be understood to refer to that time during which he behaved well: "And his throne as the sun before me."

3 **obscuratis** obscuritatis. **cunctis** cunti. 15 **Ignivit** ingeminauit. 17 **illustrarentur** illustrantur.

2.

[on f. 35v]

Nona pars. [then cites "Dissuasio" 65-74 Sol...vide.] [f. 36]

Magna commendacio Salomonis, primo quia *sol hominum* meruit appellari. Ysidorus, 3 *Ethimologiarum* 73: "Sol appellatus est eo quod solus appareat obscuratis fulgore suo cun[ctis] sideribus" (3.71.1, *PL* 82.178). Unde dici potest sol, quasi solus lucens, eo quod sit fons tocius luminis, cuius radiacione superiora et inferiora illustrantur. Et dicit Ysidorus, 3 *Ethimologiarum* 53: "Solem per seipsum moveri dicitur, non cum mundo verti, nam si fixus celo maneret, omnes dies et noctes equales existerent" (3.50.1, *PL* 82.175). Secundum aliquos, sol omnibus luminaribus celi est maior in quantitate, de cuius magnitudine dicit Ysidorus, 3 libro 51: "Magnitudo solis forcior terra est. Unde et eodem momento cum oritur, et orienti simul et occidenti equaliter apparet" (3.47.1, *PL* 82.174). Item cetera luminaria precellit claritate et dignitate. Macrobius, *In libro Citheronis*: "Diffinicio fuit Platonis omnium lumen esse a sole" (1.20.3). Dicit enim Plato in *Thimeo*: "I[gni]vit Deus rerum conditor lucem clarissimam quam solem vocamus, cuius splendore celum et infra omnia illustra[ren]tur, et numerus existeret omnium animancium" (39B [31/22-25]). Et *Libro de elementis* dicit Aristoteles quod sol habet lumen proprium, stelle vero et luna lumen a sole adquisitum, sicut quando a candela speculum ei oppositum illuminatur. Quod igitur Salomon *sol hominum* dicitur dignitas magna notatur, quasi sic excelleret Salomon in hominibus sicut sol in luminaribus. Unde de ipso tempore pro quo bene se habuit potest intelligi illud Psalmorum (88:38): "Tronus

Also to praise him, he is called *the storehouse of the Lord's delights*, and the virtues can be called the delights of the Lord, for God is delighted in them. Thus Canticles 7:6: "How beautiful you are and how comely, my dearest, in delights" is glossed as applying to the church or to the glorious virgin. And Solomon, so long as he behaved well, was like a treasury of virtues. Hugutio: "The word *thesaurus* 'treasury' is formed from *theca* 'a box' and *aurum* 'gold,' as if gold covered or put away. It is also said to be a place where gold is put away"; thus Solomon is called a treasury in the text as if he were a vessel or a place in which delights are held. Also to praise him, he is called *wisdom's only home*; 3 Kings 3:11-12: "The Lord said to Solomon, 'Because you have asked for wisdom to discern judgment, behold, I have done for you according to your words and have given you a wise and understanding heart, insomuch that there has been no one like you before you, nor shall arise after you.'" Therefore he is justly called wisdom's only home among men. And at least in his praiseworthy state, he prefigures Christ. Hence Augustine, *City* 17.8: "Solomon means a peace-keeper in Latin, and in the beginning of his reign he was wondrously praiseworthy"; and he adds: "He foretold, although he did not show, Christ our Lord."

But alas, how wretched it is to have been blessed. After such glory, Solomon stained himself; Ecclesiasticus 47:15-16: "Solomon reigned in days of peace, and God brought all his enemies under him, that he might build a house in His name, and prepare a sanctuary forever. O how wise he was in his youth, and he was filled as a river with wisdom." And later [21-22] it says: "By your body you were brought under subjection. You have stained your glory." Thus from the sun he was changed most sinfully into something worse than the moon, going against what it says in

eius sicut sol in conspectu meo."

Item ad eius commendacionem dicitur *thesaurus deliciarum Domini*, et possunt dici delicie Domini virtutes, in quibus Deus delectatur. Sic de ecclesia vel virgine gloriosa exponitur idem Cantici 7 (:6): "Quam pulcra es et quam decora, carissima, in deliciis." Et Salomon dum bene se habuit, fuit quasi thesaurus virtutum. Hugutio: "De theca et aurum dicitur thesaurus, quasi tectum aurum vel repositum. Dicitur eciam locus ubi reponitur aurum"; sic in proposito dicitur Salomon thesaurus quasi vas vel locus in quo delicie continentur. Item in eius commendacionem dicitur *sapiencie singulare domicilium*; 3 Regum 3 (:11-12): "Dixit Dominus Salomoni, 'Quia postulasti sapienciam ad discernendum iudicium, ecce feci tibi secundum sermones tuos et dedi tibi cor sapiens et intelligens in tantum ut nullus ante te similis tui fuerit, nec post te surrecturus sit.'" Merito igitur inter homines dicitur sapiencie domicilium [f. 36v] singulare. Hic quantum ad eius laudabilem condicionem Cristum figurabat. Unde Augustinus, 17 *De civitate* 8: "Salomon pacificus est Latine et in exordio regni sui mirabiliter laudabilis fuit"; et infra: "Prenunciabat ipse Cristum Dominum nostrum, non exibebat" (17.8; *CC* 48.571).

Set heu, quam miserum est fuisse felicem. Salomon post tantam gloriam dedit sibi maculam; Ecclesiastici 47 (:15-16): "Salomon imperavit in diebus pacis cui subiecit Dominus omnes hostes, ut conderet domum in nomine suo et pararet sanctitatem in sempiternum. Quemadmodum eruditus est in iuventute sua et impletus est, quasi flumen, sapiencia." Et infra [21-22] dicitur: "Potestatem habuisti in corpore tuo. Dedisti maculam in gloria tua." Sic de sole in deterius quam sit luna pessime mutatur, contra illud Ecclesiastici

Ecclesiasticus 27:12: "A holy man continues in wisdom as the sun, but a fool is changed as the moon." The interlinear gloss on this passage: "The wisdom of a holy man is compared to the sun, which does not lose its brightness." But Solomon having been *smeared over by the thick ink of darkness, lost the light of his soul*. Isidore, *Etymologies* 19.17: "*Attramentum* 'ink' is called that because it is *atrum* 'black.'" Hence by such ink a white thing may be smeared over, that is, may be shadowed or made black. Colors introduced later usually adhere more firmly and tenaciously because thick and sticky things have been placed beneath them. Thus Solomon introduced a black color over his shining light which stuck more firmly because he placed something thick beneath it. Hence the passage from scripture says significantly, in a statement directed to Solomon himself, "You stained yourself," because you consented voluntarily and of your own emotion to wretched pleasure, which here is called "thick ink." And it is called "of darkness" on account of the absence or lack of appropriate knowledge concerning what should be chosen and what avoided. Such a lack of appropriate knowledge is thick ignorance, at least in people such as Solomon was, who have good powers by nature; for God gave Solomon a surpassing wisdom; thus he darkened himself so that he lost, or better threw away, the light of his soul. Wisdom is the light of the soul. Hence Gregory, *Moralia* 18: "Wisdom is an illuminating light." Wisdom 6:23 is about him: "Love the light of wisdom, all you that bear rule over peoples." His own sinfulness blinds that light of his soul. Hence the Philosopher, *Ethics* 3: "Every evil man is ignorant." Wisdom 2:21 agrees with this statement: "Their own sinfulness blinded them." Augustine, *On Free Will* 3.1: "I believe it is well known that the mind may not be made slave to desire by anything except by its own will." Therefore Solomon, who voluntarily threw away wisdom, deprived himself of true light.

And he shamefully *lost the glory of his house*, that is of a good conscience. And

64 **affeccione** affeccione qua. 75-76 **Excecavit** eccecavit.

27 (:12):"Homo sanctus in sapiencia manet ut sol, nam stultus sicud luna mutatur." Interlinearis ibidem:"Sapiencia viri sancti comparatur soli qui fulgorem non amittit." Set Salomon *crasso tenebrarum fuscatus attramento, lucem anime amisit*.Ysidorus, 19 *Ethimologiarum* 17: "Attramentum dictum est eo quod sit atrum" (19.17.17). Unde tali album potest fuscari, id est obscurari vel denigrari. Solent autem superinducti colores firmius ac tenacius inherere quod hiis crassa supponuntur et viscosa. Sic Salomon luci splendide atrum superinduxit colorem qui eo firmius adhesit quod illi crassum subposuit. Unde signanter dicitur in predicta auctoritate, dirigendo sermonem ipsi Salomoni, "dedisti maculam," quia sponte et propria [affeccione] consensisti misere voluptati, que hic dicitur "crassum attramentum." Et dicitur "tenebrarum" propter privacionem vel carenciam noticie debite de eligendis et fugendis. Talis carencia debite congnicionis est ignorancia crassa, saltem in habentibus bona naturalia, qualis fuerit Salomon, cui eciam Deus excellentem dederat sapienciam; seipsum igitur obfuscavit ut amitteret, vel pocius dimitteret, lucem anime sue. Est autem sapiencia lumen anime. Unde Gregorius, 18 *Moralium*: "Sapiencia est lumen illuminans" (18.50.5, 13; *CC* 143A.944). De quo Sapiencie 6 (:23): "Diligite lumen sapiencie, omnes qui preestis populis." Illam lucem anime propria malicia excecat. Unde philosophus, 3 *Ethicorum*: "Omnis malus ignorans." Isti concordat illud Sapiencie 2 (:21):"E[x]ce[f. 37] cavit illos malicia eorum." Augustinus, 3 *De libero arbitrio* 1:"Credo compertum esse nulla re fieri mentem servam libidinis, nisi propria voluntate." Salomon ergo sponte dimittens sapienciam, se vera luce privavit.

Et *gloriam domus sue*, id est consciencie bone, turpiter *amisit*.

this house may also be understood as the house of his bloodline. Ecclesiasticus 47:22: "You have defiled your seed, so as to bring wrath upon your children." And he turned *the sweet scent of his* good *renown* into a stench. Gregory, *Moralia* 18: "Just as a good odor comes from virtue, according to Paul's testimony, who says: 'He manifested the odor of his knowledge by us in every place, for we are the good odor of Christ unto God,' 2 Corinthians 2:14–15, likewise stench comes from vice," and especially from fleshly infection, as I have said above. Hence fleshly sin, even if less guilt attaches to it, is nevertheless a greater disgrace. Therefore Ecclesiasticus 39:18–19 counsels against that disgrace which comes from fleshly sin: "Give a sweet odor like Lebanon; send forth flowers as the lily, and yield a smell." Lebanon is interpreted to mean whiteness; hence Lebanon means cleanness of the flesh. The lily is interpreted similarly. Hence Gregory, *Moralia* 24: "What is meant by lilies, if not the life of those who can say truly: 'We are the good odor of Christ unto God'?" That odor made by a good reputation ought to be looked after carefully, because according to the gloss on 2 Corinthians 2: "This odor gives energy to loving ones and hurts those who envy." And someone says, "A man who neglects his good name will neglect his honor." Solomon thrived like a vine, but fell like a fly. Hence in him and in many others who follow him, this verse, Canticles 2:13, is proven true: "Vines in flower yield their sweet smell," because they bloom in youth and grow dry in old age, when they lose their delight in wisdom and cleanness. Ecclesiastes 10:1: "Dying flies spoil the sweetness of the ointment." Of Solomon Augustine says, *City* 17.20: "Solomon began to reign while his father was still alive. But he had, with those auspicious beginnings, an evil end. For prosperity," that is, worldly goods, "which exhausts the souls of wise men, hurt him more than his wisdom helped him."

105 **iniciis** inniciis.

Potest et hoc intelligi de domo naturalis successionis. Ecclesiastici 47 (:22): "Prophanasti semen tuum, inducere iracundiam ad liberos tuos." Et *odorem* bone *fame* pervertit in fetorem. Gregorius, 18 *Moralium*: "Sicut bonus odor ex virtute est, Paulo attestante, qui ait: 'Odorem noticie sue manifestavit per nos in omni loco, quia Cristi bonus odor sumus Deo,' 2 Corinthiorum 2 (:14–15), ita econtrario fetor est ex vicio" (14.53.65, *CC* 143A.739), maxime autem ex carnali infeccione, ut dictum est supra. Unde peccatum carnale, si sit minoris culpe, est tamen maioris infamie. Ideo contra infamiam ex peccato carnali suadetur Ecclesiastici 39 (18–19): "Quasi Libanus odorem suavitatis habete; florete flores quasi lilium; date odorem." Libanus candidacio interpretatur; unde per Libanum carnis mundicia designatur. Similiter per lilium. Unde Gregorius, 24 *Moralium*: "Quid per lilia, nisi illorum vita declaratur, qui veraciter dicunt: 'Cristi bonus odor sumus Deo'?" (24.8.17, *CC* 143A1199–1200). De odore per bonam famam multum est curandum, quia secundum glossam, 2 Corinthiorum 2: "Odor iste vegetat diligentes et necat invidentes." Notat quidam, "Necglector fame fiet necglector honoris." Salomon vero floruit ut vinea, set corruit ut musca. Unde de ipso et multis eius sequacibus verificatur illud Cantici 2 (:13): "Vinee florentes odorem dederunt," quia in iuventute florent et in senectute arent, cum sapiencie et mundicie perdunt delectacionem. Ecclesiastes 10 (:1): "Musce morientes perdunt suavitatem unguenti." De Salamone dicit Augustinus, 17 *De civitate* 20 (p. 586, 6–10): "Salomon patre suo vivente cepit regnare. Hic bonis [iniciis] malos exitus habuit. Quippe secunde res," puta hec temporalia, "que sapientum animos fatigant, magis huic obfuerunt quam profuit ipsa sapiencia."

These good things, that is *the light of his soul, the glory of his house, and the sweet scent of his renown*, Solomon lost because of *the bewitchment* associated with the love of a woman. Wisdom 4:12: "The bewitching of vanity obscures good things, and the wandering of concupiscence overturns the innocent mind." One should understand that *fascinacio* "bewitchment" in one sense is a delusion through which the eyes are constrained so that they either do not see a thing or they do not see it as it actually is, and thus *fascinacio* is the same as a magic trick; and *fascinacio* is formed from *fascia* "a bandage" which binds the eyes. Galatians 3:1: "Who has bewitched you that you should not obey the truth?" *Fascinacio* is also an infection which harms infants, like the sight of wolves and the sight of the basilisk which hurts the thing it looks on. Hence Haymo says on that verse from Galatians: "Boys and small animals and the young of fowls are said to be bewitched by the sight of men and by enchantment." Of this, Virgil says in the *Eclogues*: "I don't know what eye thus bewitches the tender lambs." Also a *fascinacio* is a certain heaviness. Hence according to Rabanus in the gloss on Wisdom 4: "A man bewitches and oppresses another when he impedes him by flattering him or deceives him by praising him." In all these ways a man infected by desire of the flesh is quickly deceived by the bewitchment associated with the love of a woman, for both his bodily and his mental eye are tricked. The sight is harmed by the one who sees and oppressed with an evil weight, and the reason for or the cause of these things has been touched on in the scripture passage above, namely the wandering of desire; this perverts the innocent mind, so that the man, when he desires, wanders. For a man wanders when he turns away from a good purpose quickly, which happens because something pleases him inordinately and makes him withdraw from one thing and draw toward another. Hence proneness of the mind to change and instability of the senses or of the body are signs of fleshly corruption. Thus the verses: "An inconstant mind, a wandering eye, and an unstable foot—these three things typify the man from whom there is no hope of anything good."

111 **bona** *om.* 112 **transvertit** transentit. 130 **ut** et.

Bona predicta, scilicet *anime lucem, domus gloriam*, et *fame odorem*, Salomon *fascino* amore mulieris amisit. Sapiencie 4 (:12): "Fascinacio nugacitatis obscurat [bona], et inconstancia concupiscencie trans[ver]tit sensum sine malicia." Est hic in[f. 37v]telligendum quod "fascinacio" uno modo dicitur prestigium quo oculi perstringuntur ut vel non videant rem, vel ut est eam non videant, et sic idem est quod magica ludificacio; et dicitur a "fascia" que oculos ligat. Galatarum 3 (:1): "Quis vos fascinavit veritati non obedire?" Dicitur autem "fascinacio" infeccio quedam que nocet infantibus, sicut visio luporum et visio basilisci que ledit rem visam. Unde dicit Haymo super illud Galatarum supra: "Fascinari dicuntur pueri et parva animalia et pulli avium visu hominum et incantacione" (*PL* 117.679). De hoc Virgilius, in *Bucolicis*: "Nescio quis teneros oculus sic fascinat agnos" (3.103). Aliter dicitur "fascinacio" quedam aggravacio. Unde secundum Rabanum in glossa Sapiencie 4: "Fascinat et gravat qui adulando impedit vel laudando decipit" (*PL* 109.686). Omnibus hiis modis infectus carnali concupiscencia cito decipitur amore fascino mulieris, nam ipsius oculus corporis et mentis ludificatur. Visus a videnteleditur et malo onere gravatur, et istorum racio vel causa tangitur in auctoritate predicta, inconstancia concupiscencie; transvertit sensum qui erat sine malicia, [u]t ipse, cum concupiscit, inconstans sit. Nam inconstans est qui cito deficit a bono proposito, quod contingit ex eo quod aliquid inordinate placet, propter quod ab uno recedit et ad aliud tendit. Unde volubilitas mentis et instabilitas sensus vel corporis indicia sunt carnalis corrupcionis. De hoc notatur: "Inconstans animus, oculus vagus, instabilis pes—hec tria sunt hominis de quo michi nulla boni spes."

Most frequently such a man tends toward wantonness and is quickly bewitched by a woman. Solomon was most vilely ruined through bewitchment; hence Valerius says, *and finally*, that is after that fleshly and most depraved filthiness with women, *bent over before the pagan gods* through idolatry and most wicked fornication, *from the Lord's preacher*, that is the spokesman speaking to all men according to God and sound doctrine, *he was changed into a member of 'zabuli,'* that is of the devil, since "zabulus" means someone who is in opposition. These things are evident in 3 Kings 11:1-2, where it says: "And king Solomon loved many strange women besides the daughter of Pharaoh, and women of Moab, and of Edom, and of Sidon, and of the Hittites, of the nations concerning which the Lord said to the children of Israel: 'You shall not go in unto them, neither shall any of them come in to yours. For they will most certainly turn away your heart to follow their gods.'" Solomon violated this divine command. Hence these words follow [11:2-5]: "And to these," that is these foreign women, "was Solomon joined with a most ardent love." And he had seven hundred wives as queens, and three hundred concubines, and the women turned away his heart. And when he was now old, his heart was turned away by women to follow strange gods, and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father. But Solomon worshipped Astarte, the goddess of the Sidonians, and Camos, the god of the Moabites, and Moloch, the idol of the Ammonites." Josephus says there were seventy wives. The master of the histories: "He followed strange gods, so as not to disappoint the women whom he enjoyed." Hence he built sanctuaries for those idols beside the temple. Then Solomon was *bent over before the pagan gods*, that is, before an idol, in accord with the idolatry of those women with whom he associated.

Gregory, on Luke 11:15: "By Beelzebub, the prince of devils," says: "When his father Belus was dead, Ninus, king of Nineveh, made a statue of him which he

146 **Sidonias** Sodonias.

Sepissime qui talis est pronus est ad lasciviam et cito fascinatur per mulierem. Salomon vero vilissime corruit per fascinacionem; ideo dicit *et postremo*, scilicet post carnalem cum mulieribus turpissimam fedacionem, *incurvatus coram Balim* per idolatriam et iniquissimam fornicacionem, *ex ecclesiaste Domini*, id est concionatore ad omnes secundum Deum et sanam doctrinam loquente, *mutatus est in membrum zabuli*, id est dyaboli, quia "zabulus" contrarius interpretatur. Ista patent 3 Regum 11 (:1-2), ubi dicitur: "Rex autem Salomon amavit mulieres alienigenas multas, filiam quoque Pharaonis et Moabitidas, Ydumeas, S[i]donias, et Etheas, de gentibus super qui[f. 38]bus dixit Dominus filiis Israel: 'Non ingrediemini ad eas, neque de illis ingredientur ad vestras. Certissime enim avertent corda vestra ut sequamini deos earum.'" Huius dominici precepti Salomon erat transgressor. Unde sequitur ubi supra [11:2-5]: "Hiis itaque," scilicet mulieribus alienigenis, "copulatus est Salomon ardentissimo amore. Fueruntque ei uxores quasi regine septingente et concubine trecente, et averterunt mulieres cor eius. Cumque iam esset senex, depravatum est per mulieres cor eius ut sequeretur deos alienos, nec erat cor eius perfectum cum Domino Deo suo, sicut cor Davit patris sui. Set colebat Salomon Astaren, deam Sidoniorum, et Camos, deum Moabitarum, et Moloch, ydolum Ammonitarum." Iosephus dicit uxores septuaginta. Magister historiarum: "Secutus est deos alienos, ne delicias suas contristaret." Unde dictis ydolis iuxta templum phana ydolorum construxit. Tunc *incurvatus est Salomon coram Baalim*, id est coram ydolo secundum ydolatriam mulierum quas sibi associavit.

Gregorius, super illud Luce 11 (:15): "In Belzebub, principe demoniorum," sic ait: "Ninus rex Ninive Belo patre suo mortuo,

honored with the greatest reverence, so that he even spared guilty men who fled to it. Hence after a while, men began to worship the statue as a god, and also began to be multiplied, and some men called the statue Beel, others Baal, others Baalim, others Beelzebub, according to the differences of their languages." In this text this word should be taken generally, as if it were the common name for very many idols, because, according to the preceding, Solomon bowed down before many idols. Thus his gravest sin was to be bowed down in idolatry. Wisdom 14:27-28: "The worship of abominable idols is the cause of all evil"; and madness takes the place of reason among many worshippers, that is because, "when they are merry" in such worship, "they are mad." The gloss on this passage: "There is no greater insanity than to desert the living God and to serve dead ones."

Solomon before his fall was a preacher, about which one should know what Isidore says, *Etymologies* 6.2: "He brought forth three volumes. The first is the book which the Greeks call Parabole, the Latins Proverbs; in it he shows figures of speech and metaphorical images of the truth. The truth itself he reserved for readers to deduce. Greeks call the second book Ecclesiastes and Latins The Preacher, because its speech is directed, not specially to a single reader, as in Proverbs, but to a general public. It teaches that all the things we see in the world are fleeting and transitory, and because of this not to be desired in the least. The third book Latins call The Song of Songs; in it he sings of the mystical union of Christ and the church." According to Ambrose and the author of the *Ecclesiastical History*, he wrote a fourth book, called The Book of Wisdom, in which he openly praises uncreated wisdom as well as created wisdom; he commends truth and knowledge; he rebukes vices or sins, and all

178 **2** 3. 187 **Canticum** cantica.

statuam fecit, quam summa reverencia honoravit, ita ut eciam reis ad eam fugientibus parceret. Unde processu temporis ceperunt eam homines venerari ut deum, ceperunt eciam multiplicari, et quidam vocaverunt eam Beel, alii Baal, alii Baalim, alii Belzebub, secundum diversitatem linguarum." In proposito vero communiter accipitur ac si esset nomen commune ydolorum plurium, quia secundum predicta coram multis ydolis Salomon incurvavit. Sic per ydolatriam incurvari fuit gravissimum peccatum. Sapiencie 14 (:27-28): "Infandorum ydolorum cultura omnis mali causa est"; et mania inter multas ponit racionem, scilicet quod "dum" in tali cultura "letantur, insaniunt." Glossa ibidem: "Nulla maior demencia quam vivum Deum deserere et mortuis deservire."

Salomon autem ante sui casum erat ecclesiastes, circa quod sciendum quod secundum Ysidorum, 6 *Ethimologiarum* [2]: "Tria volumina edidit. Primum est librum quem Greci Parabolas, Latini vero nominant Librum proverbiorum; in ipso sub comparativa similitudine figuras verborum et ymagines veritatis ostendit. Ipsam autem veritatem ad intelligendum legentibus reservavit. Secundum librum Greci Ecclesiasten no[f. 38v]minant, et Latini Concionator, eo quod sermo eius non specialiter ad unum sicut in Proverbiis, set ad universos generaliter dirigatur, docens que omnia in mundo cernimus caduca esse et brevia, et ob hoc minime appetenda. Tercium librum Latini nominant Cantic[um] Canticorum, in quo coniunccionem Cristi et ecclesie mistice canit" (6.2.18). Quartum scripsit librum secundum Ambrosium et auctorem *Ecclesiastice historie*, qui Liber sapiencie vocatur, in quo evidenter commendat sapienciam increatam, similiter et sapienciam creatam; veritatem et scienciam approbat; et vicia seu peccata reprobat, inter omnia

along condemns idolatry. Thus Solomon before his apostasy was a *preacher*, as if the spokesman to all men on matters of proper faith and good moral behavior, that is a man addressing the people in the same way as a catholic doctor of the faith. But through his sin, and especially through his apostasy, *he was changed into a member of the devil*. Gregory, *Moralia* 13: "The devil and all evil-doers are a single body"; and he says, *Moralia* 3: "Who doesn't know that the members of Satan are all those who are joined to him by their perverse living?" Hence just as Christ is the head of the church, whose members are all the children of grace, so the devil is the head of Hell, whose members are the children of destruction and guilt, and principally through the guilt of idolatry.

Hence the sin of Solomon advanced to such a degree *that he appeared to have been thrust down a still greater precipice than Phoebus in Phaethon's fall*. The fables claim that Phoebus was the son of Jove. This Phoebus was called by various names for various reasons—Apollo and Phicius, Sol and Licius. He is said to have begotten Phaethon on the nymph Elimene; when he had given over his cart to this Phaethon to drive, he drove it near the earth and burned and laid waste the budding things of the earth, which redounded to his father's blame. Here the fault of the son is imputed in some manner to the father. But Solomon *appears to have been thrust down a still greater precipice*, that is a fall, because the guilt of Phoebus in the fall of Phaethon was negligence or ignorance because he gave the reins to one with too little skill. But the guilt of Solomon came from malice through which he abandoned the service of God. Also Phoebus sinned against his neighbor by doing him harm; Solomon by worshipping idols sinned against God.

Phoebus on account of his son Phaeton's fall was thrust down a great precipice, *who from being Jove's Apollo was made Admetus's shepherd*. According to the fable Phoebus, besides Phaeton, had another son named Aesculapius or Paeon, who was

217 **precipicio** p'cio.

vero ydolatriam dampnat. Sic ante eius apostasiam erat *ecclesiastes*, quasi ad omnes de fide recta et bonis moribus concionator, id est populi allocutor tanquam doctor catholicus et fidelis. Set per peccatum et maxime per apostasiam, *mutatus est in membrum dyaboli*. Gregorius, 13 *Moralium*: "Unum corpus sunt dyabolus et omnes iniqui" (13.34.38; p. 689); et dicit idem, 3 *Moralium*: "Quis nesciat quod Sathane membra sunt omnes qui ei perverse vivendo iunguntur?" (3.16.29; p. 133). Unde sicut Cristus caput est ecclesie, cuius membra sunt omnes filii gracie, sic dyabolus caput est gehenne, cuius membra sunt filii perdicionis seu culpe, et precipue per culpam ydolatrie.

Unde in tantum processit peccatum Salomonis *ut adhuc maiore videretur detrudi precipicio quam Phebus in casu Phetontis.* Fingunt fabule Phebum fuisse filium Iovis. Ille Phebus propter varias raciones variis nominibus appellabatur—Apollo et Phicius, Sol et Licius. Ipse vero ex Elimene nimpha fertur genuisse Phetontem; huic Phetonti cum tradidisset currum suum minandum, prope terram minavit et terre nascencia inflammavit et vastavit, quod in patris vituperium redundavit. Hic culpa filii aliquo modo patri imputatur. Set Salomon *maiori precipicio*, id est casu, *detrudi videtur*, quia culpa Phebi in casu Fetontis fuit necgligencia vel ignorancia quod regnum commisit minus scienti. Set culpa Salomonis erat ex malicia qua dimisit cultum Dei. Item ille nocendo peccavit in proximum; iste vero ydolotrando peccavit in Deum.

Phebus propter casum Phetontis filii magno pre[cipi]cio detruditur, *qui de Appoline Io*[f. 39]*vis factus est pastor Admeti*. Secundum fabulam Phebus preter Phetontem alium habuit filium dictum Esculapium seu Pionem, qui ita fuit expertus in herbis quod vir-

so skilled with healing herbs that he revived the dead Hippolytus with the power of a certain herb; on this account Jupiter, his grandfather, moved by envy, killed him with a bolt of lightning which the Cyclopes made; after this was done, Phoebus to avenge the death of his son killed many Cyclopes, for which Jupiter, his father, expelled him from heaven, and he, cast down thus from the society of the gods, ended up keeping the cattle of king Admetus. Thus, Phoebus from a great man, virtually the greatest, was made the lowest. But Solomon in his sinning was cast down more, because Phoebus when cast down served a man who was a king. Solomon thrust down by his sin served a demon and was made a slave of what is not. A sinner is the slave of the devil. 2 Peter 2:19: "By whom a man is overcome, of the same also he is the slave"; but the man who sins mortally is conquered by the devil, and as the worst consequence, is reduced to servitude. Hence Augustine, *City* 19.21: "If you attend diligently, there is no usefulness at all in the living who live impiously, as every man lives who does not serve God but serves demons." Also a sinner is the slave of what is not. John 8:34: "Whosoever commits sin is the servant of sin." Gregory, *Moralia* 4: "Whoever makes himself subject to vicious desire places the neck of his mind, only a while ago free, under the lordship of vice." Also Augustine says, *On John*: "Sin is nothing, and men are made nothing when they sin." Therefore a sinner is the slave of what is not. Moreover, he serves most vilely who serves a demon and lust; it is not merely an immoral service, but a destructive one. Hence Augustine, *City* 19.15: "One serves more happily a man than desire, since desire lays waste the hearts of mortal men with its most vicious lordship." Therefore Solomon was thrust down a still greater precipice when he became a sinner than Phoebus who was made a shepherd.

My friend, if you are not wiser than Solomon, which no one is, as is evident from the things said above, *you are no greater than a man who can be bewitched by a woman*. The wise man himself, speaking of the woman who was a whore, Proverbs 7:26, says:

223 **Ciclopes** cicoples. 232 **in** *om.* 233 **ulla** illa. 237 **dominio** diuino. 244 **precipicio** p'cio.

tute cuiusdam herbe Ypolitum mortuum suscitavit; propter quod Iubiter avus suus invidia motus eum sagitta fulminis interfecit, quam sagittam Cic[lop]es fecerunt; quo facto, Phebus pro morte filii vindicanda multos interfecit, propter quod Iubiter pater suus eum de celo expulit, et regis Admeti pecora pavit sic deiectus a deorum societate. Secundum ista, Phebus de magno, quasi summo, factus est ymus. Set Salomon peccando amplius est detrusus, quia Phebus deiectus servivit homini regi. Salomon vero peccato depressus servivit demoni, et factus servus nichili. Est enim peccator servus dyaboli. 2 Petri 2 (:19): "A quo quis deiectus est, hic et servus addictus est"; set qui mortaliter peccat vincitur a dyabolo, et per consequens pessimum redigitur [in] servitutem. Unde Augustinus, 19 *De civitate* 21: "Si diligenter attendas, non est utilitas [u]lla vivencium qui vivunt impie, sicut vivit omnis qui non servit Deo, servitque demonibus." Item peccator est servus nichili. Iohannis 8 (:34): "Qui facit peccatum servus est peccati." Gregorius, 4 *Moralium*: "Quisquis se pravo desiderio subicit, iniquitatis [dominio] dudum libera mentis colla supponit." Dicit autem Augustinus, *Super Iohannem*: "Peccatum nichil est, et nichil fiunt homines cum peccant." Est igitur peccator servus nichili. Vilissime autem servit, qui servit demoni et libidini; nec est tantum servitus inhonesta set eciam dampnosa. Unde Augustinus, 19 *De civitate* 15: "Felicius servitur homini, quam libidini, cum libido sevissimo dominatu vastet corda mortalium." Maiori ergo pre[cipi]cio detruditur Salamon cum factus est peccator quam Phebus qui factus est pastor.

Amice, si non es sapiencior Salomone quod nemo est, ut patet ex predictis, non es maior quam qui potest a femina fascinari. Sapiens loquens de muliere meretrice, Proverbiorum 7 (:26) sic ait: "Multos vul-

"She has cast down many wounded, and the strongest have been slain by her." Thus these verses on some quite well-known and famous figures: "A woman deceived Adam and Samson, yes, David, yes, Solomon; who now will be safe?" Jerome, on Proverbs 23:28: "She lies in wait in the way:" "If David, the friend of the lord, and Solomon, his loved one, were conquered as if mere men, and so that they might provide examples both of downfall for our caution and of punishment for our salvation, who would not fear slipping in this slippery way?" *Open your eyes and see.* But Job 19:8 says: "In my way he has set darkness"; the verse is spoken in the person of those whose eyes have dim sight, keeping them from choosing to do something good. Gregory, *Moralia* 14: "One penalty of sin is to see the good one ought to do and not be able to do it; and one penalty of graver sin is not even to see what one ought to do. In opposition to this, Psalms 26:1 says: 'The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear?'" Gregory: "The Lord is a light against the darkness of ignorance, and salvation against weakness, when he both shows what we ought to desire to do, and offers strength so that we may do what he has shown." Therefore, *Open your eyes and see.*

3.
Part 25. The exposition [of Dissuasio 217-27]

Isidore says, book 9.8: "In choosing a wife four things compel men to love: beauty, family, wealth, and moral behavior." These four conditions all appeared together in Marius's daughter, and they are enumerated here, although not by Isidore's names or in his order. Nevertheless they did not dispose Metellus to marry her.

255 **via** vicia. 258 **Moralium** *om.*

neratos deiecit, et fortissimi quique interfecti sunt ab ea." De personis prenotatis et valde famosis ita notatur: "Adam, Sampsonem, sic David, sic Salomonem/Femina decepit; quis modo tutus erit?" Ieronimus, super illud Proverbiorum 23 (:28) "Insidiatur in via:" "Si David amicus [f. 39v] Domini et Salomon, amabilis eius, victi sunt quasi homines, et ut ruine nobis ad caucionem et penitudinis ad salutem exempla preparent, quis in lubrica [via] lapsum non timeatur?" *Oculos tuos aperi et vide.* Set dicitur Iob 19 (:8): "In calle meo tenebras posuit," quod dicitur in persona eorum quorum oculi calligant, ne opus bonum eligant. Gregorius 14 [*Moralium*]: "Ex pena culpe est videre bonum quod agere debeat, et tamen implere non posse; et rursum ex gravioris pena culpe est quod agere debeat non videre. Contra quod dicitur in Psalmos (26:1): 'Dominus illuminacio mea et salus mea; quem timebo?'" Gregorius: "Contra ignorancie tenebras illuminacio, contra infirmitatem vero salus est Dominus, quando et ostendit quod debeat ad agendum appeti, et vires prebet ut quod ostenderit possit impleri." Ergo, *Oculos tuos aperi et vide*.

3.

[on f. 70v]

25a pars. [then cites "Dissuasio" 217-27 Metellus...subiecto.] Exposicio.

Dicit Ysidorus, 9 libro 8: "In eligendam uxorem 4 res impellunt homines ad amorem: pulcritudo, genus, divicie, et mores." Hee 4 condiciones in filia Marii concurrebant, et hic enumerantur, licet non nominibus et ordine predictis. Ille tamen ad contrahendum

Hence he did not wish to marry that daughter of Marius's, and as a cause or reason for this he *answered Marius, "I would rather be mine than hers."* He did not wish to put aside his liberty and undergo such heavy servitude. Seneca, in book 10 of his *Rhetoric*: "What is liberty? The power of living as you wish. And who lives as he wishes, unless it is the man who pursues righteousness? This description fits only the wise man, that he do nothing against his will, lamenting nothing and coerced in nothing." And he adds: "Should I consider that man free whom a wife commands, on whom she imposes laws, whom she directs, orders about, forbids? The one who can deny his commander nothing, who dares refuse her nothing? She requests, and he must give; she calls, and he must come; she throws him out, and he must absent himself; she threatens, and he must fear; truly I think such a man should be called, not simply a slave, but the vilest slave, even if he was born into the most noble family." Therefore one may not truly be said to be his own, if he is such a slave.

We showed above in part 10 that neither spouse has the power all to himself. Nevertheless, despite that, every wife tries too hard to rule. Hence Metellus properly says here: *"I would rather be mine."* Marius replied: *"No, she will be yours."* But Metellus in return: *"No, the husband must be the wife's; the rule of logic is, 'Predicates will be such as their subjects permit.'"* Both Marius and Metellus speak the truth. The first is a legal truth, as is the second, although it is applied in a perverse way.

As far as the first, what is established by God is just; but God established and ordained the rule of the man and the subjection of the woman. Genesis 3:16: "You will be in your husband's power, and he will have dominion over you." Hence according to the law a wife is in her husband's power. The second happens from perversion of this proper order, that is when the wife rules, so that the predicate becomes only what the subject permits. The predicate and man are like form, the subject and woman are like matter. But, according to this author, it appears in logic

5 **Metellum** Mecellum.

matrimonium non inclinabant Me[t]ellum. Unde illam [f. 71] Marii filiam ducere noluit, et pro causa vel racione *Mario respondit, "Malo meus esse quam suus."* Noluit dimittere suam libertatem, ut subiret tam gravem servitutem. Seneca, 10 libro *Rethorice* sue: "Quid est libertas? Potestas vivendi ut velis. Quis igitur vivit ut vult, nisi qui recta sequitur? Soli hoc convenit sapienti, nichil faciat invitus, nichil dolens, nichil coactus." Et infra: "An ille michi liber est, cui mulier imperat, cui leges imponit, prescribit, iubet, vetat? Qui nichil imperanti negare potest, nichil recusare audet? Poscit, dandum est; vocat, veniendum; eicit, abeundum; minatur, extimescendum; ego vero istum non modo servum, set nequissimum servum, eciam si in amplissima familia natus sit, appellandum puto." Non potest igitur vere aliquis dici suus, qui sic est servus.

Supra ostensum est parti 10 quod neuter coniugum sui ipsius habet potestatem. Verumtamen ultra illum nititur uxor quelibet indebite dominari. Unde bene hic dicit Metellus: *"Malo esse meus." Cui Marius: "Immo ipsa tua erit."* Set econtra Metellus: *"Virum oportet esse uxoris, quia logicum est: 'Talia erunt predicata, qualia permiserint subiecta.'"* Verum dicit Marius, et verum dicit Metellus. Primum est verum de iure et secundum similiter, set ex perversione.

Quantum ad primum, hoc est iustum quod est a Deo institutum; set viri dominium et mulieris subieccionem Deus instituit et ordinavit. Genesis 3 (:16): "Sub potestate viri eris, et ipse dominabitur tui." Unde de iure est uxor sub viri potestate. Aliud contingit ex debiti ordinis perversione, scilicet quod uxor dominatur, ut tale sit predicatum, quale permittit subiectum. Predicatum se habet ad modum forme; subiectum, ad modum materie; qualis est comparacio viri et mulieris. Set in logicis apparet secundum istum

that the predicate is restricted more to the condition of the subject than the reverse. Similarly in household affairs, if there is to be peace, it behooves the husband to follow the will of the wife, rather than the reverse. Nevertheless in doing this proper order is perverted.

Isidore, book 9.8: "Women live under the power of the man because the minds of many of them are deceived by frivolousness; hence it was also just that they be constrained by the authority of a man. Therefore the ancients wished all unwed women, even those of adult years, to live under a guardianship because of this frivolousness of mind." But what is light to carry tends to rise; thus women's desire to rule grew out of pride. Augustine, *City* 3.14: "This desire for rule vexes the human race with great evils and wears it down." Married men whose wives try to rule them know all about this.

Therefore in keeping with this perversion it is necessary for the husband to belong to the wife for the sake of peace. Hence, according to the Philosopher in the *Categories*: "The mode of possession by which a husband possesses a wife is most strange, because he possesses less while being possessed more." *Thus, with this play on words, Metellus removed his back from burdens*. Hugutio: "*Facetia* is courtliness or urbane behavior, elegance or pleasantness, and the word properly refers to actions. Thus etymologically a 'courteous' man (*facetus*) is, as it were, 'well-disposed toward an assembly' (*favens cetui*)." Nevertheless here the word is taken to mean urbaneness in speech.

Metellus did not wish to say anything shameful or to offer any reproach, but merely proposed not to cast away his freedom. He so cast a heavy burden from his back that he was not in any way in a woman's power and did not need from then on to fear either her impetuousness or the frivolousness of her mind. And he avoids that heavy slavery by which the better part is subjected to the weaker. Ambrose, *On Duties* 1: "Notice this, that man was made outside paradise yet woman within it, so

60 **vir** uri (*lined*) vir.

auctorem quod magis artatur predicatum ad condicionem subiecti quam econtrario. Similiter in domestica policia, si pax esse debeat, plus oportet maritum sequi uxoris voluntatem quam econtrario. In hoc tamen pervertitur debitus ordo.

Ysidorus, 9 libro 8: "Ideo femine sub viri potestate consistunt, quia levitate animi plerumque decipiuntur; unde et equm erat eas viri auctoritate reprimi. Proinde et veteres voluerunt feminas innuptas, quamvis essent perfecte etatis, in tutela consistere propter ipsam animi levitatem" (9.7.30). Set quod leve est ferri, nititur in sublime; sic ex superbia crevit libido dominandi. Augustinus, 3 *De civitate* 14: "Ista dominandi libido magnis malis agitat et conterit genus humanum." Hoc senciunt mariti quibus nituntur uxores dominari.

Oportet igitur secundum dictam perversionem maritum esse uxoris propter bonum pacis. Unde secundum Philosophum, in *Predicamentis*: "Modus habendi quo vir habet uxorem est alienissimus, quia [f. 71v] minus habet magis habetur." *Sic facecia verbi Metellus divertit ab oneribus dorsum suum*. Hugutio: "Facecia est curialitas vel urbanitas, elegancia vel suavitas, et proprie consistit in factis. Unde secundum ethimologiam dicitur facetus, quasi favens cetui." Hic tamen facecia accipitur pro urbanitate in dictis.

Noluit enim iste Metellus aliquid turpe dicere vel aliquid crimen obicere, set proposuit suam libertatem quam noluit dimittere. Ita onus grave a dorso suo divertit, ut non esset aliquo modo in mulieris potestate, nec ex tunc oportuit timere eius impetuositatem vel animi levitatem. Et vitatur gravis servitus qua pars melior subicitur deteriori. Ambrosius, 1 libro *De officiis*: "Illud a\d/verte quod extra paradisum [vir] factus est, mulier intra paradisum, ut

that you may know that each person acquires grace from virtue, and neither from the nobility of his place nor of his line. In the end man, who was made outside paradise, that is, in an inferior place, is found to be better, and she who was made in a better place, that is, in paradise, is found to be weaker."

The servitude in which better things are subjected and repressed is heavy and burdensome; therefore turn your back away from marriage now, because perhaps when you wish to, you will not have the power. Hugh, on Ecclesiastes 7:27, "I found a woman more bitter than death," says: "There daily quarrels and disputes grow; harsh words are followed by terrible blows; neither may flee the other—one house, one table, one bed, and what is harsher than anything, to have neither an agreeable companion nor a distant enemy. For just as those who have a single mind in charity are not deterred from love even if their bodies are separated, so it is a great torment to those who are together all the time if they cannot agree in spirit."

Friend, if you must marry (nevertheless *it is not expedient*; rather it will be harmful), *let it be* for an appropriate cause, one which excludes all vice. He says what is not expedient is necessary, because your desire conquers you, which is quite shameful. Augustine, *Epistle* 140: "It is quite shameful that desire may conquer one whom man does not conquer." When this happens, he is quickly inclined toward what is not expedient. Chrysostom, on Matthew 19:10: "It is not expedient to marry," says: "The Lord granted what is not expedient, but he considered the weakness of the flesh; therefore the Lord said [11]: 'All men take not this word'; that is, not all may do this." According to Jerome, *On Matthew*: "To flee marriage and to preserve virginity is given by God to those who have sought it, have wished it, have labored to attain it." In truth, few either seek or wish it; few attain it, because they do not wish to labor toward that goal.

For such people, Paul says, 1 Corinthians 7:9: "If they cannot be continent, let

61 **loci** licet. 85 **a Deo** adeo.

advertas quod non l[oci] non generis nobilitate, set virtute unusquisque sibi comparat graciam. Denique extra paradysum, hoc est in inferiori loco, vir factus melior invenitur, et illa que in meliori loco, hoc est in paradiso, facta est deterior invenitur."

Gravis est servitus et onerosa in qua subsunt et deprimuntur meliora; ideo dorsum a matrimonio diverte, quia forte cum volueris non valebis. Hugo, super illud Ecclesiastes 7 (:27): "Inveni amariorem morte mulierem," sic ait: "Ibi rixe cotidiane et iurgia crebrescunt; post dura verba dira verbera succedunt; neuter alterum effugere potest—una domus, una mensa, unus lectus, et quo nichil est durius, nec concordem socium nec hostem habere separatum. Nam sicut in hiis quibus in caritate mens una est, nichil obstat eciam si corpore separati sint, ita magnum tormentum est hiis qui totaliter sociati sunt, si animo convenire non possunt."

Amice, si uxorari velis (quod tamen *non expedit*; immo noxium erit), *utinam sit causa* conveniens, omne vicium excludens. Dicit oportere quod non expedit, quia libido vincit te, quod est valde turpe. Augustinus, *Epistola* 140: "Valde turpe est ut quem non vincit homo vincat libido." Cum autem hoc contingit, cito inclinatur ad illud quod non expedit. Crisostomus, super illud Matthei 19 (:10): "Non expedit nubere," sic dicit: "Dominus consensit quod non expedit, set infirmitatem carnis consideravit; ideo dixit Dominus (11): 'Non omnes capiunt verbum istud'; id est non omnes hoc possunt." Secundum Ieronimum, *Super Mattheum*: "Matrimonium fugere et virginitatem tenere hiis datus est [a Deo] qui pecierunt, qui voluerunt, qui ut acciperent laboraverunt." Pauci vero hoc petunt aut volunt; pauci accipiunt, quia ad hoc laborare nolunt.

Pro quibus dicitur 1 Corinthiorum 7 (:9): "Si non se continent,

them marry, for it is better to marry than to be burnt." To be burnt is quite plainly an evil thing. Haymo: "It is sinful to carry out desire, whether because the heat of one's body is forcing it or in some other way. He does not say, 'It is better to marry than to be burnt' as if it is good to be burnt, but he followed the usage of everyday speech. We are accustomed to say that it is better to gain than to lose." Therefore marriage should be chosen only as a lesser good, in order to avoid a greater evil; and there ought to be a conjunction of several good reasons to do so. According to Isidore, book 9.8, there are three of these: "A wife is married for three reasons," that is, these are the reasons for getting married. "The first is to have children, of which Genesis 1:28 says: 'And God blessed them saying, "Increase and multiply."' The second reason is for help, of which Genesis 2:18 says: 'It is not good for man to be alone; let us make him a help like unto himself.' The third reason is for incontinence," that is for avoiding sin, of which I have already said above, "If a man cannot be continent, let him marry."

In the proper choice of a person to marry, some immoral reasons should be put aside: *let it be for love and not for money, a face and not clothes*. You should take care to *choose her mind, not her gold. Let your wife wed you, not her dowry.* As far as the first two, money and clothes can be lost, because they are changeable in many ways; therefore when these are the cause of joining, love is unstable. You should choose the perfection of virtues which gleams within, not the gold which gleams externally; you should not join to yourself the dowry but the good person. Whoever enters marriage because of money or clothes, because of gold or dowry, does not seek the goods of marriage but to satisfy his desire. If he intends only to satisfy, or at least to please, his desire with bodily beauty, Isidore, book 9.8: "It is better to seek good behavior in a wife than to seek beauty; but these days people seek women whose riches and

90 **Proprii** proprio. 92 **quasi** quia.

nubant; melius est nubere quam uri." Simpliciter autem malum est uri. Haymo: "Propri[i] corporis calore cogente libidinem, vel quocumque modo, nefas est perpetra[f. 72]re. Nec dicit 'melius est nubere quam uri,' qua[si] uri bonum sit, set secutus est locucionis consu\e/tudinem. Solemus enim dicere melius est facere lucrum quam dampnum." Eligendum est ergo matrimonium tamquam minus bonum, ut vitetur magis malum; et tunc debunt concurrere cause racionales et honeste, que tres sunt secundum Ysidorum, 9 libro 8, ubi ait: "Tribus de causis ducitur uxor" (hoc est propter talia est ducenda). "Prima est causa prolis, de qua legitur in Genesis 1 (:28): 'Et benedixit eis Deus, dicens "Crescite et multiplicamini."' Secunda causa est adiutorii, de qua Genesis 2 (:18): 'Non est bonum hominem esse solum; faciamus ei adiutorium simile sibi.' Tercia causa est incontinencie," scilicet culpe vitande, de qua iam supradictum est: "Qui se non continet, nubat."

In persone vero matrimonialiter copulande recta eleccione subducantur cause inhoneste: *ut amor sit in causa, non census, facies et non vestis*. Attendas eligendo *animum, et non aurum; tibi nubat uxor, non dos*. Quantum ad duo prima, census et vestis sunt amissibilia, quia multipliciter mutabilia; ideo cum hec sunt causa coniunccionis, amor est instabilis. Eligatur perfeccio virtutum que fulget interius, non aurum quod fulget exterius; non sibi copulet dotem, set bonam personam. Qui vero matrimonium contrahit propter censum aut vestem, propter aurum vel dotem, non intendit bona matrimonii set satisfacere sue cupiditati. Si tantum propter pulcritudinem corporalem intendit satisfacere, vel saltem placere libidini, Ysidorus, 9 libro 8: "Melius est si in uxore mores quam pulcritudo queratur; nunc autem queruntur quas aut divicie aut forma, non

beauty recommend them instead of the uprightness of their conduct."

Therefore so far as it exists on the part of the spouses, marriage is quickly dissolved. Hence Chrysostom, on Matthew 19:9, "Whoever has put away his wife," says: "The very causes which give rise to a thing also produce its dissolution. Not sexual intercourse, but will, makes a marriage; therefore not separation of bodies, but of wills, dissolves it." And the separation of wills happens quickly when the reason for joining is only present good fortune. Boethius, *Consolation* 3: "One whom fortune makes a friend, bad fortune makes an enemy." The love of such people is venal, and they may be called venal friends; whence the verses: "A venal friend wavers when your income disappears, and his false and pretended love will never be rekindled." Similarly separation of wills also occurs when the reason for joining was desire. Jerome, *Against Jovinian* 1: "Some men's marriages have grown up out of adulterous affairs, and (what a shameful thing!) therefore, they have ended up trying to teach chastity to the very women from whom they took it away. And so sexual glut quickly destroys marriages of this kind. When the initial enticement of desire has departed, what was permitted will have become vile."

Therefore to have a successful and happy marriage, true friendship should be present in the joining. This begins from good moral behavior and should be continued by good moral behavior. Therefore a wife should be chosen because of her perfection in virtues, and not because of some disordered affection. Cassiodorus, in a letter: "One who is truly a friend loves at all times, for torment does not separate him, labor does not tire him, a treasure will not overcome him, love of another will not seize him." *Thus, if such a thing is possible, you can be made a predicate*: if you wed a woman of good morals, you will have the condition of a predicate, namely to command and not to be subjected, *so that you are not bruised by your subject*. Hugutio: "*Livor* is the same as envy, a wound, or sorrow." Here it can be taken as a wound

131 **idem** i (id est). 131-32 **qui abstulerant** quam abstulerunt.

quas morum probitas commendat" (9.7.29).

Ideo quantum est ex parte coniugatorum, cito solvitur matrimonium. Unde Crisostomus, super illud Matthei 19 (:9): "Quicumque dimiserit uxorem," sic dicit: "Omnis causa per quas nascitur, per ipsas absolvitur causas. Matrimonium autem non facit coitus, set voluntas; ideo non illud solvit separacio corporis, set separacio voluntatis." Cito autem accidit separacio voluntatum quando coniunccionis causa est tantum presens bona fortuna. Boecius, 3 *De consolacione*: "Quem fortuna fecit amicum, infortunium fecit inimicum." Talium amor est venalis, et dici possunt amici venales; de hoc ita notatur: "Fluctuat ad censum venalis amicus egenum,/ Nec falsus refovet nec fabricatus amor." Sic eciam accidit separacio voluntatum cum causa coniunccionis est libido. Ieronimus, 1 libro *Contra Iovinianum*: "Quorundam matrimonia adulteriis coheserunt; et ideo, rem improbam, ide[m] illis pudiciciam preceperunt, qu[i] abstuler[a]nt. Itaque [f. 72v] cito huiusmodi nupcias sacietas solvit. Cum primum lenocinium libidinis abcessit, quod licebat eviluit."

Ut igitur matrimonium felicem habeat successum opus est quod in contrahendo vera interveniat amicicia, que ex bonis moribus habet inchoari, et eisdem debet continuari. Eligatur igitur uxor propter virtutum perfeccionem, et non propter aliquam inordinatam affeccionem. Cassiodorus, in quadam epistola: "Qui vere amicus est omni tempore diligit, nam tormentum non separat, labor non lassat, thesaurus non superat, alienus amor non occupat." *Sic si aliquo modo fieri potest, predicari poteris*: si ducas bene moratam, habebis condicionem predicati quod est preesse et non subesse, *ut livorem non ducas a subiecto*. Hugutio: "Livor idem est quod invidia, vulnus, vel dolor." Hic autem accipi potest pro vulnere vel dolore.

or sorrow. Proverbs 18:22: "The man who has found a good wife has found a good thing and shall receive a pleasure from the Lord." The man who weds a good and virtuous wife finds good in the procreation of offspring, in mutual support, and in avoiding mortal sin. From the society of such a wife he will draw joy, not be bruised. Ecclesiasticus 26:16 speaks of such a man: "The grace of a diligent woman shall delight her husband." She will be an aid to her husband in his weakness, a consolation to him by means of her generous society and a cure for his sinful desire.

4.

These things said and drawn from the words of the author as well as those added to clarify his intention require a well-meaning reader, since they are not adduced to condemn either nature or the sacrament of matrimony, but to compare, so that it may be demonstrated that virginal chastity is better than married continence. Thus many things are said by which the author appears to condemn women, so that he may produce an exhortation to a man that he not get married. Whoever wishes to restrain someone from doing a thing ought not to commend it; rather, he may without sin disparage it for its evil features. Thus if one were exhorting women, one could speak of the vices of men—and these are indeed serious and harmful to good wives.

For there are many men who lack trust and are suspicious; they believe good with difficulty and take evil for granted easily. Wisdom 17:10: "A troubled conscience always forecasts grievous things." Gregory, *Moralia* 12: "In every thing which an evil man does, he is surrounded by tribulation and narrowness, because his heart is

13 **presumit** presunt.

Proverbiorum 18 (:22): "Qui invenit mulierem bonam invenit bonum et hauriet iocunditatem a Domino." Qui bonam et virtuosam ducit in uxorem invenit bonum ad prolis procreacionem, ad mutuam supportacionem, et ad peccati mortalis vitacionem. Ex societate talis mulieris ducet iocunditatem et non livorem. De tali potest intelligi quod dicitur Ecclesiastici 26 (:16): "Gracia mulieris sedule delectabit virum suum." Hec erit marito in subsidium sue infirmitatis, in solamen grate societatis et in remedium culpabilis voluptatis.

4.

[on f. 102v]

Dicta et tractata ex verbis auctoris et similiter addita propter declaracionem sue intencionis pium requirunt lectorem, quia non sunt adducta ad condempnandum naturam vel sacrum, set ad comparandum, ut ostendatur melior esse castitas virginalis quam continencia coniugalis. Sic plurima sunt dicta quibus videtur mulier reprobari, ut fiat exhortacio viro de non contrahendo matrimonio. Qui enim vult aliquem ab alio retrahere non debet illud commendare; immo pro malis sine culpa potest vituperare. Ita in exhortacione mulierum dici possunt vicia virorum, que sunt gravia et bonis uxoribus nociva.

Sunt enim quamplurimi increduli et suspiciosi; difficiliter credunt bonum et faciliter presumunt malum. Sapiencie 17 (:10): "Semper presu[mi]t seva, conturbata consciencia." Gregorius, 12 *Moralium*: "In omne quod agit iniqus tribulacione et angustia

confused by anguish and suspicion." Such a man, even though he has a good wife, would rather hunt for discord. Ambrose, *On the Patriarchs*: "There are no expanses large enough for those who disagree; for quiet and peace-loving people, even narrow places are roomy, and spacious places become narrow for those disagreeing in behavior."

Also evil men are prone to anger and to giving rebukes. Proverbs 22:24: "Be not a friend to," that is familiar with, "an angry man." Cicero, in the prologue of his *Rhetoric*: "Even if an angry man desires clear peace and good will, he will not find them at all, but his hatred will increase and be inflamed"; and he also says that an angry man makes friendships vexing and burdensome. Anger is quickly followed by impatience, for when a man suspects some evil thing and as a result becomes enraged, he is troubled in an impatient manner. Hugh, *The Cloister of the Soul*: "Impatience is the inability to restrain the violent movement of the soul." This violent movement continues, and a harmful act follows: hard words and cruel deeds spring from such an unrestrained man.

Hence Sidonius, book 2, epistle 1, speaking of an evil man, says: "Know that in him for days at a time there appears a spirit of long-disguised rage; he envies openly, he makes himself hypocritically abject, he grows proud in a servile way; he orders like a lord, he demands like a tyrant, he condemns like a judge, he criticizes like a savage; always armed out of fear, fasting out of avarice, made terrible by desire and cruel by vanity." And he adds: "Everything he desires he makes as if to buy, but then despises it and won't pay the price, or won't accept documents because he doesn't trust them. He gives orders while being advised and he is silent in company; he jokes in church and preaches at dinner; he condemns in the bedroom and falls asleep in the courtroom." And he says further: "He is generous in punishing, sparing of mercy; filled with rage, deficient in piety; false in word, imperfect in deed; dedicated to vices, lacking devotion to God, a second Herod in cruelty." Gregory says of impatient men,

23 **non** *om.* 33 **indicit** inducit. 39 **dampnat** dapnat.

vallatur, quia cor eius anxietate et suspicione confunditur." Qui talis est, licet habuerit bonam uxorem, magis sectatur discordiam. Ambrosius, *De patriarchis*: "Nulla spacia satis sunt discordibus: quietis et pacificis eciam angusta habundant; dissonis moribus artantur spaciosa."

Item mali viri sunt iracundi et contumeliosi. Proverbiorum 22 (:24): "Noli esse amicus," id est familiaris, "homini iracundo." Tullius, in prologo *Rethorice*: "Ab irato si perspicua pax et benevolencia appetitur, non modo ea [non] invenitur, set augetur odium et inflammatur"; et dicit idem quod homo iracundus molestas et onerosas facit amicicias. Ad predicta cito sequitur impaciencia, quia cum vir male suspicatur et consequenter irascitur, impacienter turbatur. Hugo, *De claustro anime*: "Impaciencia est impetuosum animi motum non re[f. 103]frenare." Procedit animi motus impetuosus, et consequitur actus nocivus: ab huiusmodi inpaciente procedunt dura verba et crudelia facta.

Unde Sydonius, 2 libro, epistola 1, loquens de malo sic ait: "Scitote in eo per dies spiritum diu dissimilati furoris aperiri; aperte invidet, abiecte fingit, serviliter superbit; ind[i]cit ut dominus, exigit ut tirannus, addicit ut iudex, calumpniatur ut barbarus; tota die metu armatus, ab avaricia ieiunus, a cupiditate terribilis, a vanitate crudelis." Et infra: "Totum quod concupiscit, quasi comparat, nec dat precia contempnens, nec accipit instrumenta desperans. In consilio iubet, in consilio tacet; in ecclesia iocatur, in convivio predicat; in cubiculo da[m]pnat, in questione dormitat." Et infra dicit: "Prodigus in pena, parcus misericordia; furore repletus, pietate deficiens; verbo falsus, opere inperfectus; viciis deditus, Domino indevotus, crudelitate Herodes secundus." De impacientibus vero

Pastoral Care 2: "Impatient men, so long as they offer little resistance to their emotion, even if they had been tranquil in mind, ruin what they have done well, and with an unconsidered impulse destroy something they perhaps have built with long and considered labor." Such men turn their own defects and sins back upon their wives; they are bad friends, because they love peace so little.

Also evil men are unfaithful about the goods of marriage; they do not keep fidelity but commit adulteries. Hosea 4:2: "Cursing and lying and killing and theft and adultery have overflowed, and blood has touched blood." Gregory, *Moralia* 13: "By the noun blood Hosea usually means sin. Therefore blood has touched blood when sin has heaped up sin." Thus in marriage because of his wickedness the husband will not treat his wife with the proper marital affection, and the sin of adultery follows; and hence frequently occasion for sin is taken up by the wife too, so that Matthew 18:7 speaks truly in saying "Woe to that man by whom a scandal comes."

Therefore men may not justly condemn all women, for among them, just as among women, there are more evil than good. Hence John 8:3, 7 says "The Pharisees bring" to Jesus "a woman taken in adultery," to whom at last he responded by saying, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her." Augustine, *On John*: "This is the voice of justice: let the sinful woman be punished, but not by sinners; let the law be fulfilled, but not by those who abuse the law." Practically everybody wants to be a judge nowadays, although they do not take care to be free of sins. Gregory, *Moralia* 14: "The man who does not judge himself first does not know what to judge justly in another; and if perhaps he knows through hearsay that he ought to judge justly, nevertheless he has no power to judge the merits of others, for he hasn't the consciousness of his own innocence to offer him a rule for judging."

56 **Matthei** *followed by space.* 59 **mulieres** mulieribus.

dicit Gregorius, 2 *Pastoralis*: "Impacientes, dum perturbacioni sue minime obsistunt, eciam si qua tranquilla mente fuerant, bene gesta confundunt, et inproviso impulsu destruunt quicquid forcitan diu labore provido construxerunt." Tales suos defectus similiter et culpas retorquent in uxores; mali sunt socii, quia minus pacifici.

Item mali viri sunt infideles circa bona matrimonii; fidem non servant, set adulteria perpetrant. Osee 4(:2): "Maledictum et mendacium et homicidium et furtum et adulterium inundaverunt, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit." Gregorius, 13 *Moralium*: "Solet sanguinis nomine significare peccatum. Sanguis ergo sanguinem tetigit, cum culpa culpam cumulaverit." Sic in matrimonio propter maliciam mariti propriam uxorem non tractat affectu maritali, et consequitur peccatum adulterii; et hinc frequenter ex parte uxoris sumitur occasio peccandi, ut possit vere dici illud Matthei (18:7): "Ve illi per quem scandalum venit."

Non possunt ergo viri iuste omnes condempnare mulieres, nam inter eos sicut mulier[es] plures sunt mali quam boni. Unde [f. 103v] dicitur Iohannis 8 (:3, 7): "Adducunt Pharisei" ad Iesum "mulierem in adulterio deprehensam," quibus tandem sic respondit: "Qui sine peccato est vestrum, primus in illam lapidem mittat." Augustinus, *Super Iohannem*: "Hec vox iusticie est: puniatur peccatrix, set non a peccatoribus; impleatur lex, set non a prevaricatoribus legis." Volunt tamen modo quasi omnes esse iudices, licet non curent a peccatis esse inmunes. Gregorius, 14 *Moralium*: "Qui seipsum prius non iudicat, quid in alio recte iudicet ignorat; et si novit fortasse per auditum quod recte iudicare debeat, recte tamen iudicare aliena merita non valet, cui consciencia innocencie proprie nullam iudicii regulam prebet."

Thus it happens that many who rebuke evildoers are perpetrators of crimes themselves, and are the correctors of others and yet not performers of good deeds. Likewise many men who disparage women are not free of sins themselves; and they write much about the wickedness of women, and in a similar vein the women might write of the wickedness of men, whose number is virtually infinite. Ecclesiastes 1:15: "The perverse are hard to be corrected, and the number of fools is infinite." Psalms 39:6 says of such evil men: "They have multiplied above number." Seneca, Epistle 42: "One cannot quickly either become good or be recognized as such; … for it takes maybe five hundred years (as with the phoenix) for the next one to come along. Nor is it a wonder that goodness is born after a long interval; fortune produces middling things frequently, and they are born to join the common herd…. But a man who knew what a good man is would believe that he is not yet one, and perhaps also might despair of ever becoming one."

Hence there is a paucity of good men; they are rare. Therefore Seneca says in Epistle 85 that many animals are better than men. Of this he says: "Add that many things which appear good are more fully available to animals than to men. They consume their food more hungrily; they are not equally exhausted by Venus; the constancy of their strength is greater; they are much happier than men, for they live without vice." Therefore an author or an instructor of women might write that it is better to abstain from marriage on account of the wickedness of men, so that one might be a free woman, outstanding in virtue and devoted to God. Thus according to the counsel of the Apostle, man and woman may be judged equals.

To complement Valerius's work we may declare two things: the first is that marriage is good; the second is that among the number of women many are good. About the first one should know that marriage was established as a duty of nature, that is, for the multiplication of the species. Nor therefore ought it to be condemned

71 **Hinc** *the letter c looks like a later insertion.* **qui** que. 81 **mediocria** mediocra. 98 **quia**} *the a is added later, above qui.*

Hinc contingit quod multi perpetrant qu[i] malos reprobant et sunt aliorum correctores qui non sunt boni operatores. Sic sunt viri multi mulierum vituperatores, qui a culpis non sunt inmunes; et de mulierum malicia scribunt multa, et simili racione possent mulieres scribere de malicia virorum, quorum numerus est quasi infinitus. Ecclesiastes 1 (:15): "Perversi difficile corriguntur, et stultorum infinitus est numerus." Sic de malis dicitur in Psalmos (39:6): "Multiplicati sunt super numerum." Seneca, epistola 42: "Vir bonus cito ne fieri nec intelligi potest [...] nam ille alter fortasse tamquam fenix anno quingentesimo nascitur. Nec est mirum ex intervallo magno generari; mediocr[i]a et in turbam nascencia sepe fortuna producit. [...] Set qui sciret quid esset vir bonus nondum se esse crederet; fortasse eciam fieri posse desperaret."

Unde bonorum virorum est paucitas et raritas. Ideo dicit Seneca, epistola 85, quod multa bruta hominibus sunt meliora. De hoc ita dicit: "Adde quod multa que bona videntur animalibus quam hominibus pleniora contingunt. Illa cibo avidius utuntur; Venere non eque fatigantur; virium illis maior est firmitas; multo feliciora sunt homine, nam sine nequicia degunt." Scribat igitur scriptor vel doctor mulierum quod propter maliciam virorum melius est a matrimonio abstinere, ut sit mulier libera, virtute preclara et Deo devota. Ita secundum [f. 104] consilium Apostoli poterunt vir et mulier ad paria iudicari.

Possunt autem ad operis huius complementum duo declarari: primum est quod bonum est coniugium; secundum est quod multe sunt bone in numero mulierum. Circa primum sciendum est quod coniugium erat institutum in nature officium, videlicet ad hominum multiplicacionem. Nec ideo debet reprobari, \quia/ quan-

simply because sometimes children are evil. For Jerome says in his epistle to Rufinus: "Just as the good children of adulterers provide no defense of adultery, so the evil children of the wedded impute no crime to marriage, because the cause of vice or virtue is not in the seed but in the will of the child."

Also marriage was established to cure sin and to lead to virtuous sexual relations. Gregory, *Pastoral Care* 2.28: "If they bear the storms of temptation with hazard to their salvation, they should seek the haven of marriage, because 1 Corinthians 7:9 says: 'It is better to marry than to be burnt.' They come to marriage without sin as long as they have not yet vowed to do something even better." From these two causes, one may prove the truth of what Augustine says, *On Genesis* 9.9: "The infirmity of the sexes is excused by the virtuousness of marriage, so that what might be a most healthy duty is also a cure for those who are ill." In the time of innocence marriage was a duty of nature, and in the time of fallen nature it became a cure, but remained good. Hence Augustine adds: "Because marriage is good, it may never be a sin."

Also marriage was established for friendly and social association. Genesis 2:18: "It is not good for man to be alone; let us make him a help like unto himself." Hence woman is said to have been formed from man's rib so that she might be his companion. Ephesians 5:33: "Let everyone love his wife as himself." According to Jerome: "When it says in the gospel, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself,' there is an indication of likeness. But in this context there is an indication of similar essences." And Augustine says, *City* 19.1: "Everyone ought to wish for his companion what he wishes for himself"; likewise a husband for his companion wife, and she for him, for they are one flesh. Genesis 2:24 and Ephesians 5:31: "They shall be two in one flesh." Thus each of the spouses ought to love the other as himself, so that there may be friendly association in good things and faithful support in weaknesses

108 **duobus** duobis. 119 **Unusquisque** unnusquisque. 125 **coniugum** coniugium.

doque mali sunt filii. Nam dicit Ieronimus in epistola ad Ruffinum: "Sicut boni filii adulterorum nulla est defencio adulterii, sic mali filii coniugatorum nullum crimen est matrimonii, quia non in seminibus, set in voluntate nascentis causa viciorum est atque virtutum."

Item erat institutum in peccati remedium ad honestam et virtuosam conversacionem. Gregorius, 2 *Pastoralis* 28: "Si temptacionum procellas cum difficultate salutis tolerant, coniugii portum petant, quia scriptum est, 1 Corinthiorum 7 (:9): 'Melius est nubere quam uri.' Sine culpa enim ad coniugium veniunt, set tamen necdum meliora devoverunt." De hiis duob[u]s modis verificari potest quod dicit Augustinus, nono libro *Super Genesim*, capitulo 9: "Infirmitas sexuum excipitur honestate nupciarum, ut quod sanius posset esse officium sit egrotis remedium." Tempore enim innocencie fuit matrimonium in nature officium, et tempore nature lapse fuit in remedium, semper autem bonum. Unde Augustinus, ubi supra: "Quia bone sunt nupcie, peccatum numquam esse potest."

Item institutum erat matrimonium propter amicabilem et socialem communicacionem. Genesis 2 (:18): "Non est bonum esse hominem solum; faciamus ei adiutorium simile sibi." Unde dicitur mulier de costa viri fuisse formata, ut esset sibi socia. Ephesiorum 5(:33): "[Unusquisque] uxorem suam sicut seipsum diligat." Secundum Ieronimum: "Cum dicitur in Evangelio, 'Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum,' est nota similitudinis. In proposito vero est nota essencialitatis." Et dicit Augustinus, 19 *De civitate* 1: "Socio debet quis velle, quod sibi"; sic maritus uxori socie, et e converso, cum sint caro una. Genesis 2 (:24) et Ephesiorum 5 (:31): "Erunt duo in carne una." Ita uterque [coniugum] debet ut seipsum diligere alterum, quod sit in bonis amicabilis communi[f. 104v]cacio

and infirmities.

Also marriage was established as a sacrament, worthy of reverence, because it is a sign of the oneness between Christ and the church, as well as between God and every faithful soul. John 3:29: "He that has the bride is a bridegroom." Alcuin: "He calls the church a bride gathered together from all the nations; she is a virgin in the wholeness of her mind, the perfection of her charity, the unity of her universal faith, the concord of her peace, and the wholeness of her mind and body." Of this bride Bernard says: "Christ associated himself with this bride in the bedroom of the virgin's womb and redeemed her with the price of his blood." Similarly Theophilus says: "Christ is the bridegroom of every soul." Hosea 2:20: "I will espouse you to me in faith, and you shall know that I am the Lord." The union of the flesh in marriage symbolizes such a gracious joining. Hence it is the greatest of the sacraments in its meaning. Hence the verses comparing the sacraments: "Baptism is greatest in effect, the eucharist in its essence, marriage in its sign, but confirmation in its minister." On this account, Ephesians 5:32 says: "This is a great sacrament; but I speak this in Christ and in the church." This is a sacrament established by God, as Augustine teaches, *City* 14.21 and 22.

Second, it is necessary to look at the goodness of women, and it is evident from holy writ and history that there were many good ones, some virgins and martyrs, some widows and wedded women worthy of praise for their continence. Hence just as the state of women appears worthy of censure on account of their first sin and of the downfall of our first parent, likewise it appears worthy of commendation on account of their eminent grace and their first multiplication of the church and the faith.

Of the grace of the glorious virgin who was the beginning and foundation of the church we have spoken above in part 10. Our downfall was made by the first woman,

et in defectibus aut infirmitatibus fidelis supportacio.

Item institutum est matrimonium ut venerabile sacramentum, quia in signum conveccionis Cristi et ecclesie, similiter Dei et cuiuslibet fidelis anime. Iohannis 3 (:29): "Qui habet sponsam sponsus est." Alquinus: "Sponsam dicit ecclesiam ex omnibus gentibus congregatam, que virgo est integritate mentis, perfeccione caritatis, unitate catholice fidei, concordia pacis, et integritate anime et corporis." De hac sponsa dicit Bernardus: "Hanc sponsam Cristus in thalamo uteri virginalis sibi sociavit et eamdem precio sui sanguinis redemit." Similiter dicit Theophilus: "Omnis anime Cristus est sponsus." Osee 2 (:20): "Sponsabo te michi in fide, et scies quia ego Dominus." Talem coniunccionem graciosam significat carnale coniugium. Unde in significando est maximum sacramentum. Unde notatur de comparacione sacramentorum: "Maius in effectu baptisma, corpus in esse,/Coniugium signo, set confirmare ministro." Propter hoc dicitur Ephesiorum 5 (:32): "Sacramentum hoc magnum est; ego autem dico in Cristo et ecclesia." Hoc est sacramentum a Deo institutum, ut docet Augustinus, 14 *De civitate* 21, 22.

Secundo oportet videre de mulierum bonitate, circa quod patet ex scriptura et historia quod multe fuerunt bone, quedam virgines et martires, quedam vidue et coniugate laudabiliter continentes. Unde sicut multum videtur reprehendi status mulierum propter primam culpam et propter primi parentis subvercionem, ita videtur commendari propter eminentem graciam et primam ecclesie et fidei multiplicacionem.

De gracia virginis gloriose que fuit inicium et fundamentum ecclesie dictum est supra, parti 10. Per primam mulierem facta

but our restoration by Mary. Hence Augustine, in a sermon about the nativity of the Lord: "Mary has been made the restoration of women, because by her women are proven to have been pulled up from the ruin of the first curse. The three curses on Eve are proven at last to have been shut off by three goods of Mary. For it was said of Eve: 'In pains and sorrow shall you bring forth; everything you do will be for the man, and he shall have dominion over you.' And those women who do not follow Mary make themselves subject to these three curses—to pain, sorrow, and servitude. Hear in contrast how much Mary is elevated through three most splendid gifts—those of the angelic salutation, of the divine blessing, and of the fullness of grace! Thus we read that the angel saluted her: 'Hail Mary, full of grace; blessed are you among women.' When he said, 'Hail,' he showed her a heavenly salutation. When he said 'full of grace,' he showed that the wrath of the first condemnation was newly shut off and the grace of the first love restored. When he said 'blessed are you among women,' he expressed the blessed fruit of her virginity, so that she might be called blessed among women because she persevered as a virgin. For Eve had been cursed, but we believe now that she has come back through Mary to the blessing of grace."

Jerome speaks of the grace of this virgin in a sermon: "Grace is offered to other virgins in part; the plenitude of grace pours itself out fully for Mary. This fullness was in Christ, although in another way; and in another way because the fullness of grace was in Christ as in a man deified in his person. It was in Mary as in a temple uniquely consecrated; or in another way because the fullness of grace was in Christ as if in a flowing head, in Mary as if in a neck transferring the flow." On account of the fullness of this grace, women are well encouraged to imitate the glorious virgin. Hence Augustine in his sermon on the Lord's nativity: "Come, virgins, to the virgin

161 **subiungunt** subiungant. 164 **divine** divine formam. 169 **benedictum** bndictum.

est perdicio, per istam restauracio. Unde Augustinus, in quodam sermone de nativitate Domini: "Facta est Maria restauracio feminarum, quia per ipsam a ruina prime maledicciones probantur esse subtracte. Tria denique mala Eve a tribus bonis Marie probantur exclusa. Nam Eve dictum est, 'In doloribus et tristicia paries; et ad virum conversacio tua, et ipse dominabitur tui.' Tribus his malis se subiung[u]nt femine que [f. 105] Mariam non secuntur—dolori, tristicie, et servituti. Maria autem e converso quam preclarissimis tribus donis sublimetur asculta—salutacionis angelice, benedicciones [divine], et plenitudinis gracie! Sic enim legitur eam angelus salutasse: 'Ave Maria, gracia plena, benedicta tu inter mulieres.' Cum dixisset 'Ave,' salutacionem celestem illi exhibuit. Cum dixit 'plena gracia,' ostendit ex integro iram exclusam prime sentencie et prime dileccionis graciam restitutam. Cum dixit 'benedicta tu inter mulieres,' virginitatis eius b[ene]dictum fructum expressit, ut ex eo benedicta dicatur inter mulieres, quod virgo perseverraret. Maledicta enim Eva fuerat, quam nunc credimus per Mariam ad benediccionem gracie remeasse."

De istius virginis gracia loquitur Ieronimus in quodam sermone, ita dicens: "Ceteris virginibus per partes prestatur gracia; Marie vero se totam infudit gracie plenitudo, que fuit in Cristo quamquam aliter, et aliter quia in Cristo fuit plenitudo gracie tamquam in homine personaliter deificato. In Maria vero ut in templo singulariter consecrato; vel ideo aliter, quia in Cristo fuit plenitudo gracie sicut in capite influente, in Maria sicut in collo transfundente." Propter dicte gracie plenitudinem bene invitantur mulieres ad gloriose virginis imitacionem. Unde Augustinus in sermone de nativitate Domini: "Venite, virgines, ad virginem et

and rejoice. Put aside the curse of your transgression, and take up the blessing of your restoration. Cast away the sorrows that Eve received through the serpent and take up the honors that Mary received through the angel. Drive off sorrow while conceiving and throw away groaning while giving birth, so that only he, the son of the virgin, may have dominion over you. Come, virgins, to the virgin; come, you who conceive, to her conceiving; come, you who give birth, to her giving birth; come, mothers, to the mother; come, you who nurse, to her nursing; come, young women, to her a young woman. The virgin Mary ventured upon all these natural processes in the Lord Jesus Christ so that she might aid all women who flee to her; and so that thus this new Eve, by preserving her virginity, might restore the entire race of women coming to her, just as the new Adam revives the entire race of men."

She is truly fortunate and blessed, for she turned a curse into a benediction, and in the outcome she brought it about that the sin was more helpful than it was previously harmful. Hence Ambrose in a sermon: "Just as sin began by a woman, so also good things are begun by the female sex." He also says that "The sin helped us more than it harmed us; in this sin our redemption found the divine gift." Behold how God, who made everything from nothing, has changed the conditions of things.

Woman has, among other qualities, three defective ones, for she is seducible, changeable, and prone to passiveness. Of the first of these, 1 Timothy 2:14: The man "was not seduced but the woman." Hence Genesis 3:13: "She answered, 'The serpent deceived me.'" Second, that she is changeable: she is not constant in precept and truth; therefore 1 Timothy 2:12 says: "I suffer not a woman to teach in church." Hence the first woman who began to respond was quickly circumscribed. Of the third Proverbs 31:10 says: "Who shall find a valiant woman?" Thus, as is commonly thought, especially before the time of the glorious virgin, there were three defective

187 **dominetur** dne/. 194 **recuperat** recuperaret.

letamini. Deponite maledicionem prevaricacionis, et benediccionem restauracionis assumite. Proicite dolores quos Eva per serpentem accepit, et quos Maria per angelum suscepit honores assumite. Expellite tristiciam concipientes, et gemitus parturientes abicite, ut solus vobis iste virginis filius domine[tur]. Venite, virgines, ad virginem; venite, concipientes, ad concipientem; venite, parientes, ad parientem; venite, matres, ad matrem; venite, lactantes, ad lactantem; venite, iuvencule, ad iuvenculam. Ideo omnes istos cursus nature virgo Maria in Domino Iesu Cristo suscepit, ut omnibus ad se fu[f. 105v]gientibus feminis subveniret; et sic restauraret omne genus feminarum ad se veniencium nova Eva servando virginitatem, sicut omne genus virorum Adam novus recuper[a]t."

Hec est vere beata et benedicta, que maledicciones in benediccionem mutavit, et ex eventu per eam culpa plus profuit quam prius nocuit. Unde Ambrosius in quodam sermone: "Sicut peccatum a muliere cepit, ita eciam bona a muliebri sexu inchoantur." Idem dicit quod "Amplius nobis profuit culpa quam nocuit, in qua redempcio nostra divinum munus invenit." Ecce quomodo Deus, qui ex nichilo omnia condidit, condiciones rerum mutavit.

Habet enim mulier inter alia tres condiciones defectivas, quia est seducibilis, vertibilis, et passibilis. De primo istorum, 1 Thimothei 2 (:14): Vir "non est seductus set mulier." Unde Genesis 3 (:13): "Ipsa respondit, 'Serpens decepit me.'" Secundo quod est vertibilis: non est constans in precepto et veritate; ideo dicitur, Primi Thimothei 2 (:12): "Mulierem in ecclesia docere non permitto." Unde prima mulier que respondere incepit cito eidem conclusum fuit. De tercio dicitur, Proverbiorum ultimo (31:10): "Mulierem fortem quis inveniet?" Sic, ut communiter, precipue ante tempus virginis glo-

qualities in women.

But in the glorious virgin these were changed into the opposite qualities, so that one can say only to her, "Blessed art thou among women," that is above all women. For she was most exceptional in her knowledge of the faith, most constant in teaching and truth, and strongest in the sufferings brought on her. A great many holy and virtuous women lived in imitation of her, of whom Exodus 15:20 tells truly: "The women went forth after Mary with timbrels and with dances." The women who went forth from the Red Sea represent the choir of virgins and of those laudably continent, those who have left behind the current of carnal desires, who have depressed the swelling of pride, and who have performed works of mercy according to the example of the glorious virgin Mary. Thus Augustine exhorts in a sermon: "Imitate her, o virgins, so far as you may; not in fruitfulness, for you cannot, since she alone was able to do both—to be fruitful while preserving her virginity, because she gave birth to the omnipotent through whom she was able; nor therefore should you account yourselves sterile because you remain virgins; for this very virginity of the flesh leads to fruitfulness of the mind. What you admire in Mary's flesh, perform it in the inner recesses of your spirit: whoever believes in justice in her heart conceives Christ, whoever confesses salvation with her mouth gives birth to Christ. Thus in your minds fruitfulness may abound and virginity may persist."

Holy and devout women in the early church understood this exhortation well, especially those who had imitated Christ, applying themselves to serving him and remaining with him in his passion. These and their followers had many laudable qualities, because they loved most steadfastly. Bede, explaining Luke 23:55, "The women following after him," says: "Above, in verse 49, we read that 'All his acquaintance, and the women that had followed him, stood afar off.' When all Jesus's acquaintances had

riose, erant in muliere 3 condiciones defective.

Set in virgine gloriosa est mutacio in oppositas qualitates, ut singulariter dici possit, "Benedicta tu in mulieribus," id est super omnes mulieres. Nam erat discretissima in fidei congnicione, constantissima in doctrina et veritate, et fortissima in illata passione. Ad huius imitacionem vixerunt quamplurime mulieres sancte et virtuose, de quibus verificatur illud Exodi 15 (:20): "Egresse sunt mulieres post Mariam cum timpanis et choris." Mulieres egresse de Mari Rubro significant chorum virginum et laudabiliter continencium, que fluxum carnalium voluptatum reliquerunt, tumorem superbie depresserunt, et opera misericordie excercuerunt ad exemplum gloriose virginis Marie. Sic hortatur Augustinus in quodam sermone, dicens: "Imitamini eam, o virgines, quantum potestis; non fecunditate, quia non potestis, set salva virginitate sola utrumque potuit, quia omnipotentem peperit per quem potuit; nec propterea vos steriles deputetis que virgines [f. 106] permanetis; nam et ipsa virginitas carnis ad fecunditatem pertinet mentis. Quod miramini in carne Marie, agite in penetrabilibus anime: qui corde credit ad iusticiam concipit Cristum, qui ore confitetur ad salutem parit Cristum; sic in mentibus vestris et fecunditas exuberet et virginitas perseveret."

Dictam exhortacionem bene intellexerunt mulieres sancte et devote in ecclesia primitiva, maxime que Cristum fuerunt imitate, eius obsequiis intendentes et secum in passione permanentes. Ipse et earum sequaces multas laudabiles habebant condiciones, quia arcius amabant. Beda, super illud Luce 23 (:55): "Subsecute sunt eum mulieres," sic ait: "Supra legimus quia 'stabant omnes noti eius a longe, et mulieres que secute erant eum.' Hiis ergo notis Iesu post

returned to their own homes after his body was taken down, only the women who loved him most steadfastly followed the corpse and desired to see how it was laid to rest." And a gloss on Luke 23:27 "There followed him a great multitude of people and of women," says: "The female sex always loves to cry and has a mind prone to pity." Therefore good women are tender in their love and pious in their affection. Acts 9:36: "Tabitha full of good works and of almsdeeds which she did."

Also women persevered in serving Christ. Jerome, *On Matthew*: "When others had left the Lord, the women persisted in their duties." Thus good women are solicitous about services useful to Christ and his followers. Luke 10:40: "Martha was busy about much serving."

Also women first announced the mysteries of the passion and of the resurrection. The gloss on Luke 24:8–9, "They remembered his words, and going back from the sepulcher, they announced all these things to the eleven and to all the rest," says: "When the women were instructed by the words of the angels, they hastened to report them to the disciples. For woman, who was once the agent of death, first received and announced the holy mystery of the resurrection. Therefore the female race gained for itself both absolution from disgrace and a repudiation of God's curse." Thus, now that both disgrace and curse have been obliterated, good women cling to the risen Christ as messengers of truth. Matthew 28:9: "Jesus met the women, saying 'All hail.' But they came up and took hold of his feet and adored him."

Also, when the apostles and disciples hesitated a little in their faith, women strengthened them in the truth of the faith; for only the virgin Mary kept the faith without any doubt, and other women of the gospel most quickly advanced to firm-

256 **accelerantes** accelerantes ea. 258 **Adeptum** ademptum.

depositum eius cadaver ad sua remeantibus, sole mulieres que arcius amabant funus subsecute quomodo poneretur inspicere cupiebant." Et dicit quedam glosa super illud Luce 23 (:27): "Sequebatur autem illum multa turba populi et mulierum:" "Amans lacrimarum est semper sexus femineus et mentem habens flexibilem ad pietatem." Sunt igitur bone mulieres tenere dileccionis et pie affeccionis. Actuum 9 (:36): "Tabita plena operibus bonis et elemosinis quas faciebat."

Item mulieres in Cristi obsequio perseverabant. Ieronimus, *Super Matheum*: "Ceteris relinquentibus Dominum, mulieres in officio perseverant." Sic bone mulieres sollicite sunt circa Cristi et suorum utile ministerium. Luce 10 (:40): "Martha satagebat circa frequens ministerium."

Item mulieres misteria passionis et resureccionis primo anunciabant. Glosa super illud Luce 21 (24:8-9): "Recordate sunt verborum eius; et regresse a monumento, nunciaverunt hec omnia illis undecim et ceteris omnibus," sic ait: "Instructe mulieres angelorum affatibus, [accelerantes] retulerunt ea discipulis. Namque femina que quondam mortis fuit ministra, venerandum resurexionis misterium prima percepit et nunciat. [Adeptum] est igitur femineum genus et ignominie absolucionem et malediccionis repudium." Sic bone mulieres deletis ignominia et malediccione ut nuncie veritatis adherent Cristo resurgenti. Mathei 28 (:9): "Iesus occurit [f. 106v] mulieribus, dicens 'Avete.' Ille autem accesserunt et tenuerunt pedes eius et adoraverunt eum."

Item mulieres apostolos et discipulos qui in fide quodammodo hesitabant in fidei veritate confirmabant; nam sola virgo Maria indubitanter fidem servavit, et alie mulieres evangelice ad fidei

ness in the faith. Severian in a sermon for Easter: "Late runs woman to forgiveness who early ran to guilt; she who had taken treachery from paradise hurries to take faith from the sepulcher, she who seized death from life races to seize life from death."

Thus a woman was first in the death sin brings, and a woman was first in the grace of the faith. Bede, on Mark 16:9: "Early, the first day of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene," says: "In the beginning woman was the author of man's sin; now she who first tasted death first sees the resurrection, lest she should have to bear the shame of perpetual accusation from men; and she who had poured forth sin for man, has poured forth grace also." Then a woman has made restitution, just as previously she made destruction.

Woman made man infirm, but woman confirmed men in the faith. Mark 16:7: "Go, tell his disciples and Peter." Jerome: "The women were told to tell the apostles, because through woman death was announced, and through women resurgent life is announced." This was done to strengthen the faith, so that thus a woman should publish the faith, just as blessed Mary was teacher and preserver of the faith; one may take Wisdom 8:4, "She teaches the knowledge of God," to refer to her. She instructed apostles and evangelists most fully about the words and deeds of her son. Bernard, Homily 3 on "Missus est" (Luke 1:26), says of this that she recalled both the time and the order of events "so that afterwards she might better disclose the truth of the gospel to writers and preachers; she had been fully instructed from heaven in all the mysteries from the beginning." And also: "She is appropriately called the apostle of the apostles and the evangelist of the evangelists; through her the principal teaching shone to these princes of the faith."

Therefore many good and most holy women have gone ahead and there are still a great many in the church, so that if the sin of some women may be censured,

268 **sero** sere. **mature** nature. 275 **auctor** actor.

firmitatem cicius pervenerunt. Severianus in sermone de Pascha: "Ser[o] quidem mulier currit ad veniam que [m]ature cucurit ad culpam; que de paradiso perfidiam sumpserat, festinat fidem sumere de sepulcro, contendit rapere de morte vitam, que de vita rapuerit mortem."

Ita mulier erat prima in morte peccati, et mulier erat prima in gracia fidei. Beda, super illud Marci 16 (:9): "Mane prima sabbati apparuit primo Marie Magdalene," sic ait: "In principio mulier a[u]ctor culpe viro fuit; nunc que primo mortem gustavit resurreccionem primo videt, ne perpetui reatus apud viros obpropbrium sustineret; et que viro culpam transfuderat transfudit et graciam." Tunc per mulierem facta est restitucio, sicut antea facta est perdicio.

Mulier virum infirmavit, et mulier viros in fide confirmavit. Marci 16 (:7): "Ite, dicite discipulis eius et Petro." Ieronimus: "Mulieribus dicitur ut nuncient apostolis, quia per mulierem mors annunciata est, per mulieres eciam nunciatur vita resurgens." Quod factum est ad fidei confirmacionem ut sic esset mulier fidei publicatrix, sicut beata Maria illius fidei fuit doctrix et conservatrix, de qua potest exponi illud Sapiencie 8 (:4): "Doctrix est discipline Dei." Hec enim apostolos et evangelistas de verbis et factis filii sui plenius instruxit. De hoc Bernardus, omelia 3, *Super "Missus"*, dicit ipsam tempus et ordinem retenuisse "ut postmodum melius scriptoribus ac predicatoribus evangelii reseraret veritatem, que plene de omnibus a principio celitus fuerat instructa misteriis." Et idem: "Merito illa dicitur apostolorum apostola et evangelistarum evangelista, per quam principalis ipsis fidei principibus illuxit doctrina."

Multe igitur precesserunt bone et sanctissime mulieres et adhuc sunt in ecclesia quamplures, quod si aliquarum culpa possit

nevertheless the whole sex ought not be reproached. Rather, the church of God is gathered together of diverse sorts. Just as God created male and female, Noah similarly gathered male and female together as a sign that from such the church militant is gathered, and from similar ones the church triumphant is restored to their God for eternal salvation and honor to God, so that God may be blessed and praised forever in all and by all. Amen.

299 **ad** *om.*

reprehendi, non tamen sexus debet reprobari. Immo ex diversis colligitur ecclesia Dei. Sicut Deus masculum et feminam creavit, Noe similiter masculum et feminam congregavit in figuram quod ex talibus militans ecclesia colligitur, et ex similibus ecclesia triumphans restauratur ad eorum Deum, [ad] eternam salutem et Dei honorem ut in omnibus et ex omnibus laudetur Deus in secula benedictus. Amen.

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COMMENTARY SEVEN:
ENEAS OF SIENA

Although the "Dissuasio" had a wide continental circulation, continental reading of the text differed from that in England in one important regard. If surviving manuscripts provide any indication, many English readers read Valerius together with a commentary which would explain its intention and various textual difficulties: almost half the manuscripts of English provenance come so equipped. In contrast, very few continental copies contain such an aid: Trivet's and Ridewall's commentaries had limited circulation abroad, and only a single interpretative effort appears to have been made outside England.

That is the work identified in the rubric in one of its manuscripts, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Lat. 5994, as the "expositio brevis . . . que fuit recollecta a fratre Paulo de Guastaferris quando frater Eneas de Senis Ordinis Predicatorum eam legit Senis" ("the brief explanation which was gathered as lecture notes by brother Paul of Guastaferris when brother Eneas of Siena taught it to the Dominicans at Siena").[1] This work, in one or another form, occurs in a group of fifteen manuscripts, most of Italian or south German provenance. Like two of the English commentaries, it is explicitly a product of the fraternal orders, given as lectures (perhaps indoctrination for novices and simultaneous aid in their grammar-rhetoric studies) at the Dominican convent in Siena. The version which we have is "recollecta," that is, drawn from student notes, and, given the disparities of the individual manuscripts, perhaps from more than a single set.

Of the author of this commentary, and its promulgator, some information can be gleaned from Dominican historical sources. Eneas de Tolomeis of Siena was assigned as a student to the priory at Civita Castellana by the officials of the Dominican Roman province in 1305; in 1311, he was appointed lecturer in philosophy at Siena. He was "predicator generalis" (as the late Leonard Boyle generously informed us, a quasi-academic title, conferring an automatic voice in provincial chapters) in 1317 and 1332, and lectured at Perugia in 1318 and at Pisa in 1338. Eneas is mentioned as a visitor to various convents in 1331, and died in 1348. The only work ascribed to him by Quétif and Échard is a *Tractatus de paupertate Christi*.[2]

1. *Legere* here has its technical sense "teach," corresponding to *recollecta*, with overtones of the noun "student lecture notes." For this sense, compare Grafton, *Defenders of the Text*, pp. 48, 259 n11.

2. See Kaeppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, 1.19; Kaeppeli summarizes material found in Quétif and Échard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum recensiti* 1, 2.626 and Kaeppeli and Dondaine, *Acta Capitulorum Provincialium Provinciae Romanae (1243-1344)*, pp. 157, 182, 204, 206, 265, 278, 294.

Paul of Guastaferris, a Perugian, also appears in similar documents. He was assigned to lecture in philosophy at Lucca in 1313 and to study *extra provinciam [Romanam]* in Naples in 1315. Thereafter, Paul disappears from the records for sixteen years: in the 1330s he appears four times in provincial directives as "predicator cum gratiis lectorum actu legentium, exceptis pecunia vestium et sociis" (a preacher with those privileges accorded to lecturers, excepting money for clothes and for assistants during travelling preaching stints). To this position he was assigned on four occasions—in Cortona in 1331, in Siena in 1338 and 1339, and in Pisa in 1340. From such appointments and a lengthy preaching stint in the Orient probably came Paul's one known work, a set of sermons for Lent and for Sundays throughout the year. Quétif and Échard believed Paul's oriental career to have been associated with the mission organized by John XXII in 1330, but the gap in the center of his official career seems to suggest that his service may have been slightly earlier, in the period 1315-31. In any event, Paul was dead in 1344.[3]

This information, assuming always that the rubric in Vaticano Lat. 5944 is reliable, probably allows a very narrow dating for the commentary. Eneas seems only to have lectured at Siena in a six-year period, 1311-17. Of that period, only the two years 1311-13 seem to be likely as a time when Paul might have also been hearing lectures in Siena. After 1313, he was studying outside the province or perhaps outside Italy altogether. The commentary then appears to share not only fraternal origin but approximate date with the writings of English provenance printed above.

The text Eneas commented on was, of course, that current in Italy in the early fourteenth century. The litmus reading for this stage of the transmission is the name given Plato's mother (line 276 of our edition of the "Dissuasio"), here "Licia" (line 523). In our edition, we cited this variant from four copies, including the very early representatives of the Italian transmission tradition Am and Ro.

Indeed analysis of Eneas's text of Valerius demonstrates consistent agreement with the continental textual tradition. This begins with an English copy most closely resembling our D (see Vol. 1, pp. 104-6). In n. 179 there, we cite forty-nine separate variants as unique to this tradition. Eneas's commentary includes forty of these, as well as a substantial selection of the variants more generally distributed in alpha manuscripts of the "Dissuasio" cited in nn. 180-81.

3. See Kaeppeli, *Scriptores*, 3:205; the material there summarized comes from Quétif-Échard, *Scriptores*, 1, 2:616; and from Kaeppeli and Dondaine, *Acta*, pp. 189, 198, 264, 301, 313, 325.

We have attempted, although (we fear) with less than full consistency, to communicate this form of the text in our edition. As elsewhere in this volume, we give the text commented upon in italic. But given the paraphrase by which Eneas embeds the ongoing text into his "scriptum," distinguishing readings forming the lemma proper from the running commentary is sometimes difficult.

We can illustrate the problems concisely by citing four variants. All represent lections which a reader of our edited text might well construe as paraphrase but which in fact are transmitted readings of the continental recension of the "Dissuasio" or of the Italian transmission specifically. Compare 580 *esse* with the variants cited at "Dissuasio" line 285, 589 *Sed* with line 290, 611 *veris* (a second-generation scribal representation of erroneous Veneris) and 612 *sponsum Veneris* with line 308, and 626, 627 *hic* with line 314.

Eneas's commentary, as "recollecta" (gathered together from his notes on lectures) by Paul, occurs in fifteen manuscripts:[4]

B Berlin 540 (11 in our list of manuscripts, Vol. 1, pp. 260–73)

Be Berominster C 6/fol. (15)

Bo Bologna 832 (17)

G Gdansk 929 (61)

H^1 Harburg 102 (66)

H^2 Harburg 103 (67)

K Klosterneuburg 740 (68)

M^1 Munich 14544 (95)

M^2 Munich 14586 (96)

S Stuttgart HB XII 4 (152)

4. It may also occur in Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapitoly 1347 (139); Universitní Knihovna 152 (142); and Vyssí Brod, Stiftsbibl. 47 (189), none of which we have seen; a few glosses appear in San Gimignano, Bibl. com. 33 (144).

St Strasbourg 44 (150)

V Vatican lat. 5994 (172)

V^1 Vatican lat. 6966 (173)

V^2 Vatican lat. 7179 (174)

W Vienna 3096 (183)

These seem to fall into two groups, one primarily Italian and probably closer to the original materials, and a second German group derived from these but with some extensive additions. All except V^1 and V^2 (both sixteenth-century) date from about one hundred fifty years after composition and can be placed in the period 1450–75. Perhaps closest to the original text of Eneas-Paul is V, which contains only a fragment of the text but has the unique ascription.

V Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Vaticano Latino 5994

This volume comprises a series of fragments from manuscripts, joined as a guardbook. Only fols. 50–56, separate from all other contents, are of relevance here.

s. xv med, paper (without watermarks, but folded in folio). 7 folios. 265 x 200 mm. 29–32 lines per page (for text only; the smaller glossing hands use the ample interlinear spaces, the spaces between paragraphs, or the margins).

Contents:

1. ff. 50–54v: Map's "Dissuasio," with both interlinear and marginal commentary (often differing), both breaking off at the bottom of f. 52v, at line 328 in our text.
2. ff. 55–56: Theophrastus' "De nuptiis." Fol. 56v is blank.

Collation:

The individual leaves appear to have been bound in separately, and no information about production is recoverable.

Provenance:

No indication.

Descriptions:

The manuscript has not been described in print, and there is only a cursory

summary in the handwritten inventory of MSS. Vaticani Latini.[5]

More or less directly derived from this original text are four other copies or groups of copies:

1. V^1 and V^2 appear to come directly from V, although they are something over a century later.

2. B, also an Italian copy, has, for parallel portions, much the same text as V but arranged as consecutive prose.

B Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 540

s. xv, vellum. 180 pages, binding of s. xv. 245 x 180mm. 44-47 lines per page.

Contents:

1. ff. 1-169v: Recollecta Magistri Benvenuti de Imola super Valerio Maximo.
2. ff. 169v-175: Scriptum epistole Valerii ad Rufinum.
3. ff. 176-179v: Moralia Valerii, inc. Liber primus de Religione. Religioni summum imperium cessit…

This manuscript was #29 in the private library of Giacomo Maria Manzoni in Rome, which was sold at auction in the years after his death in 1889; it is described briefly in the auction catalog, Tenneroni 1894, pp. 28-29. Tenneroni assigns it to the fourteenth century, but the hand is certainly of the fifteenth. It was purchased in 1894 by the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, where it is described as follows in a handwritten catalog kept at the library: "Ms. lat. fol. 540. Perg., XV. Jahrh. 180 Bll. Recollecta mag. Benvenuti de Imola super Valerio Maximo nebst (169b [= verso]) Scriptum epistole Valerii ad Rufinum. (Manzoni 29)."[6] There is a brief mention in Kristeller, *Iter italicum* 3.475.

This version bills itself as a "scriptum" (a "writing out"?) of the letter of Valerius to Rufinus, perhaps indicating what is in fact the case, that it is a paraphrase of Valerius, so constructed as to incorporate both the text and all the Eneas-Paul glosses into a consecutive prose format.

5. I.e., the seventeenth-century inventory "by the Rainaldi brothers and others," vol. 6 of *Inventarium librorum latinorum MSS. Bib. Vat.*, 13 vols in 14; see Kristeller, *Latin Manuscript Books*, p. 211. We consulted the microfilm copy of the inventory at the Pius X Library of St. Louis University.

6. Kindly transcribed for us by Kurt Heydeck of the Berlin Staastbibliothek.

3. W and K also include a version closely related to 1 and 2 above. In portions where V lacks the commentary, they often provide the only evidence with which to assess the inclusiveness of B; however, this evidence is of mixed value, since W and K lack some glosses or substitute different glosses in places where B and V agree. Of these two, K appears secondary, as if a copy from a text like W.

4. Bo contains a substantial number of extensive glosses agreeing with these other texts.

The remaining copies, headed by S, and including BeGH^{1}H^{2}M^{1}M^{2}St, clearly have been derived from the Eneas-Paul text. For example, at 434 and 619-21 in the text below, they preserve the glosses of B (and thus presumptively of Eneas-Paul) where W and K do not. And on a few other occasions, including lines 266-67 and 370-73 below, the text of B only seems sensible if it is understood to reflect a fuller consecutive explanation now found only in manuscripts resembling S.

Generally speaking, Eneas's explanation of the "Dissuasio" is fairly basic, what one imagines the Sienese Dominican novices might need to know about the text from a grammatical standpoint. At least in the form communicated in the "scriptum," Eneas quite frequently adjusts and simplifies Map's Latin. And he very routinely offers explanations of vocabulary at a fairly rudimentary level. To take a few examples from but one portion of the text, one might consult the glosses to 46 *prima*, 48 *parentavit, que*, and *citra,* 49 *absistet*, and 50 *consequentiam*. In fact Eneas's normal explanatory ploy was to consult the standard dictionaries for material. Our notes only selectively indicate this activity, but one might compare our note to 454 *facecia*, where the gloss, without acknowledgement, gives the material Eneas found in Hugutio's *Derivationes.*

But S and the texts related to it stand out through their taking these tendencies to an extreme. They include a number of glosses which simply define what are apparently deemed "hard words" in the "Dissuasio," words which often seem to have caused Eneas no second thoughts.[7] Other more extensive efforts

7. See the note to line 347 or the following string of glosses from early in the commentary: 13 ulule] illius avis nocticoracis; 14 que] aves; 14 preululant] prenunciant; 14 gravitatem] asperitatem; 15 luctuose] flebiliter vel clamose; 17 subsanas] vilipendis. Many of these glosses, as well as a number elsewhere, are lacking in G, which was not originally planned to have a commentary, and thus had to economize because of space restrictions.

at definition also typify this group—the insertion of relatively long explanations of some words from the same standard dictionaries Eneas mined, although seldom at such length (cf. the citation of Johannes Balbus of Genoa in line 396n below), and the occasional offering of German vernacular synonyms, often of fairly common words.[8] Neither of these last two tendencies appears in all texts simultaneously: all of the group headed by S seem to provide idiosyncratic efforts at expansive interpretation of Valerius's letter.

These tendencies, together with some other features, suggest that the S-type manuscripts reflect a redaction prepared for beginners. In addition to the glossing of very simple words, some manuscripts show explanatory devices which presuppose an audience very near the beginning of its study of Latin. M^1 and M^2, for example, number the words in every sentence of the text so as to indicate a simplified word order.

Our presentation of these texts is less thorough than with the English commentaries. Because of the minimal likelihood that any English-speaking person before the 1980s knew any of these texts, because they clearly could have had no influence on Chaucer, as well as because of the enormous space it would require to report all the glosses, and because very many of them state the obvious, we have been far more selective than elsewhere. This less than full representation of the evidence completes our display of medieval commentaries on Map's "Dissuasio"; for anyone who wishes to pursue this commentary further, we have deposited our films and complete collations of all manuscripts at Yale University Library.

We present the text as it is found in B. This version is the most complete surviving copy of what can be ascribed to Eneas-Paul; unlike V, it annotates the whole text of the "Dissuasio." To demonstrate our belief that this "scriptum" is in fact a true copy of the Eneas-Paul commentary, we offer a complete collation, so far as its text of the commentary goes, i.e., through line 328, of the ascribed copy V.

8. As examples of German glosses, cf. the following: 66 vipere is glossed "ein blinden Schleuchen" in H^2; 69 Sirenum, "Wasserswar oder Merwunder" in M^1, which has the most extensive set of vernacular equivalents; 115 attramento, "farbe" in H^1 (cf. "colore" in M^2); 251 spatulas, "Schuldirbeyn in G (which has only two examples); 609 subarrasti, "subarrare est gewise zeichen" in S; 611 labruscas, "vulgariter wi sawer weynpir" in M^1M^2.

Not all the variants we cite from V can, however, be equated with Eneas-Paul. On some occasions, for example lines 238-39 and 259 in the text, V simply lacks a gloss that, on all the other evidence, was the reading of Eneas-Paul. But the inverse is also true: V includes a number of readings in addition to Eneas's glosses, testimony to the discontinuous production of this witness.

Originally, this copy seems to have been made simply to communicate Map's text in a reasonably elegant fashion. The scribe wrote a fairly formal Italian cursive, and he centered his text carefully on the page, allowing a significant amount of marginal space on all sides. At a later date, two markedly less formal hands added the text of the Sienese Dominicans. The main one of these contributors used the ample margins, particularly for extended analyses, but he also added many interlinear glosses, in a space not adequate for these purposes, the original scribe having intended to provide only Map's text. Further, additional interlinear materials, as well as some marginal corrections of the text, appear in a third hand, not that of the marginal text of Eneas-Paul. We include these materials in the collation; these readings are potentially confusing, for at numerous points V offers two readings, the Eneas-Paul in the margin, matching the version in B, and an interlinear gloss that often differs. We identify extra glosses by prefixing the abbreviation *"gl"* (compare, for example, line 52 *delectant* and its collation).

However, although the second interlinear hand is not usually identifiable with that of the marginal Eneas-Paul text, the separation of the two sets of explanations is not absolute. For example, at line 284 V had originally the interlinear gloss *Tungilio*, intended as a correction for the text's error *consilio*;[9] this interlinear reading has been cancelled, however. In its stead, the same hand has inserted *Spurinne*, certainly the reading of Eneas-Paul (since the name comes from the text Eneas here cites as his source) and found elsewhere only in B. Further, in places where V does not include a consecutive marginal "scriptum," rather often glosses which correspond to the B (and further, to the WK) text appear interlinearly (see, for example, lines 60-63 and 186). In some places V has the same material both in the margin and in glosses. The interlinear glosses, although plainly eclectic (and primarily meant to explain basic grammatical problems—antecedents, parallelism, implied subjects and the like), either included among several sources a text of Eneas-Paul or reflect irregularly a text Eneas himself used as a source.

9. Cf. the variants listed at line 138 of our text of the "Dissuasio" in Vol. 1 (CH share *consilio*, a reading with some continental dispersal).

On a few widely scattered occasions, we correct apparent errors in B to a reading we conjecture to be that of the original Eneas-Paul; these are asterisked, as usual, in the corpus of variants. However, since it is impossible to determine what portion of the texts we possess is actually comparable to the text of B, we have not followed our usual procedures of attempting to determine the original reading by a critical comparison of all the witnesses. Most of our corrections are designed simply to restore consecutive sense or to give point to a gloss which otherwise lacks it. More commonly we follow B, but use the notes to suggest possible difficulties in the scribal transmission of the Eneas-Paul text. This is particularly true later in the text, after V ceases to reproduce a consecutive version of Eneas-Paul and becomes simply scattered interlinear glosses. Although a good number of WK (sometimes Bo) glosses seems likely to have stood in B's exemplar, the uncertainty of the relations of the manuscripts has frequently convinced us of the wisdom of reporting them in the notes, rather than emending B. We have also used the notes to call attention to interesting and helpful glosses in the S-type manuscripts, even when they do not seem to derive from the Eneas-Paul commentary.

Because this commentary is considerably less germane to the Wife of Bath than any of the others, we do not offer a translation. Nor do we in the notes provide English renditions, even of very long passages from S and its congeners. But we include a very few notes on difficult spots in Eneas-Paul's Latin, and we translate all those passages from Latin literature which we offer as possible sources or analogues.

RULES FOR ENEAS VARIANTS:

(corrections of our base text and the variants of V; we do not record transpositions)

Since the continuous text of B appears in the margin in V, most variants from B are marked Vm, though some are interlinear and are marked Vi; all additional glosses in V are introduced as *gl*, and marked either Vi, if interlinear, or Vm, if elsewhere in the margin. Those marked Vim start above the line and spill out into the margin. As for omissions, if a continuous gloss in the margin omits a word or phrase, it is marked "*om.* Vm"; other omissions are marked "*om.* V." We occasionally need to give V's text of the "Dissuasio" when it differs from B's lemma, in order to clarify a gloss; we signal that by adding the word *text*. But emendations to B's lemma (bracketed in our text of B) from V's text of the "Dissuasio" are simply marked "V."

[f. 169v]

Incipit scriptum epistole Valerii ad Rufinum.

Loqui prohibeor, etc. Iste Valerius, volens dissuadere Rufino amico suo ne uxorem ducat, primo premittit difficultatem istius dissuasionis. Nam difficile est revocare hominem ab eo quod delectat ipsum et attrahere ipsum ad id quod nullam delectacionem inducit et importat. Modo status coniugii est delectabilis, et status sine uxore videtur esse tristis. Et ideo dicit Valerius: ego, volens te revocare ne uxorem ducas, *loqui prohibeor*, quia revoco te a delectacione ad tristiciam. Sed considerans dampna et dispendia que sunt in statu matrimonii, *tacere non possum*. Et quod dixit declarat per similitudinem. Nam aves que prenunciant hiemem sunt odibiles, sed aves que prenunciant tempus veris quod est iocundum sunt amabiles. Unde dicit: ego *odi*, id est odio [habeo] *grues et vocem ulule* et *bubonem et ceteras aves que preululant*, id est ululatu suo prenunciant *gravitatem luctuose hyemis*, et nunc videor esse similis predictis animalibus, qui induco te ad vitam solitariam mesticia plenam, ut videtur. *Et tu* evectus ad uxorem *subsanas*, id est despicis *vaticinia* futuri *dispendii*, que *vera* erunt *si perseveras* in proposito. *Ideo loqui prohibeor* qui modo

rubric in left margin Expositio brevis super epystola Valerii episcopi ad Rufinum que fuit recollecta a fratre Paulo de Guastaferris quando frater Eneas de Senis ordinis predicatorum eam legit Senis. 4, 5 **ipsum** *om.* Vm. 5 **inducit et** *om.* Vm. 8 **quia** Vm *adds* scilicet. 8-9 **quia . . . tristiciam** ego Valerius quia te revocare cupio a delectatione falsa Vi. 9-10 **considerans . . . matrimonii** *gl* cogitans dispendia coniugii Vi. 10-11 **similitudinem** exemplum Vm. 11 **aves** *om.* Vm. 12 **iocundum** delectabile Vm. 13 **habeo** Vm; *om.* B. **ulule** *gl* nocticule Vi. **bubonem** *gl* id est grifum Vi. 13-15 **grues . . . hyemis** grues etc. Vm. 14 **que** *gl* aves Vi. **preululant** *gl* id est prepolant Vi. 15 **et** Et ego Vm. **predictis animalibus** dictis avibus Vm. 16 **mesticia** tristitia Vm. **ut** Vm *adds* tibi. **tu** *gl* Rufine Vi. 17 **evectus** scilicet affectus Vm. **subsanas** *gl* derides vel despicis Vi. **futuri** venturi Vm. **dispendii** *gl* damni Vi. 18 **que** Vm *adds* quidem vaticinia; *gl* et Vi. **perseveras** *gl* tu

sum tibi *augur*, id est prenunciator, *non voluptatis*, [id est delectacionis] sed *veritatis* et tue utilitatis.

Lusciniam, id est philomenam *amo et merulam, que leticiam pr[e]loquitur aure levis concentu placido, et* precipue inter istas duas amo *Philomenam, que cumulat tempus optate iocunditatis*, id est nunciat tempus veris iocundum *tota plenitudine deliciarum*. *Nec fallor* quod tu a simili dilig[i]s eos qui inducunt te ut uxorem ducas, et odis me qui ab hoc te removeo. Unde subdit *tu diligis gnatones*, id est adulatores *qui dulces* tibi *presusurrant illecebras; et precipue* diligis *Circen*, id est illam deam *que perfundit tibi gaudia aromate*, id est delectacion[e] *suspirate suavitatis* ad quam anhelas et suspiras *ut fallaris*. Sed ego, timens *ne* predicta Circe[s] det tibi pocula quibus *fias sus vel asinus, tacere non possum*.

Sed quia dicti persuasores *ministri Babel*, id est confusionis, *propinant tibi mellitum toxicum* quod *ingreditur blande et delectat* [f. 170] *et conducit*, id est inclinat *impetum spiritus tui, ideo loqui prohibeor*. Sed *scio quod in novissimo coluber mordebit et imprimet virus*, id est venenum *inpar*, id est forcius *omni tiriace. Ideo tacere non possum*.

Rufine in proposito Vi. 19 **augur** *gl* ego Valerius Vi. 19-20 **id . . . delectationis** VmW; *om*. B. 21 **Lusciniam** *gl* Dicit Uguitio quod est avis que canit incipiente mane que etiam alio nomine dicitur a cendula [*read* acredula?] et vulgo vocatur rucinolus Vm; *gl* philomenam Vi. **amo** *gl* ego Valerius Vi. 21-22 **preloquitur** proloquitur B; preloquitur [*the last six letters blurred*] Vm. 22 **aure** *gl* venti Vi. 22-24 **aure . . . deliciarum** *om*. Vm. 23 **cumulat** *gl* Philomena nuntiat Vi. **iocunditatis** *gl* veris Vi. 24 **fallor** *gl* ego Valerius Vi. **tu** et tu Vm. 25 **diligis** Vm; diligas B. 26 **tu . . . gnatones** gnatones etc. Vm. **gnatones** *gl* genus est hominum applaudentium ut ait Terrentius omnibus dictis vel factis Vm. 27 **qui . . . illecebras** *om*. Vm. **Circen** diligis mulierem Vi. 28-29 **que . . . suavitatis** *om*. Vm. 28 **perfundit** *gl* scilicet Circes Vi. **delectacione** ViWK; delectacionem B. 29 **suavitatis** *gl* delectationis Vi. 30 **predicta** dicta Vm. **Circes** Vm; Circen B. **sus** *gl* porcus Vi. **vel** aut Vm. 32 **ministri Babel** *gl* persuasores confusionis Vi. 32-33 **propinant** *gl* persuasores Vi. 32-36 **propinant . . . possum** *om*. Vm; *but see interlinear glosses*. 33 **toxicum** *gl* venenum Vi. **ingreditur** *gl* Circes vel toxicon (*the second phrase later*) Vi. 34 **conducit** *gl* nutrit vel inclinat Vi. 35 **novissimo** *gl* ultimo Vi. **coluber** *gl* serpens Vi. 36 **possum** *gl* ego Valerius Vi. 37-40 **Sed . . .**

Sed quia dicti *persuasores* quos *habes multos tue voluptatis in* periculum capitis tui *facundissimos*, quia tibi placent. *Ego* autem *solus preco veritatis elinguis*, quia tibi non placeo; ideo me *nauseas* et propterea *loqui prohibeor*.

Reprobata est vox fatua. Sed advertas quod licet cignus dulciorem vocem habeat quam anser, tamen vox anseris fuit utilis. Unde dicit: *vox anseris fuit reprobata inter olores*, id est cignos *doctos delectare; tamen* vox anseris *docuit senatores servare urbem ab incendio* et *thesauros* Capitolii servare a *rapina* et senatores docuit ut scirent se servare *a telis hostium*. Nota hic de ansere qui erat in Capitolio. Nam cum Galli quasi obsedissent Capitolium et de nocte custodes dormirent, ascenderunt Galli muros Capitolii. Sed anser clamavit, et senatores excitati fugaverunt Gallos et ipsos precipitaverunt. Sic ergo licet vox cigni sit delectabilior, [tamen utilior est vox anseris]. Et *quia tu prudens es*, una *cum senatoribus intelliges quod* illi qui inducunt te ut uxorem ducas sunt *olores* qui delectant, sed ego qui contra persuadeo, sum [uti *anser*] et per consequens magis utilis; *ideo tacere non possum*.

Desiderio tuo. Et quia illa quam volebat Rufinus ducere erat pulcra, et maxime quia habebat pulcrum caput, ideo dicit: *desiderio*

prohibeor *om.*Vm; *but see interlinear glosses.* 37 **habes** *gl* tu Rufine Vi. **in** *gl* contra Vi. 37-38 **in . . . capitis** *gl above* caput Vi. 38 **quia . . . placent** *gl* Unde Terrentius obsequium amicos veritas odium parit Vim. **Ego** me, *gl* Valerium Vi. 39 **preco** preconem, *gl* quia habes Vi. **quia . . . placeo** *om.*V. **nauseas** *gl* fastidis Vi. 41-46 **Reprobata . . . hostium** *om.*Vm. 43 **reprobata** *gl* quia non sicut cignus canit dulciter Vi. **olores** *gl* cignos Vi. **cignos** tantum, *gl* solummodo delectantis non utiles Vi. 44 **incendio** *gl* ab Vi. **thesauros** *gl* capitolii Vi. 45 **rapina** *gl* a Vi. 46 **hostium** *gl* Francorum Vi. 47 **quasi** *om.*Vm. **obsedissent** obsiderent Vm. 48 **Galli** G [*cut off*] Vm. **clamavit** vociferav [*cut off*] Vm. 49 **et ipsos** *om.*Vm [*cut off*]. **ergo** igitur Vm. 50 **tamen . . . anseris** Vm; *om.* B. 51 **tu** *gl* Rufine Vi. 52 **olores** o [*cut off*] Vm; *gl* cigni Vi. **delectant** organizant, *gl* suadent Vi. 52-53 **qui contra persuadeo** *om.*Vm. 53 **uti anser** Vm; vox anseris B. **per . . . utilis** *om.* Vm. 55 **Desiderio** amore illius quam amas Vi. 56 **maxime . . . caput** precipue qui pulcrum

tuo, id est amore illius *totus inflamaris, seductus speciosi capitis nobilitate*. Sed tu *miser nescis* quod illa *quam petis* ducere est *chimera*. Chimera est monstrum habens caput leonis, ventrem capre, caudam vipere. Ideo dicit: *sed scire devoves*, id est non vis vel negligis. Nam hoc verbum aliquando auget, aliquando contrarium dicit, sicut "deservire" aliquando significat multum servire, aliquando significat iniurias facere. Et in ista secunda significacione accipit hic "devovere," quod *illud monstrum* est *triforme*, quia in capite *venustatur facie insignis leonis*, sed *maculatur ventre olentis*, id est fetentis *capri*, et *armatur cauda virulente vipere*. Et quia hoc [periculum] non vis considerare, *ideo loqui prohibeor*.

Delectatus est. *Delectatus* enim *Ulixes simphonia Sirenum, sed* postea considerans quam sint periculosi cantus *Sirenum et pocula Circes*, id est illius dee que poculis suis mutabat homines in bestias, *fecit sibi vim vinculis virtutis, ut vitaret voraginem*, id est periculum. *Ego autem in domino sperans, adicio quod* tu *eris imitator Ulixis, non Enpedoclis* in hoc casu. Nota quod Enpedocles, volens scire causam eructacionis ignis de monte Ethne, [stetit ibi longo tempore], et non potens perpendere de causis dicte eructacionis, pro *melenconia* interemit

caput habebat quem amabat *as interlinear gloss to* seductus capitis nobilitate Vi. 58 **quod illa** *om.* V. **ducere est** *om.* V. **chimera** chimeram, monstruosum est animal Vi; Nota chimere monstri figura comparate luxurie Vm. 60-66 **Nam . . . vipere** *om.* Vm. 64 **monstrum** *gl* scilicet chimera Vi. **venustatur** *gl* decoretur Vi. 65 **armatur** *gl* monstrum Vi. 66 **virulente** *gl* venenose Vi. **Et . . . considerare** quia tale periculum considerare non vis *as interlinear gloss to* ideo . . . prohibeor Vi. **periculum** Vi; *om.* B. 68 **simphonia** *gl* cantu Vi. 68-70 **Delectatus enim . . . dee** *om.* Vm. 70 **que . . . bestias** que mutabat homines in beluas suis poculis *as interlinear gloss to* Circes Vi. **fecit** *gl* Ulixes Vi. 71 **voraginem** Sirenarum periculum Vi. 72 **Enpedoclis** *gl* scilicet imitatorum in hoc casu Vi. 73 **Enpedocles** Vm *adds* quidam philosophus. **eructacionis** eruptatationis Vm. 74 **Ethne** Ethnam, *gl* mons in bel? Vi. **stetit . . . tempore** Vm; *om.* B. **et** quam Vm. **potens** valen [*cut off*] Vm. 75 **de . . . eructacionis** *om.* Vm. **pro** pre Vm. **interemit** immersit Vm. 76 **ibi** in

se ibi atque sepultus est in eodem loco, ibi fecit *mausoleum*, id est sepulcrum; *et timeo*, ne tibi simile contingat. *Ideo tacere non possum*.

Tandem validior. Sed quia timeo ne amor quo accenderis ad uxorem ducendam sit maior amore *quo accenderis ad me*, et ignis *maior* extinguit et *attrahit ad se minorem*; ideo *loqui prohibeor*.

Ut spiritu loquor. Sed *ut spiritu*, id est amore *loquor quo tuus sum, pensentur* isti duo *ignes*, id est amores *lance equali vel inequali*, id est iusta vel iniusta, et in hoc *versatur periculum capitis mei*. Si vincam, non curo *quidquid iudices; indulgendum est mihi qui pre amoris impaciencia tacere non possum*.

Prima primi uxor Ade. Hic incipit narrare per exempla deffectus mulierum, et primo ponit tria exempla Scripture. Primum est de Eva que fuit mater inobediencie. Unde dicit: *prima* mulier, *uxor primi hominis Ade, post primam creacionem primo peccato solvit prima ieiunia contra preceptum domini* et *parentavit*, id est pater et mater fuit *inobediencie, que* inobediencia *non absistet*, id est non defficiet *citra*, id est usque ad *mundi terminum expugnare feminas, que semper erunt indefesse trahere in consequenciam*, id est inobedienciam quam [a matre scilicet Eva] *traxerunt*. Postea convertit se ad eum, dicens: *amice,*

eruptationem predictam Vm. **atque** et. **sepultus . . . loco** se sepellivit et hoc est quod dicit et Vm. **fecit** Vm *adds* sibi. **mausoleum** manseolum Vm. **audis (*text*)** *gl* vel avertes Vi. **advertas (*text*)** *gl.* tu scilicet considerabis Vi. 77 **et** et quia Vm. 78 **Tandem** *gl* vel tamen Vi. 78–85 **Tandem . . . possum** *om.* Vm; *but see interlinear glosses*. 79 **quo (*text* ille quo)** *gl* ignis quo Vi. 81 **spiritu** *gl* amore Vi. 82 **isti . . . amores** *as interlinear gloss* Vi. 84 **iudices** *gl* tu Vi. 87 **Scripture** Vm *adds rubric* Addam precipitatus amore mulieris. 87–88 **Primum . . . inobediencie** scilicet eva mater inobediencie *as interlinear gloss to* prima primi uxor Vi. 88–96 **Unde . . . tibi** *om.* Vm, *but see interlinear glosses*. 90–91 **id est . . . inobediencie** *as interlinear gloss* Vi. 90 **pater** parens Vi. 91 **inobediencia** *as interlinear gloss* Vi. **defficiet** deficiet inobediencia *as interlinear gloss* Vi. 92 **expugnare** *gl* sicut difficile est Vi. 93–94 **a . . . Eva*** scilicet a matre B; *text* a matre sua, *glossed* Eva Vi.

contumelia viri est uxor inobediens. Et quia omnes sunt inobedientes, quia hoc a matre sua traxerunt, ideo *cave tibi*.

Veritas que non potest. Hic ponit secundum exemplum de David, dicens: *veritas* Dei *que non potest falli ait de beato David* [f. 170v] "*Inveni virum secundum cor meum*." Et *tamen* David *amore mulieris precipitatus est ab adulterio in homicidium*, quia vicia *nunquam veniunt sola*. *Dives est enim omnis iniquitas societate plurima*, id est habet multos socios; et *quamcumque domum*, id est animam *intraverit, tradit* eam *suis conviciis inquinandam*.

Amice, Bersabee. Arguit sic: si *Bersabee*, que *in nullo malignata*, si *siluit* quando fuit requisita a David, quia non poterat ei resistere, *tamen facta est stimulus subversionis viro perfecto*, scilicet David, *et aculeus mortis marito innocenti*, id est Urie, quid facient alie que blanditiis et eloquencia sua decipiunt homines? Unde dicit: *numquid nocens erit* mulier *que contendet eloquencia, ut Dalida Sampsonis*, vel in *forma*, id est pulcritudine *ut Bersabee, cum huius sic sola pulcritudo triumphaverit, et nollens* invita consensit. Sed quia tu *non es amplius secundum cor domini quam David, crede quod et tu precipitari potes*.

95 **Et . . . inobedientes** quia a matre sua traxerunt naturaliter esse inobedientes *completing the line of text after* tibi V. 97 **Veritas** *gl* scripture vel dei id est deus Vi. **Hic . . . David** Secundum exemplum David Vm. 98-104 **dicens . . . Bersabee** *om.* Vm. 99 **mulieris** *gl* Bersabe Vi. 100 **vicia (*text* scandala)** *gl* Seneca finis alterius mali gradus est futuri Vm. 102 **intraverit** *gl* iniquitas Vi. 103 **inquinandam** *gl* domum Vi. 104 **Arguit sic** [*cut off*]: pr?imum argumentum Vm. **si** *om.* Vm [*cut off*]. **in** *om.* Vm. **malignata** Vm *adds* est. 105 **requisita** scilicet requisita Vm. **poterat** potuit Vm. 105-6 **tamen** que? [*cut off*] Vm. 106 **facta** *gl* B[ersabee] Vi. **viro perfecto** *gl* david Vi. **scilicet** id est Vm. **David** vid [*cut off*] Vm. 106-7 **aculeus mortis** *gl* Quia David maritum Bersabee iugulavit ut eam postmodum sibi duceret in uxorem Vm. 107 **marito** viro Vm; *gl* scilicet Urie Vi. **Urie** rie marito eius [*cut off*] Vm. **alie** alie mulie/es [*cut off*] Vm. **que** que suis Vm. 108 **homines** ines [*cut off*] Vm. **erit** *om.* Vm [*cut off*]. 109 **mulier** illa Vm; mulier illa Vi. 109-12 **que . . . potes** etc. Vm; *but see interlinear glosses*. 109 **vel** et, *gl* vel eciam Vi. **forma** idest pulcritudine Vi. 110 **huius** *gl* Bersabee Vi. 111 **invita consensit** *as interlinear gloss* Vi. **tu** *gl* Rufine Vi. 113 **Ponit** *om.*

Sol hominum. Ponit tercium exemplum de Salomone, qui propter sapienciam vocatur *sol hominum* et *thesaurus deliciarum* et *singulare domicilium sapiencie*. Et tamen *fuscatus crasso attramento tenebrarum* et amore perdidit *lucem anime sue, odorem fame sue*, et *gloriam domus sue, et postremo, incurvatus coram Baalym*, quia mulieres induxerunt eum ad adorandum ydola, *ex [ecclesiaste] Domini* factus est *membrum zabuli*, et *graviori videtur detrudi precipicio quam Phebus*, id est sol *in casu Phetontis*. Et hic nota fabulam. Nam Pheton fuit filius Phebi, qui Pheton, quando erat puer, rogavit patrem ut posset ducere currum solis. Pater primo negavit, postea concessit, et iste puer ducens et regens currum ducebat ipsum nimis prope terram, ita quod terra incepit tota desiccari [et comburi] et conquesta est Iovi, qui est summus deorum, quia sic comburebatur. Et allegabat terra pro se quod ipsa producebat illa de quibus fiebant sacrificia diis et producebat thura quibus homines adolebant deos. Iupiter autem inquirens causam huius incendii, invenit quod totum erat ex culpa Phetontis qui ducebat currum solis nimis prope terram. Propter quod Iupiter, nimium turbatus contra illum puerum, fulminavit eum et proiecit eum in flumen Padi. Sol autem, turbatus de morte

V. **tercium exemplum** *as marginal rubric* Vm. **de Salomone** Salomon *as marginal rubric* Vm. 113-14 **qui . . . vocatur** sic dictus propter eius sapienciam *as interlinear gloss to* Sol hominum Vi. 115 **Et tamen** *om.* V. 115-16 **et amore perdidit** *om.* V. 117 **Baalym** *gl* diabolo Vi; vel Balahim Vm. 118 **ecclesiaste** V, *gl* id est concionatore Vi; ecclesiastice B. 119 **zabuli** *gl* diaboli Vi. **videtur** *gl* scilicet Salomon Vi. **id est sol** *as interlinear gloss* Vi. 120 **Phetontis** *gl* filii solis Vi. **Et . . . Nam** *om.* V. **Pheton** heton Vm. **Phebi** Vm *adds* id est solis. 121 **qui Pheton** qui Pheton qui Vm. 122 **Pater** Vm *adds* autem. **iste** ille Vm. 123 **ducens et** *om.* Vm. **ducebat ipsum** duxit eum Vm. 123-24 **ita . . . incepit** que cepit Vm. 124 **et comburi** Vm; *om.* B. 125 **qui est summus** summo Vm. **quia** quod Vm. 126 **quod** quia Vm. **illa** animalia Vm. 128 **inquirens** requirens Vm. **quod . . . erat** totum fore Vm. 130 **nimium turbatus** nimis iratus Vm. **contra . . . puerum** *om.* Vm. 131 **eum**[1] eundem Fetontem Vm. **proiecit eum** mortuus cecidit Vm. **Padi** Pado Vm. 131-32

filii, dimisit officium suum et factus est pastor Admeti, id est cuiusdam regis. Ideo dicit quod *de Apolline factus est pastor Admeti*. Sol dicitur *Apollo*, id est prenunciator Iovis, quia quidquid habet, habet a Iove. Tandem concludit dicens: *amice si non es sapiencior Salomone, quo nemo* alius *est*, et si *non es maior quam qui fascinari potest a femina, aperi oculos tuos et vide.*

Optima femina. Quia posset dici quod non omnes mulieres sunt male, sed alique sunt bone, ideo dicit: *optima femina, que est rarior fenice*, nam nunquam est nisi una sola, quasi diceret nulla est bona. *Amari non potest sine amaritudine* victus *et solicitudinis et frequentia infortunii*. *Male autem* quia comuniter omnes *quarum sunt tam copiosa examina*, id est congregaciones et multitudines *ut nullus locus sit expers malignitatis earum*. Examen aliquando vocatur examinatio, aliquando multitudo, ut "examen apum," et sic accipitur hic. *Cum amantur, amare puniunt* amatores suos *et afflicioni vacant usque ad divisionem corporis et spiritus*, id est usque ad mortem. Et tandem concludit, dicens: *amice ethicum est* proverbium *videto cui des; ethica sentencia* est multo magis, *videto cui des te*, quia si homo debet esse cautus in dando res exteriores, multo magis in dando seipsum; et quia per coniugium homo dat se uxori sue, ideo *videto cui te des*.

Vexilla pudicicie. Quia posset aliquis dicere quod multe muli-

Sol . . . dimisit Ex quo Phebus pater eius nimio dolore turbatus dimittens Vm. 132 **et** *om.* Vm. **Admeti** Regis Ameti Vm. 132–33 **id est cuiusdam** *om.* Vm. 133 **Apolline** *gl* de deo sapientie Vi. **factus** Iovis factus Vm. **Admeti** Ameti, *gl* regis Thesalie Vi. 134 **quidquid** quicquid Vm. **habet**[2] totum habet Vm. 135 **Tandem** Et Vm. **dicens** *om.* Vm. 136 **quo** quod, *gl* vel quo Vi. **potest** *gl* puerulus Vi. 138–51 **Optima . . . des** *om.* Vm; *but see interlinear glosses*. 142 **Male** *gl* mulieres Vi. 143 **examina** *gl* vel sciamina et melius vel congregaciones Vi. 146 **amatores suos** *as interlinear gloss* Vi. 147 **divisionem** *gl* mortem Vi. 148 **ethicum** *gl* proverbium phylosophicum est Vi. **des** *gl* aliquid Vi. **ethica** *gl* moralis Vi. 149 **videto cui des te** multo magis videto cui te

eres fuerunt honeste, sicut Lucrecia etc., ideo dicit quod *vexilla pudicicie tulerunt [Lucrecia],* de qua Valerius loquitur, libro 4, capitulo de pudicicia, que pudicicia hominem ad temperanciam reducit, *et Penolpe*, que fuit uxor Ulixis quam Ulixes dimisit per totam obsidionem Troye et nunquam ad eam rediit, que tamen semper in castitate permansit, *cum Sabinis*, que rapte fuerant a Romanis violenter. Tamen *paucissimo comitatu trophea retulerunt*, quia paucissime secute sunt eas. Attamen *nulla est* nunc *Lucrecia, nulla Sabina*, et ideo *time omnes*, quia *Sila et* [f. 171] *[Mira et Cirane ingresse sunt in acies] Sabinas*, id est male commixte sunt bonis et fecerunt eas malas. Scilla fuit filia Nixi regis Magarensium, que adamavit Mino[em] regem Cretensium, [et] ut haberet eum in virum, dedit ei regnum patris sui, quod erat fatatum in crine purpureo quem semper portabat pater eius, ne umquam perderet regnum eius, et ipsa precidit crinem, et sic regnum perdidit. Mira et Cirane fuerunt due male mulieres, quarum quelibet concubuit cum patre, ex quarum commixtione *secute sunt multe turbe* mulierum *stipate omni exercitu viciorum, ut facerent captivis*, id est hominibus *suis* captis amore ipsarum, *gemitus et suspiria et tandem infernum*. Demum concludit: *amice, ne*

des Vim. 152-3 **mulieres** *om.* Vm. 153 **etc. . . . quod** et Penolope etc. Vm. 154 **Lucrecia** V; lucreciam B; *gl* uxor Collatini Vi. 154-55 **de . . . reducit** *om.* V. 156 **que fuit** *om.* V. 156-58 **uxor . . . permansit** *interlinear gloss to* Penolope *spilling into margin* Vim. 156 **Ulixes** ipse Vm. 156-57 **per . . . obsidionem** in tota obsidione Vm. 157 **rediit** red [*cut off*] Vm. **que** et Vm. 158 **permansit** vixit Vm. **Sabinis** *gl* mulieribus Vi. 158-59 **que . . . violenter** Sabinas mulieres violenter Romani rapuerunt Vm. 159-62 **Tamen . . . malas** *om.* V. 159 **retulerunt** *gl* Lucrecia et Penelope Vi. 160 **nunc** *as interlinear gloss to* nulla Vi. 161 **Sila** *gl* impudica que crinem patri abstulit Vi. 161-62 **Mira . . . in acies** Ingresse sunt acies sabinas Silla Mirra et cirane V; in Mira . . . acies B. 161 **Cirane** *gl* etiam impudica Vi. 163 **Minoem*** minorem B; minos Vm. 164 **regem** *om.* Vm [*cut off*]. **et** Vm; *om.* B. **in** *om.* Vm. **ei** *om.* Vm [*cut off*]. 165 **purpureo** pu/reo [*cut off*] Vm. 166 **ne . . . eius** qui videlicet [non *cut off*] perderet illud regnum nisi quando perderet il [*cut off*] crinem Vm. **regnum** il [*cut off*] regnum Vm. 167 **Cirane** Sir [*cut off*] Vm. 168 **quarum** qu[*cut off*] Vm. 168-73

fias preda immisericordium predonum, id est malarum mulierum, *non dormias in transitu earum*.

Iupiter rex terrenus. Iupiter secundum veritatem dictus est *rex terrenus*, et secundum fabulas fuit enim rex Cretensis; postea *pre singulari strenuitate corporis et incomparabili mentis elegantia* fuit factus *rex celorum*. *Post Europam mugire coactus est*. Dicitur quod Iupiter adamavit Europam filiam regis Sidonis, et ut posset eam habere, conversus est in thaurum et transfretavit et venit Sidonem et intravit in domum Europe, et illa, videns thaurum pulcerimum, cepit eum tangere et cum esset cum ea in loco secreto, reassumpsit figuram suam et indicavit ei quomodo eam diligebat. Concludit Valerius: *amice, quem bonitas super celos extulit, ecce femina brutis comparavit. Poterit et te femina cogere ad mugitum, si non*, id est quia non, *es maior Iove, cui magnitudini nemo alius par fuit*.

Phebus que sapiencie, etc. Phebus, id est sol, *qui sapiencie sue radiis orbis prenunciavit*, id est adornavit *ambitum, ut merito solis nomine solus illustraretur, infatuatus est amore Leucothoe*. Dicitur quod sol adamavit Leucothoem, quod sciens, Licia, amica solis, occidit eam; et pre inpaciencia et habundancia amoris aliquando fiebat pali-

ex . . . earum *om.* Vm, *but see interlinear glosses*. 170 **captis amore ipsarum** *as interlinear gloss to* captivis Vi. 172 **malarum mulierum** *as interlinear gloss to* predonem Vi. 174 **Iupiter²** Iupiter Vm. 174–75 **secundum . . . Cretensis** secundum veritatem rex crethe *as interlinear gloss to* Iupiter, secundum fabulas *as interlinear gloss to* dictus est Vi. 176 **fuit factus** *om.* V. 177 **mugire** *gl* nam eam decepit sub specie tauri Vi. 178 **Sidonis** Sid [*cut off*] Vm. **et . . . habere** quam ut habere posset Vm. **conversus** *om.* [*cut off*] Vm. 179 **et venit** in Vm. 180 **et illa** que Vm. **pulcerimum** cerimum [*cut off*] Vm. 181 **et . . . in** dei [*cut off, for* deinde] Vm. **secreto** Vm *adds* captato. **reassumpsit . . . suam** sua pristine reassumpta figura Vm. 182 **et . . . diligebat** asportavit eam Vm. **Concludit Valerius** *om.* V. 183 **quem** *gl* Iovem Vi. 184 **mugitum** *gl* nunc Vi. **quia** *as interlinear gloss to* si Vi. 185 **fuit** *gl* vel prefuit Vi. 186 **Phebus²** Phebus Vm. **sol** *as interlinear gloss* Vi. 187 **adornavit** incepit vel ornavit *as interlinear gloss to* prenunciavit Vi. 188 **sol** Phebus Vm. 189 **amica** amasia Vm. **occidit** interfecit Vm. 190 **et habundancia** abundantis Vm. 192 **Leucothoem** leuchot

dus, aliquando subtrahebat lumen, et videbatur eclipsari. Adamavit ergo Leucothoem quod cessit *sibi ad ignominiam et* Leucothoe *ad interitum*, quia propter hoc fuit occisa. Quod autem cesserit soli ad ignominiam patet, quia per vehementiam amoris eius *ecliptica vicissitudine* variatus, quia nunc lucebat, nunc lucem subtrahebat, et sic *factus est varius*, de se *expers sui luminis, quo totus universaliter egebat mundus*. Concludit ergo: *amice, ne lumen quod in te est tenebre fiat, Leucothoem fugito.*

Mars, qui deus est *bellancium, dici meruit [familiari] frequentia triumphorum, in quibus expedit* magna et *promta strennuitas, nil sibi metuens ligatus est a Vulcano*. Dicitur quod Mars adamavit Venerem, uxorem Vulcani, et ibat frequenter ad eam; quod videns, Vulcanus fecit *cathenas* ferreas subtilissimas et quasi *invisibiles*. Vulcanus est ignis, et dicitur esse faber quia omnia fabrilia fiunt ad ignem; fecit ergo cathenas quibus comprehensus est Mars, ita quod non poterat recedere. Hoc audientes, alii dii maiores et minores venerunt et deriserunt Martem, et tamen licet dii minores qui vocantur *satyri* gauderent et riderent, *tamen hoc* cessit *ad derisum* totius *curie celestis*. Concludit sic Valerius, dicens: *amice, saltem meditare cathenas quas non vides et in parte iam sentis*, quia licet uxorem non duxeris, tamen

[*cut off*] Vm. **sibi** *gl* soli Vi. 193 **quia . . . occisa** *om.* V. 194–95 **vicissitudine** vicissitu [*cut off*] Vm. 195 **quia nunc** quia scilicet nunc Vm. **lucem** solem et lucem Vm. 196 **varius** *gl* sol Vi. **de se** id est se variando factus est Vm. **quo** *gl* lumine Vi. **universaliter** universal [*cut off*] Vm. 197 **ergo** *om.* V. **fiat** fiant etc. Vm. 199 **familiari** V; famulari B. 200 **quibus** *gl* triumphis Vi. **promta** *gl* scilicet parata Vi. 201 **Dicitur quod** *om.* V. 202 **ibat . . . ad** adibat Vm. 205 **quibus . . . quod** tales ut Mars in illis ligaretur et Vm. 206 **Hoc** quod Vm. **maiores et** tan maiores quam Vm. 207 **Martem** Vm *adds* cathenatum ut supra. **tamen** *om.* Vm. **dii** alii dii Vm. **qui . . . satyri** qui vocantur hic satyri *repeated* Vm. 208 **et riderent** *om.* Vm. **derisum** satirorum, *gl* minorum deorum Vi. 209 **Concludit . . . dicens** concludit, *as interlinear gloss to* amice Vi. 210–11 **quia . . . ducendam** *as interlinear gloss* to et . . . sentis Vi. 210 **non** nondum Vi. 212–13 **antequam**

affiteris ad eam ducendam. *Et eripe te, dum adhuc ruptibiles sunt*, id est antequam ducas, quia postquam duxeris erunt irruptibiles, nam matrimonium consumatum est vinculum indissolubile. Sic *claudus ille faber et turpis*. Dicitur autem *claudus*, quia semper ignis ascendit tortuose; et dicitur *turpis*, quia qui comuniter stant ad ignem ex fumo fiunt turpes. Iste Vulcanus propter eius deformitatem non fuit admissus ad mensam Iovis; petivit etiam Minervam in coniugem, et illa repudiavit eum, unde dicit: *[ne] quem* scilicet Vulcanum *deus* Iupiter *non est* dignatus *mensa, nec* Minerva *dignata* est *cubili*, *te sue Veneri more suo concathenet et te faciat similem sui*, scilicet *turpem et claudum, immo quod magis timeo* quod te *loripedem* [f. 171v] faciat. Loripes dicitur qui habet tortos pedes *et non posset habere ungulam fixam*, id est habere prudenciam et discrecionem. *Sed alligatus Veneri fias dolor et derisio videncium dum* modo *tibi applaudant ceci*, id est illi qui persuadent te uxorem ducere, qui ceci sunt, quia non vident nec considerant dampna et pericula que secuntur.

A falso dearum iudice. Hic tangit fabulam que talis est. Ad convivium nupciarum Peley et Thetidis omnes dee convocate sunt preter Discordiam que, ob hoc turbata, studuit turbare convivium,

. . . indissolubile antequam ducas quia matrimonium consumatum et [*sic*] vinculum insolubile *as interlinear gloss to* adhuc Vi. 214–16 **Dicitur . . . turpes** *begins as interlinear gloss to* ille faber et turpis, *then continues in right margin* Vim. 214 **autem** Vulcanus Vi. 215 **dicitur** *om.* Vm. **qui** illi qui Vm. 215–16 **ex fumo** *om.* Vm. 216 **propter eius deformitatem** quia claudus erat et turpis Vm. **non** *om.* [*cut off*] Vm. 217 **etiam** am [*cut off*] Vm. **coniugem** uxorem Vm. 218 **ne*** *om.* BV. 219 **Minerva** Vm *adds* dea. **dignata est cubili** *marginal note* verba Virgilii Vm. 222 **dicitur** est Vm. **pedes** Vm *adds* sicut lorum. 223 **id est . . . discrecionem** *as interlinear gloss* (*omitting* habere) *to* fixam Vi. 224 **videncium** *gl* te Vi. **dum modo** *as interlinear gloss to* dum Vi. 224–26 **illi . . . secuntur** tui persuasores qui non vident damna que ab uxore proveniunt *as interlinear gloss to* applaudant ceci Vi. 227 **falso** *gl* Paride Vi. **dearum** *gl* scilicet Junonis Menerve et Veneris Vi. **Hic . . . est** bula talis est [*cut off*] Vm. 228 **convocate** vocate Vm. 229 **Discordiam** deam scordie [*cut*

et habuit pomum aureum in quo scriptum erat "Pulcriori detur." Statim orta est lis inter Iunonem, Minervam, et Venerem; quelibet dicebat donum sibi deberi, super quo requisitus est Iupiter ut ferret sententiam; nolens dedit iudicem Paridem, et quelibet istarum promittebat multa ut daret sententiam pro se. Nam Iuno promittebat ei divicias, Minerva sapienciam, Venus pulcriorem feminam mundi, et tunc [iudex] dedit sentenciam pro Venere. Dicit ergo Valerius: Pallas, id est dea sapiencie *reprobata est a falso dearum iudice quia promisit* [sapienciam sine delectacione], et timeo ne sic illa reprobetur a te. Unde dicit:, *amice, numquid et tu sic iudicas*?

Video te iam. Disgreditur excusando de inornatu eppistole, unde dicit: *video te iam fastidienti animo tota celeritate percurrere que legis*, id est hanc eppistolam, *et non attendere sentencias* utiles, *sed expectare scemata*, id est colores rethoricos. *Frustra expectas*, quia non potest *amnis turbatus* dulcia et suavia verba proferre, sed oportet verba esse consona et similia concepcioni mentis. Ego autem habeo erga

off] Vm. **ob** ex Vm. **turbare** tur/are [*cut off*] Vm. 230 **scriptum** riptum [*cut off*] Vm. 231 **Statim** Tunc/ atim [*cut off*] Vm. **inter** inter tres deas scilicet Vm. **Minervam** inervam [*cut off*] Vm. **quelibet** et quelibet Vm. 232 **donum** num [*cut off*] Vm. **est** fuit Vm. **Iupiter** piter [*cut off*] Vm. 232-33 **ferret** daret Vm. 233 **nolens** quam noluit are [*cut off*] sed Vm. **dedit . . . Paridem** loco sui paridem iudicem dedit Vm. 233-34 **et . . . se** [a]tque earum quelibet Paridem pro obtinenda [sentenci]a robat [sic: *see note*] spondens preterea aliquid se [da]turam [*bracketed letters cut off*] Vm. 235 **ei** *om.* Vm. **Venus** Vm *adds* autem. 236 **et tunc iudex*** inclinatus iudex Vm; et tunc videns B. **dedit . . . Venere** [pro]missioni Veneris pro ea sentenciam [det]erminavit [*bracketed letters cut off*] Vm. 237 **Valerius** *om.* Vm. **dea sapiencie** Minerva Vm. 238 **promisit** prodesse, *gl* id est sapientiam Vi. **sapienciam sine delectacione*** delectacionem sine sapiencia B; *om.* V. 238-39 **et timeo . . . dicit** *om.* V. 239 **numquid** *gl* scilicet tu reprobas me qui utilitatem inc[ito?] *last word unreadable* Vi. 240 **Disgreditur . . . dicit** *om.* V. 242 **hanc eppistolam** *as interlinear gloss* Vi. **utiles** *as interlinear gloss* Vi. **expectare** *gl* video te Vi. 243 **colores rhetoricos** *as interlinear gloss, omitting* id est Vi. 243-44 **quia . . . sed** *om.* V. 244 **amnis** *gl* pro animo poítate? Vi. 244-45 **oportet . . . mentis** idest verba debent consona concepccioni mentis *as interlinear gloss to* Similes Vi. 245 **et similia** *om.* V. 245-46 **habeo . . . tuum** quia contra te turbatum animum habeo qui non consideras

te animum turbatum, quia non consideras periculum tuum. Dicit ergo: *frustra expectas, dum hic turbatus amnis effluat*, id est quamdiu amnis turbatus est, *ut hec feculencia secedens pura sibi fluenta [erroget]. Similes enim oportet esse sui fontis rivulos, aut turbidos aut claros. Sic inpericiem cordis vic[i]um oracionis* etiam ornate *exprimit, et strumosa dictionum inparitas*—struma reddit spatulas impares—*delicatum animum* tuum *offendit*, scilicet qui delectaris in verbis or[n]atis. *Huius imbecillitatis michi conscius, divertisse[m] me libenter a dissuadendo* tibi ne uxorem ducas; *sed quia tacere non potui* propter pericula tua que inminere video, *loqutus sum ut potui. Quod si michi esset tanta stili virtus, quanta esset scribendi animus, tam elegancia tibi verba transmitterem et tam nobili maritata coniugio*—coniugium vocat coniunccionem parcium oracionis—*ut singula seorsum et omnia simul suum viderentur autorem benedicere*, id est laudare. *Sed quia* amicus es, et ex hoc *debes michi omnia*, quia amicorum omnia sunt comunia et amicorum idem velle et nolle, debes michi, in quantum amico, *omnia quecumque nudus amor et infecundus*, quia non servivi tibi, *non dico sterilis*, quia servire possum, *mereri potest ex omnibus* que michi debes, unum peto: *prebe*

pericula *as interlinear gloss to* frustra Vi. 247-48 **id . . . turbatus est** *om.* V. 248 **fluenta** *gl* scilicet undas Vi. **erroget** V; errogent B. 250 **vicium** V; vicuum B. **etiam ornate** *om.* V. **strumosa** *gl* gomba Vi. 251 **struma . . . impares** *as marginal gloss next to* strumosa Vm. 252 **tuum** *as interlinear gloss to* animum Vi. **scilicet . . . ornatis** quia delectaris in verbis ornatis *as interlinear gloss to* offendit Vi. **ornatis** Vi; oratis B. 253 **divertissem** V; divertisse B. 253-54 **tibi . . . ducas** *om.* V. 254-55 **propter . . . video** propter pericula que tibi immineri video *as interlinear gloss to* non potui Vi. 254 **potui** *gl* non ornate Vi. 256 **quanta** quantus V. 257-58 **coniugium . . . oracionis** id est coniunctione partium orationis, nominis cum verbo etc. *as interlinear gloss to* coniugio, *continuing into right margin* Vim. 258 **viderentur** *gl* verba Vi. 259 **id est** *om.* V. **laudare** *as interlinear gloss to* benedicere Vi. **amicus . . . hoc** *om.* V. 260-61 **quia . . . amico** sicut bonum amicum decet quia amicorum omnia sunt communia Vm. 262 **amor** *gl* scilicet meus Vi. **quia . . . tibi** quia non servivi tibi adhuc *as interlinear gloss to* infecundus. 262-63 **quia²** . . . **possum** *as interlinear gloss to* non dico sterilis Vi. 263 **que . . . peto** que mihi debes peto hoc unum tantum *as interlinear gloss to* potest

michi interim pacienter aurem, dum evolvam que inplicui, id est dum enarrem que incepi, *et a me non requiras purpurissimum* ornatum *aut cerulam oratoris*. Ista sunt duo que ornant mulieres, scilicet bambacillum et cerulam; id est non requiras a me colores verborum *que [me] nescire fateor, et fleo*, id est doleo, *sed accepta votum scribentis et pagine veritatem*.

Iulius Cesar. Nunc ostendit per exemplum quod sibi credere debeat, quia Iulius Cesar pro parte credidit amico suo, et quia perfecte non credidit, male sibi successit, quia mortuus fuit. Dicit Valerius: *Iulius Cesar cuius amplitudini strictus fuit orbis*, quia cum orbis claudatur Occeano, ipse ultra Occeanum aggressus est Britannos; unde Virgilius in *Bucolicis* vocat eos "ab orbe divisos." *Die* mortis sue, quam circumloquitur poetica fabula que ponit tres deas deducentes humanam vitam. Prima dicitur Cloto que portat colum, et ista preest nativitati; secunda Lachesis dicitur que expendit filum, et ista preest vite; tercia dicitur Attropos [et precidit filum], et illa preest morti. Unde versus, "Cloto colum baiulat, Lachesis trahit, Attropos occat." Dicit ergo autor noster: [f. 172] *die qua nobile filum*, id est nobilem vitam, *ipsius*, scilicet Cesaris, *Attropos nimis seva ausa*

ex omnibus Vi. 264 **id est dum** *om.* V. 265 **enarrem** narram *as interlinear gloss to* evolvam Vi. **que** *om.* V. **incepi** concepi *as interlinear gloss to* implicui Vi. 265-67 **ornatum . . . verborum** id est ornamenta dicendi per similitudinem ornamentorum mulierum Vm. 267 **me** V; sme B. 268 **id est doleo** *om.* V. 270 **Nunc** Hic Vm. **per exemplum** exemplo Vm. 270-71 **credere debeat** Rufinus credat Vm. 271 **pro** in Vm. 272 **perfecte** plene Vm. **successit . . . fuit** cessit Vm. 273 **Valerius** ergo Vm. **orbis** orbis etc. Vm. 275 **in Bucolicis** *om.* Vm. 275-76 **mortis sue** *as interlinear gloss to* die Vi. 276-77 **quam . . . vitam** Tres deas vel parchas circumloquitur poetica fabula que ponit deduci per eas vitam humanam Vm. 277 **Prima** videlicet prima que Vm. 278 **que** et Vm. **expendit** exstendit Vm. 279 **vite** vite cursui Vm. **dicitur** *om.* Vm. **et . . . filum** Vm; *om.* B. **illa** ista Vm. 280-81 **Unde . . . occat** *om.* Vm. 281 **autor noster** *om.* Vm. 282 **id est . . . vitam** vitam *as interlinear gloss to* filum Vi. **scilicet Cesaris** *om.* V. 283 **id est . . . finire** finire *as*

est occare, id est precidere et finire, *inclinavit humiliter aurem conscilio* Spurine *humili quidem*, quia erat auruspes de quo dicit Valerius, libro 8, capitulo 2 *predicenti*, id est prenuncianti *stilos in valvis Capitolii*, quia in domo Calvini que erat iuxta Capitolium. Stilus aliquando significat instrumentum cum quo scribitur, aliquando ipsam scripturam; aliquando significat aliud longum et acutum, et per istos stilos possunt intelligi puncciones quibus ipse confossus fuit. *Quod et si animum* inclinasset, ita quod acquievisset conscilio suo, inimici sui non *dedissent [ei] penas* quibus occubuit, vel *quibus ipse* inimicis suis dedit penas, quia filius suus adoptivus Octavianus imperator omnes fecit occidi.

Tu vero michi prenuncio stilorum tuorum, id est periculorum tuorum, que incurris si uxorem ducas, *aurem [inclinas] ut aspis veneficiis*, que dum incantatur aurem claudit; et *adhibes animum ut aper latratibus*, quia aper non curat de latratu canum; *placaris ut dipsas*, id est serpens, *cui sol incanduit a Cancro*. Quando est sol in Cancro tunc est magnus estus, et ille serpens est magis venenosus. Et *consulis tibi ut spreta*, [scilicet a Iasone], *Medea*, nam Medea occidit omnes filios suos et sibimet dampnum intulit. *Misereris tibi ut equor naufragis*,

interlinear gloss to occare Vi. 284 **Spurine** scilicet spurinne *as interlinear gloss to* consilio Vi. **quia** quia stilos predocebat quia Vm. 285 **2** xi Vm. **id est prenuncianti** *om.* V. 286 **quia** idest iuxta Capitolium quia Vm. 288 **significat aliud** aliquid Vm. 289 **puncciones** pungiones Vm. **ipse** *om.* V. **fuit** fu [*cut off*] Vm. 290 **inclinasset . . . suo** *in margin and as interlinear gloss to* animum Vi. 291 **ei** Vm; eis B. **quibus** *gl* a Vi; Vm *adds* pen [*cut off*] ipse. **ipse** i [*cut off*] Vm; *gl* Cesar Vi. 292 **suis** *om.* V. **suus** eius Vm. **adoptivus** ad/tivus [*cut off*] Vm. 293 **fecit occidi** occid [*cut off*] Vm. 294 **periculorum** *as interlinear gloss to* stilorum Vi. 295 **que . . . ducas** *om.* V. **inclinas** V; inclinans B. 296 **que . . . et** incantatoribus *as interlinear gloss to* veneficiis Vi. 297 **quia . . . canum** *om.* V. 298 **serpens** genus serpentis *as interlinear gloss to* dipsas Vi. 298-99 **Quando . . . venenosus** exarsit in tempore magni estus et tunc est magis venenosus *as interlinear gloss to* incanduit Vi. 300 **scilicet a Iasone** *after* Medea[2] B; idest Iasone *as interlinear gloss to* spreta Vi. 300-1 **nam . . . intulit** filios suos interfecit et sibimet damnum intulit *as interlinear gloss to* Medea Vi. 302 **nam . . . naufragos**

nam mare turbatum nulla misericordia movetur ad naufragos. *Quod manus contines, reverencia regi[e] pacis est*. Hoc unum solum facies, quod epistolam meam tenebis in manibus, et id ex reverencia pacis regie. Dicit "pacis regie," nam consuetum est quando reges faciunt pacem in simul, ipsi dant sibi manus, id est capiunt se et tangunt sibi manus. Concludit autor: *amice*, Iulius Cesar *humiliavit se* amico *suo fideli, licet citra perfectum, et pene retulit pedem*, id est retro cessit ut non iret in senatum, *quia pene paruit*, sed quia non plene paruit, *succubuit pene* mortis, *quia pene obedivit sed non penitus*, id est totaliter. *Nil illi multa humilitas profuit, quia non fuit plena.*

Quid tibi confert. Nunc confert se ad eum reprehendendo, quia non recipit conscilium suum, dicens: *quid tibi confert tua humanitas tam ferina*, id est crudelis *et rigor inflexus*, quia nullo modo flecteris consilio meo, *et horror supercilii*, id est superbia tua, *quia irruis inermis in latronum [insidias] ultro*, id est voluntarie. *Humilia te, sodes*—adverbium blandientis est—et *ad modum humilitatis eius qui sibi totum mundum humiliavit*—hic fuit Iulius Cesar—*humilia te et audi amicum tuum*. *Et si Cesarem errasse credis, qui conscilio* Spurine *non credidit,*

quod nulla misericordia inclinatur *as interlinear gloss to* equor Vi. **Quod** *gl* vel ad Vi. 303 **regie** V; regia B. 303–4 **Hoc . . . manibus** hoc unum bonum facis quia tenes epistolam meam in manibus *as interlinear gloss to* manus contines Vi. 304–7 **et . . . autor** *om.* V. 307 **Iulius Cesar** cesar *as interlinear gloss to* humiliavit Vi. **amico** Tungilio (*cancelled*) Spurinne *as interlinear gloss to* fideli Vi. 308–9 **id est . . . senatum** *as interlinear gloss to* pedem retulit Vi. 309–10 **sed . . . mortis** fere non totaliter *as interlinear gloss to* pene paruit Vi. 310 **mortis** nomen est, mortis pene Vi. **pene**[2] *gl* fere Vi. **totaliter** in totum *as interlinear gloss to* penitus Vi. 311 **illi** *gl* Cesari Vi. 312–13 **Nunc . . . dicens** *om.* V. 314 **crudelis** *as interlinear gloss to* ferina Vi. 314–15 **quia . . . meo** quia non flecteris consilio *as interlinear gloss to* inflexus Vi. 315 **id est . . . tua** *as interlinear gloss to* horror Vi. 316 **insidias** V; insidiis B. **id est voluntarie** *om.* V. 316–17 **adverbium blandientis** *as interlinear gloss to* sodes Vi. 317 **est et** *om.* V. **eius** *gl* id est Cesaris Vi. 318 **hic . . . Cesar** *om.* V. **amicum** *gl* me Vi. 319 **Spurine** *as interlinear gloss to* consilio Vi. 320 **Nam** *om.* V. 321 **et** *om.* V. **eorum** *om.* V.

exaudi et attende quid de aliis contigerit, ut tibi prosit eorum lesio. Nam felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum, et *indempnis est* eorum *castigacio quam persuadent exemplaria*. *Nescio quo refugio tutus es aut quo [asilo]* confidens *torpescis*, id est negligis sana consilia. Asillum fuit quiddam templum quod edifficavit Romulus, ad quod fugientes erant liberi et securi. Ecce *Cesar perfidos* inimicos suos *repperit immisericordes*, id est sine misericordia; *tu* autem *si umquam tale gipnasium*, id est exercitium *evasisti, pios impios invenisti*. Id est, si fuisti in tali conflictu et evasisti ab illis qui sunt impii, invenisti pios.

Phoroneus rex. Modo post disgressionem ad propositum redit. Phoroneus fuit primus rex Grecorum qui dedit eis leges, et ab ipso locus iudicii vocatur forum. Dicit ergo autor: *Phoroneus rex, qui legum thesauros publicavit populis non invidit, sed primus is* legibus *deauravit*, id est decoravit *studia Grecorum, die qua viam universitatis ingressus est*, id est mortuus est, *dixit Leoncio fratri suo, "Ad summam felicitatem michi nil deesset, si semper michi uxor defuisset." Cui Leoncius, "Et quomodo uxor obstat?"* id est ad felicitatem impedimentum prestat. *Ait illi, "Mariti omnes hoc sciunt."* Modo concludit autor: *amice, utinam maritus tu semel fueris et non sis, ut scias quod felicitatem impediat*.

Valencius imperator. Iste imperator virgo et uxore carens, quamvis non inveniatur in cronicis imperatorum, tamen quia multis gentibus imperabat, dici poterat [f. 172v] imperator. Iste autem existens

323 **asilo** V; exilio B. **confidens** *om.* V. **negligis . . . consilia** *as interlinear gloss to* torpescis Vi. 324 **edifficavit** edificavi [*cut off*] Vm. **fugientes** confugientes Vm. 325 **liberi** lib [*cut off*] Vm. **Ecce** *as interlinear gloss to* Cesar Vi. **inimicos suos** inimicos suos vel presides (?) *as interlinear gloss to* perfidos Vi. 326 **id . . . misericordia** *om.* V. **autem** *om.* V. 327 **exercitium** locum ludi vel exercitium *as interlinear gloss to* ginnasium Vi. 327-28 **Id est . . . pios** *as interlinear gloss to* pios impios invenisti Vi. 328 **ab illis** illos Vi. *Hereafter V lacks the Eneas text, except as noted*. 333 **uni-**

octogenarius virgo erat *cum die fati sui*, id est mortis *audisset recoli preconia triumphorum* et victoriarum que frequentius habuerat, *ait una se tantum victoria gloriari. Requisitus de qua, respondit, "Quia nequissimum* omnium viciorum *devici*, scilicet *carnem meam*." Concludit hic autor: *amice, inglorius*, id est sine gloria *migrasset, nisi [ei] fortiter restitisset cum qua tu assensum familiariter pepigisti* volendo uxorem ducere.

Cicero post repudium. Olim Romanis licitum erat repudiare uxores; modo Cicero repudiavit Tarenciam suam uxorem que postea nupsit Salustio, et ex tunc *noluit uxor[ari], dicens se non posse operam dare uxori pariter et philosophie.* Modo autor applicat ad eum, dicens: *utinam tibi hoc animus tuus respondeat*, id est ha[n]c intencionem habeas, ut possis vacare sciencie et virtuti, non ducas uxorem, vel si hoc non intendis, *saltem* hoc verbo dicas et *lingua*; et hoc propter duo, primo *ut loquendo digneris imitari principem eloquencie*, id est ipsum Tulium qui hoc dixit; *et michi facias spem* leticie, licet *vanam*, quia si hoc dixeris, habebo leticiam, saltem donec contrarium eveniat.

Cannius a Gadibus. Iste Cannius [fuit] *a Gadibus Herculis reprehensus* et fuit *poeta levis et facundie iocunde; Livius Penus* Ispanus fuit, et erat homo *gravis* in moribus *et* erat *istoriographus* et habebat uxorem. Cannius autem non habebat uxorem sed ibat modo ad unam, modo ad aliam mulierem. Iste Livius reprehendit Cannium in hec verba, "*Nostram philosophyam participare non poteris, dum a tot participeris; non enim eo iecore Ticius amat Iunonem quod multi vultures*

versitatis *gl* mortis Vi. 346 **ei** V; *om*. B. 350 **uxorari** V; uxorem B. 352 **hoc** hic, *gl* vel hinc Vi. **hanc*** hac B. 359 **fuit*** fuit poeta et fuit B. 365 **quod** *gl* iecur Vi. 369 **tuum*** $SH^1M^1M^2$; suum

in multa divellunt." Iste Ticius amavit Iunonem et dicitur esse in inferno, et habet istam penam quod vultures commedunt iecur suum, et postquam totum commestum est, iterato renascitur et iterato commeditur, et ideo cor [t]uum sic laceratum est a multis vulturibus. Non potes ab hoc intendere nostre philosophie. Vel sic: per [iecur] intelligitur amor concupiscencie, et quando Ticius amabat Iunonem, non amabat eam corde, id est amore, sparso, sed unico; sic et tu philosophiam nostram.

Cui Cannius respondit et vult ostendere quod melius est habere multas quam unam, dicens: "*Si quando laboro* ad unam, *resurgo caucius; si paululum oprimor, alacrius resumo aerem; vices*, id est vicissitudines *noctium dies reddunt leciores, sed perpetuitas tenebrarum est instar*, id est ad modum *inferni*," quasi dicit vicissitudo mulierum est leta, sed semper stare cum una est pena infernalis. Et probatur per duo exempla. Unum est naturale: videmus enim quod *lilia primeva delicati temporis verni solis*, id est tempore veris, *lasciviunt efusiore*, id est habundanciore, *leticia, varietate*, id est mutacione ventorum diversorum, *tum Euri* qui est unus, *tum Nothi* qui est alius, *tum Zephiri* qui est tercius, *quibus* floribus *Libs fulminicus*, id est quidam ventus impetuosus, *uno spiritu*, id est quando flat ipse solus et non alter, *incumbens facit occasum*. Vult dicere quod quando est varietas ventorum, lilia laxiviunt et sunt valde pulcra, sed quando est unus solus ventus, scilicet ille Libs, tunc lilia perdunt decorem suum.

Deinde ponit aliud exemplum poeticum, dicens: quod ista est

B. 371 **iecur*** cor B. 376-77 **id est vicissitudines** et hoc propter concubitias Vi. 377 **tenebrarum** *gl* quasi diceret ut est uxor Vi. 381 **lasciviunt** *gl* lilia Vi. 384 **floribus** liliis Vi. 384-85

differentia secundum fabulas inter Martem et Vulcanum, quia Mars non est contentus una sed habet multas; Vulcanus autem habet unam solam, et tamen Mars est in maiori honore apud deos. Unde dicit: *sic*, id est similiter *Mars*, qui propter frequenciam cum mulieribus dicitur habere *testiculos fractos, recumbit in mensa celesti et ad convivia superum, ad quam* mensam *Mulciber*, id est Vulcanus qui dicitur Mulciber quia ignis mulcet et mollit ferrum, [et] habet solam uxorem, *suo fune*, id est cathena uxorali *longe reli[g]atur*. Concludit autor, dicens: *sic levius ligant multa fila quam sola cathena*, nam ligamen ad amasias vocatur "filum," quia de facili potest dimitti, sed ligamen uxoris vocatur "cathena" propter indissolubilem coniunccionem. *Sic michi* [sunt] *a philosophia delicie, tibi ad solacium*, id est remedium. Nam ego propter philosophiam elegi habere multas, et hoc est melius, et sic delector; [tu contra] philosophiam elegisti id, unam solam habere. Applicat ad propositum, dicens: *amice, utriusque verba probo*, id est approbo, sed *vitam neutrius*; tamen in aliquo melius videtur dixisse iste [f. 173] Cannius quam Livius, nam *multi morbi interpollati vicissitudine salutis minus ledunt quam* solus continuus *qui doloribus irremediatis non cessat affligere*.

Pacuvius flens dicit Ario vicino suo, "Amice, arborem habeo in orto meo infelicissimam in qua prima uxor mea se suspendit, et sic postea secunda, et nunc tercia," et dicens flebat uberrime. *Cui A[ri]us, "Miror*

id . . . impetuosus ventus Aquilo Vi. 395 **ad quam mensam** a qua, *gl* mensa Vi. 396 **et*** *om*. B. 397 **religatur** V; relicatur B. 398 **fila** *gl* mulieres Vi. **sola cathena** *gl* una mulier Vi. 401 **sunt** scilicet sunt *as interlinear gloss to* Sic Vi; est B. 403 **tu contra*** tuam B. 404 **utriusque** *gl* mulieres concu (concubine? concubitu?) Vi. 406 **multi** *gl* id est multe mulieres concu (concubine? concubitu?) Vi. 407 **solus continuus** langor unicus, *gl* id est uxor una Vi. 408 **irremediatis** *gl* continuis Vi. 411 **Arius*** Arrius V; amicus B. 415 **ramos** *as interlinear gloss to* surculos Vi. 417 **te** *gl* Rufinus

quomodo *tu in tot successibus* et prosperitatibus *lacrimas invenisti*, quia magis ridere et gaudere deberes. Et addidit *"Dii boni, arbor illa quot dispendia*—pericula—*dispendit tibi*," id est amovit a te. *Et tercio* subiungit Arius, "*Amice*, des *michi de arbore illa surculos*, id est ramos parvulos, *ut seram*," id est plantem. Modo applicat ad propositum, dicens: *amice, timeo ne te oporteat illius arboris surculos mendicare cum* iam *inveniri non poterunt*, quia cum uxorem duxeris non licebit.

Sensit Sulpicius. Iste fuit nobilis Romanus qui accepit uxorem nobilem et castam secundum comunem vulgi famam, et tamen repudiavit eam. Et querentibus amicis et eum reprehendentibus cur hoc fecisset, ostendit eis pedem calciatum dicens, "Estne aliquis vestrum sciens ubi me calcius premit?" Et respondentibus "Non," dixit, "Non miremini ergo, quia nescitis causam repudii sicut ego scio." Dicit ergo: *Sulpicius, qui divertit ab uxore nobili et casta, [sensit] ubi calcius suus premat*, id est in quo uxor sua erat sibi periculosa et in quo eum offendebat. Concludit Valerius, dicens: *amice, cave tibi ne calcius te premat*, id est ne tu ducas uxorem *que avelli non potest*, quia postquam eam duxeris, minime eam dimittere poteris.

Ait Cato. Multi fuerunt Catones; iste autem dicebatur *Uticensis*, quia licet Romanus fuerit, tamen quia post debellacionem Pompeii a Iulio Cesare fugit in Uticam civitatem Ispanie, et ibi occidit seipsum; dictus ergo fuit Cato Uticensis. Iste autem dicebat quod *si mundus posset esse sine femina, nostra conversacio non esset sine diis*, nam amor feminarum cum ipsis impedit conversacionem nostram. Et convertit se ad eum, dicens: *amice, Cato non nisi vera et cognita*

Vi. 425 **divertit** *gl* divortum fecit Vi. **sensit** V; *om* B. 428 **calcius** *gl* uxor Vi. 442 **norunt** V;

loquebatur, quia sapientissimus erat, *nec quisquam* olim *feminarum execrabatur*, id est detestabatur *ludibria*, id est decepciones, nisi ille qui *lusus*, id est deceptus est ab eis, *et* ille qui est *expertus et conscius pene* quam infligunt mulieres. *Hiis igitur*, id est talibus hominibus *decet habere fidem, quia cum omni veritate locuntur; hii sciunt ut*, id est sicut *placet delectacio et pungit delictum; hii [norunt] quod flos*, id est delectacio *Veneris rosa est, quia sub eius purpura*, id est colore purpureo *multi latent aculey*, etc.

Metellus Mario respondit. Isti fuerunt duo nobiles Romani, Marius et Metellus, quorum iste Marius volebat dare *filiam* suam *divitem dote* Metello, que etiam erat *fama clara* et *nobilis forma*. *Metellus respondit, "Malo*, id est magis volo *esse meus quam suus." Cui Marius, "Immo ipsa tua erit." At ill[e]* Metellus, "*Immo virum uxoris esse oportet. Loicum enim est, 'Talia erunt predicata, qualia subiecta permiserint*.'" Nam omne predicatum non potest predicari de quolibet subiecto, sed oportet subiectum esse tale quale predicatum permittit. Uxor est subiectum, et vir est predicatum, et ideo oportet quod vir trahatur ad mores uxoris. *Sic facecia*, id est urbanitas [et elegancia] *verbi Metelli divertit ab honeribus dorsum eius*. Et autor convertit se ad Rufinum, dicens: *amice, si uxorari oportet, non expedit quidem; verumptamen* si omnino vis uxorem ducere, *amor* honestus *sit in causa*, non dos; sed *faciem uxoris eligas, non vestem*; sed *animum*, id est virtutem, *non aurum*; sed *tibi nubat uxor, non dos. Ergo si quoquomodo fieri potest, predicari poteris*, id est laudari, *ut livorem*, id est maliciam *non ducas*, id est non contrahas *a subiecto*, id est ab uxore, quia si uxor erit bona, non faciet te virum malum.

om. B. 449 **ille** V; illi B. 454 **et elegancia*** relegancia B. 466 **vote** note, *gl* vel nocte Vi. **eius**

Thais Chorinthia prerogativa pulcritudinis insignis, id est excellentis pulcritudinis, *tantummodo regum et principum dignabatur amplexus*, quia non dabat se aliis; *conata est tamen Demosteni participare thorum*, id est inducere eum ad sui concubitum, *ut vote castitatis [e]ius miraculo soluto*, quia erat tantum castus quod impossibile videbatur eum posse inclinari, [videretur ipsa specie sua lapides movisse] *ut*, id est sicut *Anphion cithara*. Fabula est quod Anphion cithara sua, id est cum cantu [f. 173v] ipsius, edifficavit muros Thebanos, quia lapides movebantur et situabant se sicut ille volebat. *Attractumque* Demostenem *blandiciis tractavit suaviter. Cum iam Demostenes demolliretur*, id est inclinaretur *ad thalamos* eius, id est ad iacendum cum ea, *Thays petivit ab eo centum talenta pro consensu. At ille, suspiciens celum, ait, "Non emo tanti penitere*," id est illud de quo tantum penitere oportet. Et convertit se ad eum, dicens: *amice, utinam et tu in celum acumen mentis erigas, ut id effugias quod est necesse redimi penitencia.*

Livia virum suum. Hic ponit exemplum de duabus mulieribus, quarum una ex odio occidit veneno maritum, alia amore occidit suum poculo. Dicit ergo: *Livia virum suum occidit quem nimis odit; illa* prima *miscuit acconiton*, id est herbam quamdam venenosam que dicitur nasci expuma Cerberi, et secundum Virgilium dicitur nasci in Ponto. *Hec* secunda *decepta furorem propinavit pro amoris poculo*, nam volens quod vir suus diligeret eam sicut ipsa diligebat virum, dedit sibi poculum furoris, decepta vel quia nescivit virtutem poculi, vel quia nescivit illud bene ordinare. Nam illud poculum fecit illum insanum, et sic occidit eum. Convertit se ad eum, dicens: *amice, iste*

V; cuius B. 468 **videretur . . . movisse** V; *om.* B. 477 **penitencia** *adds* Voluptatum appetentia plena est anxietatis, satietas vero penitencie Boecius Vm. 481–83 **id . . . Ponto** venenum *as interlinear*

mulieres *contenderunt contrariis votis*, id est voluntatibus, quia una ex odio, alia ex amore; et *neutra tamen defraudata est fine fraudis feminee, proprio scilicet malo*. Hic autem finis est malum.

Variis et diversis semitis incedunt femine; quibusque anfractibus, id est quibuscumque circuitibus *errent, quibusque devient inviis, unus est exitus*, id est finis, *una omnium suarum viarum meta*, id est terminus, *unicum caput*, id est principium *et conventus omnium viarum suarum*, quia in eo omnes femine conveniunt; et idem est *malicia audax ad omnia que amat vel odit, et artificiosa cum vult nocere, quod semper est, et cum iuvare parat, obest. Unde fit ut frequenter noceat, et nolens*, id est non intendens, et hoc quia nimis audax est. *In fornace*, id est in examine *positus es*, quia vis uxorem ducere; *si aurum es, exibis purior*, quasi diceret, "Si perfectus es, exibis incolumis et victor in tali examine, sed periculum incumbit tibi, et ideo cave."

Deianira Thirinthium. Ista fuit uxor Herculis; dicitur quod Hercules vadens cum uxore sua pervenit ad fluvium qui transiri non poterat, et invenit ibi [Nexum] cemtaurum. Erat enim monstrum quod pro media parte erat homo, pro alia parte gestabat formam equi. Iste Nexus dixit Herculi, "Transeas tu natando, et ego portabo uxorem tuam." Iste autem centaurus transivit velocius, et quando fuit ex altera parte fluvii, voluit opprimere violenter uxorem Herculis. Hercules, hoc videns, sagitta occidit Nexum, qui moriens tinxit sanguine suo interulam et dedit Deianire, dicens, "Quando vir tuus ibit ad aliam mulierem, mittas sibi istam inter-

gloss to aconiton Vi. 491-92 **id . . . circuitibus** diverticulis *as interlinear gloss to* anfractibus Vi. 502 **Thirinthium** *gl* Herculem Vi. **uxor Herculis** *as interlinear gloss to* Deianira Vi; Ovidius impia quid dubitas o Deyanira mori Vm. 504 **Nexum*** Nexum et B. 513 **Deianira** *as interlinear gloss to* ulta

ulam." Et ista misit semel sibi, qua indutus Hercules venenatus est et mortuus est. Dicit ergo: Deianira *ulta est*, id est occidit *Thirinthium*, id est Herculem qui sic a quodam monte dicebatur, *maleum monstrorum*. Hercules dicitur maleus monstrorum, quia multa monstra vicit, occidit, et interfecit. *Interula vestivit*, id est camisia, que est vestis interior, *sanguine monstri*, quia tincta sanguine monstri; *sibique processit ad lacrimas quod ad leticiam machinata est*, quia non misit sibi interulam ut occideret eum, sed magis ad quandam leticiam.

Convertit se nunc autor, dicens: *amice, Testitas*, id est Deianira que Testitas dicitur a parentela. Unde Deianira est nomen proprium, sed Testitas est nomen patronomicum. Cum *vidit et scivit* suis oculis *Nessum traiectum telo Herculis* et *tamen credidit [in]*—contra—*Herculem, et quasi non sponte, quem debuit vestire interula, vestivit interitu. Insani capitis et precipitis est femina* et *illibrata semper voluntate*, quia non regulatur [f. 174] ratione, *precipuum*, id est bonum et optimum *arbitratur quod vult et non quod expedit. Et ut*, id est sicut, ipsa *cupit placere pre omnibus, ita placitum suum omnibus preferre consulta est.*

Duodecim. Adhuc insistit in facto Herculis, dicens: *Alcides*, id est Hercules, qui sic nominatur [quia] fuit virtuosus et probus, *consumavit*, id est vicit et superavit *duodecim inhumanos labores*, id est supra vires hominum, de quibus laboribus loquitur Boecius 4 *de Consolacione*. At ipse, scilicet Hercules *superatus est a terciodecimo*, scilicet monstro *quod superavit omnem inhumanitatem*. Nam inhumanum fuit quod uxor eius crederet Nesso contra Herculem, quem

est Vi. 515-16 **quia . . . vicit** Herculem qui omnia monstra vicit *as interlinear gloss to* malleum monstrorum Vi. 516 **camisia** camisia que mortem et interitum Herculi intulit *as interlinear gloss to* Interula Vi. 520 **Testitas (Thestias V)** *gl* Deianire (*sic*) filia Vi. 523 **credidit** *gl* Deianira Vi. **in** *gl* contra Vi; *om*. B. 525 **illibrata** illibata, *gl* plena Vi. 530 **quia*** *om*. B. 538 **dampnum*** WK;

viderat occisum ab eo. *Sic fortissimus hominum eque gemendus ut gemebundus occubuit, qui celi arcem sine gemitu sustinuerat.* Vult dicere quod quia fuit magnum [dampnum] de morte sua propter utilitatem que ab eo proveniebat, ideo gemendus est.

Nunc auctor convertit se ad exprobranda vicia mulieris et dicit: *tandem que [unquam]* mulier *inter tot milia* mulierum *contristavit perpetua repulsa sedulum sollicitumque procuratorem*, quia si ad horam repellat et [perseveret] repellendo, immo tandem consensit. *Vel que* mulier *constanter precidit verba petentis*? quasi diceret nulla. *Favorem sapit eius responsio, et quantumcunque* eius responsio *fuerit dura, semper in aliquo angulo sui verbi habebis implicitum aliquem fomitem tue peticionis*, quia etiam si negat, negando spondet. *Quelibet negat, nulla pernegat*, id est perfecte negat, quia si negat verbo, non negat animo, nutu, vel gestu.

Irrupit aurum. Hic tangit fabulam que talis est: Accrisius habuit unam filiam pulcerrimam nomine Daphnes quam ut melius custodiret, clausit eam in quadam turri. Iupiter autem adamavit eam et non valens ad eam accedere pre altitudine, convertit se in "imbrem aureum" et per tegulas cecidit "in gremium" eius et, reassumpta figura propria, concubuit cum ea; de hoc loquitur Terentius. Unde dicit: *aurum*, id est Iupiter in figura ymbris aurei *irrupit in propugnacula turris Acrisii et solvit pudiciciam Daphnes signatam*, id est custoditam *multiplici vallo*. Modo convertit se autor ad Rufinum, dicens: *amice, sic*, id est per talem modum *virgini que terram triumphavit de*

om. B. 541 **unquam** V; nunquam B. **mulierum** *gl* feminarum Vi. 542 **procuratorem** procatorem, *gl* amasium Vi. 543 **perseveret*** senserat B. 544 **quasi . . . nulla** scilicet quasi diceret non *as interlinear gloss to* contristavit Vi. 556 **aurum** *gl* scilicet aurei specie Iupiter Vi. 557 **Acrisii** *gl* regis

celo pluit incestus; sic etiam mulierem *quam nunquam fallit humilis*, id est parve condicionis homo, *vincit sublimis*; et *sic arborem quam non movit Favonius, evertit Aquilo*, qui est magis impetuosus.

Licia virgo vergens. Ista Licia fuit mater Platonis, que alio nomine vocata est Perisyon, quia nunquam viro consensit. *Tandem oppressa Apolinis*, id est solis *fantasmate, concepit peperitque Platonem*, quia sol fantasma apparuit ei, sicut legitur de incubis, et concubuit cum ea, ex quo natus est Plato. *Amice, ecce* vides quod dictam Liciam *quam illibatam servaverunt vigilie*, id est diligentes custodie castitatis, *defloravit illusio per sompnium*. Adducit simile, *ut semper omne rosarium spolietur sua purpura*, id est rosis que habent colorem purpureum *aliquo turbine*, id est vento. Sed quidquid fuerit defloracione istius Licie, tamen *si quidem bene*, id est valde bene factum est, quia *patrizavit Plato in sapiencia*, id est habuit patrem sapientem, quia Apollinem; *et quod* Plato est *factus similis* in sapiencia *nomini patris*, id est solis *precipui*—"in sapiencia" suple, nam sol dicitur pater sapiencie.

Amice. Hic excusat se de quodam quod posset sibi obici, videlicet quod ponendo exempla gentilium, ex hoc datur intelligi quod christianus, sicut erat iste Ruffinus, debeat imitari gentiles et paganos ydolatras. Ad hec respondit, dicens: *amice, miraris* de me *an magis indignaris quod in parabolis* quas posui *significem tibi gentiles esse ymitandos*, ex quo deducitur *ydolatras* imitandos esse, *canes agno*, et *denique malos bono*. Respondit *volo quod sis similis api argumentose que elicit mel*, non solum [f. 174v] de floribus, sed *de urtica*. *Tu* ergo sic *sugas mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo. Novi gentilium supersticio-*

Vi. 559 **terram** *gl* idest in Vi. 560 **mulierem** f[eminam] Vi. 567-68 **illibatam** *gl* castam Vi. 574 **solis** Apollinis *as interlinear gloss to* patris Vi. 578 **christianus (V christiano)** *gl* a te Rufine Vi. 579 **paganos** *as interlinear gloss to* ydolatras Vi. 587 **Christus** ipse, *gl* Christus Vi. 595 **asini**

nem, id est deffectum et errorem *sed omnis Dei creatura habet aliquid exemplum honesti*, et non solum rationalis sed etiam brutalis. *Unde Christus* aliquando in Scriptura *dicitur aries*, aliquando *leo*, aliquando ovis propter aliquam proprietatem quam habent predicta animalia. *Sed plurima agunt perverse increduli; aliqua tamen* bona *que* sunt *in eis, quamvis pereant* propter infidelitatem, si *in nobis* fuerint, *faciunt habunde fructum. Quod si illi increduli zonas habuerunt pelliceas causa mundicie*, id est adhibuerunt omnem diligenciam ad conservandam mundiciam, et tamen fuerunt *sine spe, sine fide*, et *sine caritate, sine predicamento*, id est non fuit eis fides predicata, *profecto nos si fuerimus [asini] aut sues*, id est carnales et immundi, *aut aliqua inhumanitate brutorum similes, quo merito fidei, quo spei, quo caritatis digni repperiemur?* quasi dicat nullo. *Cum videamus prophetas et precipue illum, mundi corde quem soli cernere possunt oculi. Illi autem* gentiles *studio suarum arcium se multis conatibus afflixerunt, nullo intuitu future felicitatis, sed ne tantum haberent animas ignorantes. Quid nobis erit neglecta divina pagina, cuius finis est veritas et illuminacio, lucerna pedibus et lumen semitis ad vitam eternam. Utinam hanc* sacram paginam *eligas, et hanc legas et hanc introducas in cubiculum*, id est in locum secretum ad studium, *ut rex* Christus *inducat te in suum*, id est in celum.

Hanc dudum. Modo suadet sibi quod in hac pagina studere debeat, dicens: *dudum floribus tui veris hanc subarrasti*, quia in iuventute in ea studere cepisti; *hec in estate tua*, id est in etate tua provecta *expectat ut facias uvas*, id est fructum debitum; *huius*, scilicet sacre pagine quam subarrasti in sponsam, *in iniuriam non ducas aliam, ne*

V; *om.* B. 597 **videamus** videas, *gl* o Rufine Vi. 598 **gentiles** pagani *as interlinear gloss to* illi Vi.

facias in tempore vindemie, id est in tempore in quo debes esse melior, *facias* dico [*labruscas*] veris, id est intendas operibus carnalibus.

Nolo te fieri sponsum Veneris, sed Paladis, id est Minerve, que est dea sapiencie. *Hec* enim sponsa induet te monilibus, id est ornamentis *preciosis et ornabit te; hec te induet veste nupciali*, id est virtutum vel caritatis. *Hec nupcie gloriabuntur Apolline paranimpho*, id est apparebunt gloriose ex tali mediatore; *harum*, id est nupciarum *fescennin[a]s cedros*, id est cantica nupcialia *docebit Stillon*, id est Mercurius, qui dicitur Stillon a velocitate, quia velocissime peragit cursum eius. *Uxoratus*, quia "uxoratus" in talibus canticis est expertus et instructus, vel "uxoratus" quia Mercurius, quia coniunctus dee sapiencie, dicitur uxoratus. *Docebit* inquam *cedros Libani*, id est homines sapiencie deditos et vacantes. *Spem huius tam de[sidera]te sollempnitatis*, id est istarum spiritualium nupciarum *devote concepi*, id est cum multa devocione desideravi, *sed in timore. Causa huius*, scilicet uxoris ducende, *tota hec leccio facta est ad hunc finem*, ne uxorem ducas, sed *tota oratio probat hec; hic rigor huius dissuasionis*, id est hac de causa tam rigide dissuasi, *hic totus armatur, cuius multo cali[b]e sentis aculeos preduratos*, quia dure et acute tibi locutus sum. Sed considera quod *est dura manus cyrugici sed sanans*; sic *sermo* meus *hic durus sed sanus, et utinam* sit *tibi tam utilis quam devotus*, quia ex affectu locutus sum.

Postea respondet tacite questioni, quia vita castitatis est nimis arta. Unde dicit: *amice, artam tibi ut ais infligo vivendi regulam. Esto*, id

611 **labruscas*** lambruscas BV. 615 **paranimpho** *gl* numptio nuptiarum vel senesale Vi. 616 **fescenninas** V; fescenninos B. 617 **cantica nupcialia** nuptiarum cantus *as interlinear gloss to* fesceninas Vi. 620 **Mercurius** *as interlinear gloss to* Stilbon Vi. 622 **desiderate** V; devote B. 627 **armatur** armat, *gl* rigor Vi. **calibe** V; calide B. 632-33 **id est confiteor** quasi ita sit *as interlinear*

est confiteor. Sed considera quod, teste *Scriptura, arta est via que* nos *ducit ad vitam, nec est semita plana qua itur ad gaudia plena; ymmo etiam* 635 *ad* gaudia *mediocria evadimus per salebras*, id est per vias asperas et duras. Et ad hoc ducit exemplum vel fabulam de Iasone, qui audiens quod apud quendam regem qui vocabatur Octes, qui habitabat in [insula] Colcos, esset aureum vellus quod custodiebatur a thauris [f. 175] ferocissimis ignem spirantibus et sulphurem, et a quodam 640 serpente venenosissimo, et nichilominus, ut reportaret honorem et posset habere thesaurum, exposuit se omnibus predictis periculis. Unde dicit: *audivit Iason quod per mare adhuc tutum*, quia ante ipsum nullus fuerat ausus navigare, *nec ullis devirginatum ratibus*, quia prima navis fuit illa super quam ascendit Iason, que vocata est Argos, nec 645 devirginatum *remis; et per tauros sulphureos et per toxicate serpentis vigilias esset sibi viandum ad vellus aureum; et sano conscilio* patrui sui et sociorum, *licet non suavi usus, abiit et rediit et optabilem thesaurum retulit. Sic absinthium*, id est amaritudinem *veritatis*, quam sustinere oportet propter veritatem adipiscendam, *acceptat morose mentis humilitas;* 650 *fecundat officiosa sedulitas*, et *fructum producit perseverancie utilitas*. Et istum processum adipiscendo veritatem declarat in processu frugum, dicens: *sic sementem serit Auster pincerna pluviarum*, nam Auster est ventus pluviosus; *consolidat Aquilo scopa viarum*, nam Aquilo est ventus qui purgat vias; *promovet in ubertatem* fructus *Zephirus florum* 655 *procurator. Sic dura principia munerantur* et premiantur; *sic arctus callis perducit ad ampla palacia; sic angustus trames ad terram vivencium. Sed*

gloss to Esto Vi. 635 **vias asperas** asperitas viarum *as interlinear gloss to* salebras Vi. 638 **insula*** insulam B. 647 **thesaurum** *gl* vellus aureum Vi. 650 **officiosa sedulitas** *gl* sollicita continuitas

ne longo d[is]pendio te suspendam ut maiore testimonio michi fides adhibeatur, lege Aureolum Theofasti, qui fuit discipulus Platonis, *et Medeam Iasonis,* id est libros illos, *et vix pauca invenies impossibilia mulieri*, quia tanta est sua malicia quod possibilia ei sunt omnia. Tandem concludit autor: *amice, det tibi omnipotens Deus non falli fallacia mulieris omnipotentis*, quia videtur omnia posse, scilicet mala; *et illuminet* te *cor tuum, ne [prestigiatis] oculis*, id est ludificatis *pergas quo ego timeo*, id est ad pericula et incommoda que ego video. *Sed ne Horestem scripsisse videar, vale*, quasi dicat liber in quo scribuntur facta Horestis est ita longus quod nunquam videtur finem habere, unde Iuvenalis, "Scriptus et a tergo necdum finitur." *Vale*, id est finem facio, nam "vale" continue denotat finem eppistole etc.

Explicit scriptum epistole Valerii ad Rufinum.

Vi. 657 **dispendio** V; dependio B. 658 **Theofasti** *gl* phylosophi Vi. 661 **fallacia** *gl* de Vi. 663 **prestigiatis** V; restigratis B. **ludificatis** prestrictis quasi ligatis *as interlinear gloss to* prestigiatis oculis Vi. **pergas** tendas, *gl* illuc Vi. 664 **Horestem** *gl* epistula fuit scripta et missa Horesti que adeo magna fuit ut ei finis nunquam videretur Vi. 669 **Explicit . . . rufinum** Expliciunt dissuasiones Valerii ad Ruffinum ne ducat uxores. Sed ut multi dicunt Sancti Ieronimi est; *gl* quod ego non credo Vi.

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NOTES

COMMENTARY ONE: "GRUES, UT DICITUR YSODORUS"

15 **Augur.** Hugutio A.5.12: "hic et hec augur, qui vel que in garritu avium divinat." A standard etymology, usually in the form "augurium de garritu avium." *PL* online, s.v. augur + garritu.

26-28 **Est . . . desistit.** This account is part of the citation from Neckam. It seems related to the fact, asserted by Gerald of Wales, that the nightingale does not occur in Wales, *Itinerarium Kambriae* 2.6, p. 125.

The story of the knight who had the nightingale torn apart by horses also appears in the English poem *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ed. Stanley, ll. 1049-1101. There is a version in Marie de France's *Laustic* (The Nightingale), and several others: see Stanley pp. 165-66.

32-33 **Merula . . . canit.** Not from Isidore (see 12.7.69, 12.6.5) nor Hugutio (but see "mere cantat," sings purely, M.88.9) nor Balbus; perhaps simply from observation, but cf. *PL* 177.44.

41 **Gnatonici.** Cf. *Eunuch* 2.2.33; Jerome, *Ep.* 50.4 (*PL* 22.515).

41-42 **dicitur . . . gestu.** Hugutio, P.19.21: "Dicitur parasitus leccator vel ioculator . . . scilicet qui scit suo gestu representare gestus et compositiones multorum."

42-45 **Dicit philosophus . . . contempnenda sunt.** Cf. Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum* 112 (*PL* 205.302D; *CC* 196.695). The *PL* text prints *garciones* for g*nathones*; but at least one ms. consulted by the editor has *gnathones*; see note at col. 497C. "Philosophus" is apparently Seneca, whom Peter the Chanter quotes (as "philosophus") in the previous sentence; our commentator seems to have regarded this statement as by him also. Peter echoes Sidonius, *Epistles* 3.13.

49 **Prestet . . . horam.** Not in either of Walther's compendia, Eberhard de Bethune, Alexander of Ville-Dieu, or any of the works of John of Garland; unfound in online databases.

61 **Babel . . . confusio.** Hugutio, B.2: "Babel interpretatur confusio."

61-63 **Babel erat . . . confusionis.** This sentence in β may be an alternative gloss, scribally introduced, or the α reading may be a shortening of this.

64-66 **tirus . . . tiriaca.** Not really from Isidore, who never mentions *tirus*, only *tiriaca*. Hugutio T.123.1: "Tirus, quidam serpens, unde tiriacus, -a, -um et hec tiriaca, -ce, scilicet antidotum serpentium, quo venena pelluntur, scilicet ut pestis peste solvatur." Hugutio's definition of *tiriaca* is from Isidore 4.9.8. See note to *Religiosos* 100–7.

76 **deprehendit.** We have let the reading of α stand (β has Ridewall only), taking *ascensus* as accusative plural, though *eius* should then be *suo*. Isidore and Trivet have *deprehensus est*.

90 **et . . . ipsorum.** We take this to refer to the swansong, with *ipsorum* for *suorum*.

91-94 **Chimera . . . yma.** Cf. Isidore 11.3.36 and 1.40.4, where Isidore quotes Lucretius's line, "Prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa chimaera" (5.903), which is evidently the model for the medieval couplet quoted here (see also *Metamorphoses* 9.646-47). For the medieval couplet, see Walther, *Spr.*, 5711b. Trivet (441-46) quotes six lines, not just two, and has "Digne" for "Omni" at the start (Walther, *Vers.*, 4473).

112 **historia:** Cf. Judges 16.

113 **excecatus . . . deputatus.** See Judges 16.21: "Eruerunt oculos eius . . . et molere fecerunt" and *PL* online, s.v. ad molam deputatus.

116 **iret spaciatum.** See the same phrase attached to a different story of Aesculapius at Trivet 501n.

127-29 **Dicuntur . . . demones.** *Glossa ordinaria* to Gal 3.1, *PL* 114.574D.

130-42 **Fenix . . . reformatur.** Not from Isidore, who gives the essential facts, but much more briefly. Some of the details, including the Vergilian phrase "remigio alarum" (*Aen.* 1.301), go back to Ambrose, *Hexaemeron, PL* 14.238; and many more come ultimately from Lactantius's *De ave phoenice*, *PL* 7.277-84 and Claudian's *Phoenix* in *Carmina minora*, ed. Ricci 2001). But the proximate source is almost certainly Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum* 5.45; from "Cumque" 134 to the end Thomas is quoted virtually verbatim. The second sentence, whose facts but not wording are from Thomas, ("ad modum aquile magne . . . ceruleus scribitur") appears almost verbatim in Trivet 612-14. Trivet may have copied it from *Grues*; or both writers drew on some intermediate version. Ridewall cites Isidore and Ambrose. Tubach 3755. See list of further places in CCCM 124 (Stephen of Borbon), p. 469.

143-63 **Ait Martinus . . . Danielem.** Not from the version of Martin of Troppau printed in *MGH*. Numerous versions were issued by the author, however (see *MGH* Scriptores 22, p. 382); presumably the whole paragraph is taken from a ms. of Martin's *Chronicle*. The ultimate source is Livy, 1.58-59; see also Augustine, *City* 1.19. The son of Tarquinius Superbus is properly Sextus Tarquinius. "Terpicinus" should be Collatinus; the name seems to be a corruption of the name Tricipitinus, Lucretia's father. Nor does Livy indicate that Lucius Junius Brutus was Lucretia's uncle; rather, he is the nephew of Tarquinius Superbus; his mother was Tarquinius's sister. But Augustine calls him Lucretia's "kinsman" (*propinquus*).

171-88 **Scilla.** Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8. 6-151. But there are discrepancies; more likely the source is a commentary on Theodulus. In the commentary of Bernard d'Utrecht (ed. Huygens), for instance, Scylla becomes the bird *alauda* instead of the *ciris*, as Ovid has.

189-96 **Mirra.** Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.298-502.

198-199 **Rem miram . . . amor.** John of Garland, *Integumenta Ovidii*, 413-14.

200-12 **Europa.** Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.833-75.

213–18 **Leucothoe.** Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4, 196–233. There are major discrepancies, however; the nearer source is perhaps a euhemerist mythographer.

219–24 **Mars.** Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.167–89; not in Lucan, despite the mss. reading.

228 **Mortalis . . . heremi.** Isidore gives Jerome's whole sentence: "Mortalis ego sum unus ex accolis heremi, quos vario delusa errore gentilitas Faunos Satyrosque colit," "I am just a mortal creature who lives here in the desert, though the deluded pagans erroneously worship us as Fauns and Satyrs." The sentence turns on the pun accolis/colit, and is far more pointed than the bland "Ipsi eciam dicuntur vauni." The last sentence (**Satirus . . . sunt)** is from Hugutio, S.53.16, though, interestingly, *sunt* replaces Hugutio's *feruntur*. In fact, the entire entry in Isidore is in Hugutio, without attribution. The last sentence suggests that although the author knew it was from Isidore he was actually quoting Hugutio.

231–36 **Vulcanus.** It is important to repeat the story of Athena's patrigenesis so as to associate wisdom with males as much as possible. The story is not in Ovid except for the phrase "nata Iove" applied to Athena at *Metamorphoses* 4.800 and 5.297. Nor does Ovid treat the birth of Vulcan. The more usual story is that Juno dropped him out of heaven because she was ashamed of him. His lameness comes from being later dropped by Jupiter.

237–59 **Nota quod . . . celestia.** The fundamental source of the application of the three lives to the three goddesses is Fulgentius, 2.1–4; see also the Third Vatican Mythographer ch. 23 (Pepin 2008: 316); cf. Trivet 839–41. The account of the judgment of Paris in these lines is somewhat discrepant with that in lines 393–400 below; perhaps it is not by the original commentator. It appears only in the β mss., that is, the three in which *Grues* is combined with Ridewall, and may be the work of the combiner. See our headnote to the Ridewall commentary. The Alexander story in the last sentence is not from Cicero; on the contrary, at *Tusculan Disputations* 5.32.91–2, Alexander the rich king is set against Diogenes the philosopher; that is, Alexander is a figure of non-contemplation. The idea or one like it, however, is in Cicero: in *De natura deorum* 2.14.37, he ascribes to Chrysippus the statement that man is born to contemplate and imitate the world: "ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum et imitandum." As for Alexander, we have not found this remark ascribed to him; indeed, though he had a good education, a serious mind, and a knack for wise sayings, he surely thought he was born to conquer the world, not contemplate the heavens.

244 **beatudine.** "Blessedness," although presumably with the meaning expanded to include "beauty."

260–61 **secundum intellectum.** "According to the meaning"; here perhaps "in accordance with the ordinary understanding of the words," that is, "without troping." The definition seems to be aimed at distinguishing figures from tropes in the standard way.

262 **Purpurissum . . . purpura.** Hugutio, P.124.18: "Hoc Purpurissum, genus coloris ex creta argentea (clay for polishing silver), et cum purpuris pariter tingitur, unde et dictum est." Hugutio does not say that *purpurissum* is a *rhetorical* color; the commentator spells that out.

265–67 **Iulius Cesar . . . clause.** Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, 1.81.4: "when a note revealing the plot was handed him by someone on the way, he put it with others which he held in his left hand, intending to read them presently" (Loeb translation). The name of the giver is not given, nor does Suetonius say that the note was later found in his hand, although the sentence quoted implies that.

268–71 **Capitolium . . . cernentibus.** Verbatim from Martin of Troppau, *Chronica*, p. 401, ll. 14–17, except Martin adds *et firmis* after *altis* and (like δ) has *omnibus* for *cunctis*.

276 **Cloto . . . occat.** This verse is cited also by Trivet, Eneas, and Lambeth 330. See Trivet 905n.

283 **Ysidorus**. Not in Isidore. Thomas of Cantimpré says simply, "Aper cunctas bestias precedit auditu" (4.3.27). But the word *precellentissimum* suggests that behind our author's statement lies the widely known couplet, "Nos aper auditu, linx visu, simia gustu/Vultur odoratu precellit, aranea tactu" (Walther, *Spr.* 18772a, also cited by Thomas at 4.1.193–94, though with *precedit* for *precellit*).

283–86 **Aper … defendit.** Not in Isidore, who only gives the etymology of *aper* at 12.1.27. Bartholomaeus, who treats the boar amply, says nothing about its hearing. Trivet quotes Neckam, to different effect. Conceivably when Map implied that the boar ignores the barking he was drawing on the actual experience of court hunters, and the commentator strove to spin out an *auctoritas* for it.

287–88 **tanti . . . exponat.** Not in Isidore, but in *De bestiis et aliis rebus* ascribed to Hugh of Folieto (*PL* 177.101). See the comparison (to the disadvantage of the *Grues* commentator) of this note to Ridewall's and Trivet's on the dipsas, Lawler 1991, 103–5.

291–92 **Ipse . . . iuvencula.** Actually Jason married Creusa, the princess of Corinth: see Hyginus 21, 22, 25; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.394–95. The source of this debased version, reducing his treacherous second marriage to mere adultery, is perhaps a commentary on Juvenal or Theodulus.

295 **sena.** I.e., cena.

304–5 **Unde dicit Hugutio . . . exponuntur.** Hugutio rather says, F.49.3: "et hoc forum, -ri, quia semper sit foris, scilicet locus ubi res venduntur. Forum etiam dicitur ubi tractantur cause, sed tunc derivatur a fando . . . . (F.9.12) Forus etiam dicitur ubi res venduntur, a fando vel quia foris est. Forus eciam ubi tractantur cause, a fando vel a Foroneo quia primus legem dedit Grecis." Then at F.51.1, s.v. *foros*: "Foros grece, latine dicitur ferre, unde hic Foroneus, -ei antiquus rex Grecorum qui primus attulit Grecis leges." Hugutio says nothing about Phoroneus's attitude to money. The comment seems based on a flawed memory

of Hugutio's entry at F.9.12.

333-37 **Affricus . . . nutrit.** Africus is the southwest wind, Eurus the southeast. Bartholomaeus, *De proprietatibus rerum* 11.3 (Frankfurt, 1601, p. 489): "[Auster] est autem calidus et humidus, et fulmineus, densum facit aerem atque spissam, et nebulas nutrit." But Isidore, 13.11.6: "Auster ab auriendo aquas vocatus, unde et crassum aerem facit et nubila nutrit."

345-47 **Seneca . . . peniteas.** Seneca's full statement reads, "Voluptas fragilis est, brevis, fastidio obiecta, quo avidius hausta est citius in contrarium recidens, cuius subinde necesse est aut paeniteat aut pudeat, in qua nihil est magnificum aut quod naturam hominis dis proximi deceat, res humilis, membrorum turpium aut vilium ministerio veniens, exitu foeda."

351 **Apocopo vitam.** See Ridewall 243 and note.

353 **locus . . . concurrunt.** Apparently an awkward locution for a circuitous route or detour; cf. *OLD* s.v. anfractus, 3c and citations.

354 **Eoi.** All the mss have this word. It is either a proper name, an error for Enei (i.e., Oenei) (as we have translated it), or an adjective modifying *regis*, "daughter of an eastern king."

355 **venientes.** A nominative absolute: "They coming to the river, he went off on his own."

373-76 **Nota . . . mentem.** From the anonymous treatise *De nuptiis*, *PL* 172.1206: "In favo mellis duo sunt, id est, mel et cera. In facie meretricis similiter duo, scilicet decor et gratia, hoc est pulchritudo oris, et dulcedo sermonis. Cera succendit ignem, mel praebet dulcedinem. Sic pulchritudo meretricis igne libidinis inflammat carnem, blandimento vero lenocinantis sermonis subvertit mentem" (There are two things in a honeycomb, honey and wax. In a whore's face there are also two things, beauty and elegance, beauty of face and elegance of speech. Wax kindles fire, honey offers sweetness. Thus a whore's beauty inflames the flesh with the fire of lust, and by the flattery of her inviting speech she subverts the mind).

385 **Sponsam . . . subarrat.** We have not found this hexameter, whose purpose seems to be to enable students to distinguish between subaro, with short a, and subarro (subarrho), with long a. Cf. 48-49 above.

386 **Vitis . . . vocatur.** Cf. John of Garland, *Opus synonymorum (PL* 150.1590C): "Vinea sylvestris sterilis labrusca vocatur."

387-88 **Fecinnine . . . puerum.** Hugutio F.1.29: "Hee fescennine, -arum, idest carmina que mulier dicit movendo cunas ut sopiat puerum." See Trivet 1719-21, Ridewall 858.

389-401 **Stilbon . . . differenter.** In the classical story, of course, it was the wedding of Pelias and Thetis at which the uninvited Eris threw down the apple of discord; see Hyginus, *Fabulae* 92, Servius on Aeneid, 1.27, *Mythographi Vaticani I et II*, 2.248. Some late development has associated the story instead with Martianus's myth of the wedding of Mercury and Philology; see Trivet 1707-8. In

Dares Phrygius Paris, in the woods of Ida, dreams that Mercury leads the three goddesses before him to resolve their dispute (7.5-8); in Guido delle Colonne the woods of Ida becomes India Minor (transl. Meek 6. 185-246).

402 **Ciclas.** Properly Aetes; the name seems to be a corruption of Colchis, his kingdom, or perhaps of Colchus, "the Colchean," i.e., Aetes. Hyginus (22) says the dragon was drugged; the killing with Hercules' help seems the result of conflation with the story of Hercules killing the Hydra or with the story of Hercules picking the apples of the Hesperides, in which he kills a watching dragon.

425-30 **Thresias . . . novem.** Fulgentius 2.8. Why this comment is here baffles us, unless the commentator misread the name Thestias (*Dissuasio* 255) as Tiresias.

COMMENTARY TWO: JOHN RIDEWALL

17-18 **ita ego odi nupcias tuas.** Rather, "(Just as I hate those birds), I hate telling you your marriage will fail. "The error is repeated at line 38. Eneas of Siena has it right: *Nunc videor esse similis predictis animalibus* (15), "Now I turn out to be just like the birds," i.e., foretelling doom.

20 **Solinus.** *De mirabilibus mundi* (ed. Mommsen 1964), chapter 10: "manifestum sane est in septemtrionalem plagam hieme grues frequentissimas convolare."

74-75 **in Achaia . . . candida.** See Isidore, *Etymologies* 12.7.69.

90 **adulatores olei venditores.** A traditional interpretation of the oil-sellers in the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, Matt 25.1-13. See, e.g., Gregory, *Homiliae in evangelia* 12: "Venditores quippe olei adulatores sunt. Qui enim accepta qualibet gratia, vanis suis laudibus nitorem gloriae offerunt, quasi oleum vendunt" (*PL* 76.1120).

107 **Circes fuit meretrix.** See Horace, *Epistles* 1.2.23-26.

111 **Boecius.** See Trivet 300-6.

122 **Sedechia.** The story of the capture of Zedekiah by Nebuchdnezzar is predicted in Jeremiah 34.2-6 and told in 39.1-7 and again in 52.4-11, where his death in prison is recorded. The capture and imprisonment are also told in 4 Kings 25.1-7. The story of the laxative drink is not in the bible. Ridewall probably got it from Comestor on 4 Kings, chapter 46, *PL* 198.1427; Comestor in turn got it from Jerome on Habakkuk 2.15-16, "Vae qui potum dat amico suo, mittens fel suum et inebrians, ut aspiciat nuditatem ejus. Repletus est ignominia pro gloria" (Woe to him that giveth drink to his friend, and presenteth his gall, and maketh him drunk, that he may behold his nakedness! Thou art filled with shame instead of glory), and Jerome says he got it from a scholar of Hebrew, a teacher of the Law (Deuterotes), whom he heard tell it in Lydda (Lud) (*PL*

25.1301; *CCSL* 76a.610.578–92). See also Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 6.384, note 8. For discussion of Ridewall's bold interpretation here, see Lawler 1991: 100–1.

139 **umbra . . . mortifera.** Cf. Bartholomaeus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, 17.161 De Taxo (Frankfurt, 1601, p. 937): "Eius umbra est nociva et dormientibus sub ea mortifera."

156 **amare.** Ridewall misinterprets this genitive singular feminine of *amarus*, modifying *veritatis* ("of bitter truth"), taking it to be the infinitive of *amo*, after "nauseas."

191 **principium et capud.** This seems like a wilful misunderstanding of Valerius's *capitis*, which surely refers to the woman's face and hair. Ridewall lets the urge to interpret carry him too far.

198 **Parte leo prima.** Medieval verses based on Lucretius; see Trivet 440–46, who gives six lines, and *Grues* 94–95 and 92–95n.

207 **Ulixes:** On Ulysses and the Sirens, see *Religiosos* 162–63n and Trivet 447–58, who quotes the same passage from Isidore but quotes it whole, not paraphrasing after the first sentence as Ridewall does. The paraphrase enables Ridewall to give his own explanation of why the Sirens live in the sea.

227–28 **et mulieres.** Ridewall's addition to Isidore: an example of his enthusiastic embrace of Map's antifeminist message.

235–36 **nobilissimum omnium elementorum.** An idea expressed often by Aquinas, e.g. at *In IV Sententiarum* 47.2.1.2, 47.2.2.2, and 47.2.3.3; *Summa theologiae* 1a.67.2, responsio 1.1. It perhaps goes back to the celebration of the properties of fire in Pseudo-Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchies*, 15.2 (ed. Heil and de Gandillac, pp. 168–71; cf. Hugh of St Victor's commentary, *PL* 175, 1131–43) and ultimately to Heraclitus: see the excellent notes by de Gandillac.

243 **ille actus disponit ad mortem.** See Aristotle, *De longitudine et brevitate vitae* in *Parva naturalia,* 466b: "A surplus product tends to destroy either the whole nature or some part of the animal. That is why animals much given to copulation age quickly: the seed is a surplus product, and besides, its departure tends to dry the body" (ed. Ross, p. 291). Cf. Donne's famous aside, "Since each such act, they say/Shortens the length of life a day," ("A Farewell to Love," 24–25).

251 **Sicilia.** Already said above; perhaps the phrase at 238 is a gloss that has entered the text.

268 **Baalim.** A plural in Map, "pagan gods": see our note *ad loc*. Ridewall takes it as the accusative singular of *Baal*, the god, which is indeclinable.

272 **Augustinus.** Augustine associates Solomon with Adam, both "fondly overcome with female charm." The passage is very suggestive for Chaucer.

276 **Zabulus interpretatur contrarius:** Hugutio, Z.6.

278–81 **Nota . . . despectionem.** Cf Peter John Olivi, *Lectura super Ecclesiasten* 1: "Auctor autem ideo uocatur hic: *Ecclesiastes*, quod est idem quod concionator; tum quia more concionatoris in personis loquitur diuersorum, tum carnalium scilicet quam sapientum adducens sententias; tum quia forsitan uerba huius libri primo populo proposuit more predicantis seu perorantis, tum quia

sicut instruccio filii a patre fit modo familiari et domestico et allucutio sponsi et sponse modo singulari et secreto, sic hominum ad uniuersalem mundi contemptum et ad solius Dei cultum induccio ad generalem rectorem et predicatorem populi Dei proprie spectare uidetur" (ed. Schlageter, p. 82). Olivi (as was normal) treats Solomon as the author.

287-88 **dileccionem et affeccionem.** The reference is apparently to Apollo's inordinate love for Coronis, the mother of Aesculapius: he killed her after his crow told him she had been unfaithful, then cut Aesculapius out of her womb. Later Jupiter killed Aesculapius for reviving Hippolytus; Apollo in revenge killed the Cyclopes, and Jupiter punished him by making him Admetus's shepherd. See *Myth. Vat.* 1. 46, 2.22, 128; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 49, 202; Servius on *Aeneid* 7.761. Paean is originally an appellation of Apollo as the healing deity, e.g., *Metamorphoses* 14.720, Aesculapius (who was later deified for his medical skill) is his son, and Phaethon is the son of the sun-god Helius. But since Apollo was also considered god of the sun, it is easy to see how Ridewall transferred Phaethon to him; Hyginus (152) calls him "solis filius." Trivet 576-77 treats the names Phaethon and Paean, both of which he too must have seen in mss of Valerius, as alternates for the same figure, and Aesculapius as a surname. None of the mss we edited in JBWW1 has the reading Paean or Peon.

292-93 **plures . . . plures.** Striking evidence that Ridewall consulted a good number of manuscripts of Map's text.

293-30 **Si . . . Admeti regis.** Again see *Myth. Vat.* 1.46, 2.128, Hyginus, *Fabulae* 49, and Servius on *Aeneid* 7.761. None, however, give the name Paean as an alternative to Aesculapius.

367 **De Ponto.** Ovid indeed just "touches" Penelope in *Ex Ponto* 3.107ff., where (line 121) he also mentions Clytemnestra's treachery to her husband (as Ridewall just has). There is of course much more on Penelope in *Heroides* 1.

398 **Cretense.** For Jupiter Cretensis, cf. Cicero, *De natura deorum*, 3.21.53. Ridewall here seems to confuse the story of Europa, for whom Jupiter made himself a bull, and Io, whom he turned into a cow after seducing her so as to avoid Juno's wrath.

451 **secundum alicos . . . secundum alios.** Clear evidence that Ridewall had multiple sources for mythology, though who was in his mind here is uncertain. Fulgentius (ed. Helm, p. 51) says that Vulcan threw the seed *in pavimentum*; Hyginus 166 says that it fell to earth; Hugutio E.112.8 says that Vulcan threw it at Pallas and it fell to earth. It is standard to say, as Hugutio does, that Erichthonius means "born from earth and strife," an etymology that requires that the seed fall to earth. Ridewall leaves out the "earth" half of the etymology. See Trivet 782-91; the etymology is in the Second Vatican Mythographer, ch. 48 (Pepin 2008:119).

484 **perniciem.** Here occurs in the δ group the insert that we print as *Grues* 239-61, but that may possibly be an original passage by John Ridewall; see our headnote to Ridewall.

505 **Augustinus.** Ridewall summarizes rather than quotes. "Ita ergo et hic data est quaedam similitudo de Marso, qui incantat ut educat aspidem de tenebrosa caverna: utique in lucem vult educere; illa autem amando tenebras suas quibus se involutans occultat, dicitur quod cum exire noluerit, recusans tamen audire illas voces quibus se cogi sentit, allidit unam aurem terrae, et de cauda obturat alteram, atque ita voces illas quantum potest evitans, non exit ad incantantem" (*PL* 36.679-80).

538-39 **Femina . . . peremptis.** Ridewall here takes at their face value lines spoken by the straight-man Pseustis (Liar), parried deftly in the next quatrain by Alithia (Truth).

551 **Magister in Historiis.** Peter Comestor, author of the *Historia Scholastica*, the text quoted here.

558 **Aristotelem.** We cannot find this remark in the *Politics* or elsewhere; it seems in fact a little alien to Aristotle's democratic ideal, much as he praises virtue and wisdom. See, however *Politics* 1298b27 and 1323a7 on "probuli" as guardians of the law; *Ethics* 2.1.5 (1103b3) on how lawgivers make the citizens good; and *Ethics* 6 *passim*, on wisdom, prudence, and deliberative intelligence.

568 **Canius.** See variants, here and at lines 581, 598, 611 (twice), 622, 640, 651, 671, 673, and 674. Though the form Canius appears only in four manuscripts, Dg (here and at 611), J (611) and DPe (here only), we take all the variants, including the major variant Tacius, and the phrase "Stacium vel Tacium" at 581, to be scribal, perhaps through some such process as canium>cacium>tacium>stacium vel tacium, abetted by attraction to the name Ticius which appears often between lines 586 and 610—though the story is so little known that Ridewall might well have written Tacius. That form does not occur in the manuscripts of Map that we collated. Cf. Trivet, who like the scribe of J calls him Caonius.

572-73 **a colore puniceo.** Purple, the Phoenician color, from the famous dye: the color gets its name from the nation, not the nation from the color. Hugutio, F.27.2: Phoenicia is named for Phoenix, brother of Cadmus, who ruled there, "et quia illi ex vicinitate solis contrahunt rubedinem, inde dicitur puniceus, -a, -um, quasi feniceus, idest rubeus."

576 ***De ormesta mundi.*** A common title (also *Ormesta mundi*, without the preposition) for Orosius's *History Against the Pagans* in the Middle Ages. See *PL* 31.545, 641, 660 and Wotke, "Orosius," Pauly-Wissowa 18.1195, who gives further references but calls it "not yet explained in a fully satisfactory way"; Lippold in his new edition of Orosius, p. xxv, n.6, can only cite Wotke. Latham *ad loc.* ingeniously suggests "Or[osii] M[undi] ist[oria]." Orosius treats the Punic wars in Book 4, Ch 6-23, *PL* 31.866-918.

593-94 **Cor sapit . . . iecur.** This couplet, of uncertain but surely medieval origin, has been wrongly ascribed to Ovid, to Lactantius, and to the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*. Its last phrase has been its most popular, quoted by among others Aquinas and the novelist Patrick O'Brien. The long list of citations in

Walther, including *Graecismus* 19.106, verifies Ridewall's adjective "popular." See Thorndike, "Unde versus," 180, 186. Cf. Trivet 1160-61 and note. See also Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1a2ae.48.2.Resp.2, "dicitur quod 'cogit amare iecur.'"

621 **ydemptitas parit fastidium.** Unfound in Seneca or any work ascribed to him, but the sentiment is common enough among late-medieval writers. See CETEDOC, s.v. identitas/idemptitas + fastid* and identitat*/idemptitat* + fastid*.

629-38 **versus.** The verses are all in John of Garland, *Opus Synonymorum*:

> Ventorum species complectere versibus istis:
> Sunt subsolanus, vulturnus, eurus, eous,
> Circinus, occasum Zephirusque, fovoneus afflant,
> Sed veniunt aquilo, boreas, et chorus ab arcto,
> Atque die medio nothus, et africus inflat. (*PL* 150.1590, *sic*)

John seems, however, to be quoting rather than composing. See also Walther, *Vers*. 18872 and *Flos medicinae* (probably earlier than John of Garland), p.446. All three verses quoted by Ridewall appear verbatim in Bartholomaeus Anglicus, who may well be his source; see *On the Properties of Things* 11.3 (573/26,574/18, 575/3). They are mnemonics, of course, and Ridewall's pedagogic aim is never more in evidence than here.

648-49 **vocat solem fulmineum.** A slip: this adjective is applied by Map to the wind Libs.

699-700 **sentencia illius Varronis . . . auctor . . . Universi.** Unfound; not Rabanus's *De universo*, which cites Varro occasionally but never to this effect; nor the *De universo* of William of Auvergne; nor is the source the *Sententiae Varronis*, nor the account of Varro in Walter Burley's *De vita et moribus philosophorum*, nor any of the standard authors known to Ridewall who cite Varro often: Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, Isidore, Augustine. Nor does anything of this kind appear in any of Varro's surviving works, or in the extant published fragments. If "consuevit dicere" is to be taken literally as referring to Varro's conversation, the statement quoted should be from an early text. On the other hand, the phrase "consortium supernorum (civium)" is common among Christian writers, and "immaculatus" is almost wholly a Christian word, as *TLL* shows; the phrase "immaculatus et mundus" appears at James 1.27, and the two words are collocated at Job 33.9; the phrase "mundus a vitio/vitiis" is common in Ambrose. Thus despite "consuevit dicere" we probably have here a late dictum given weight by being ascribed to Varro. (In a private communication, Marcello Salvadore, who has studied Varro's afterlife in the Middle Ages, supports this conclusion, though he says that it is possible that the wording of some actual lost remark of Varro's may have been converted into this Christian language.) With both assertions, Cato's and Varro's, cf. Philippians 3.19-20, where Paul insists that in contrast to those whose belly is their god, "conversatio nostra est in caelis," and Cassiodorus on Psalm 21.36

"anima mea ipsi vivet": "Animam vero suam dicit deo vivere, quoniam hunc mundum immaculata conversatione transivit" (*PL* 70.165). Finally, see Rufinus's translation of Origen on the book of Joshua, sermon 16, explaining why God calls Joshua "provectus dierum" (13.1, Old Latin version): "Si qui in praecepto Dei vitam hanc praesentem . . . transegerit et immaculatum se ab hoc mundo custodierit, ab istis paucis et malis diebus provehitur et promovetur ad illos dies aeternos et bonos, aeterni solis luce signatos" (ed. Baehrens, pp. 395-96).

See above 102-3, where Ridewall cites Gellius on *luxuria et gula*. Gellius quotes Varro there (16.6), satirizing the taste for gourmet foods and associating it with lust—but not asserting conversely that the pure have the company of the gods. For "facere pro" = "go with, support," see *OLD* s.v. facio, 29a.

The remark Map attributes to Cato of Utica, which we supposed in *JBWW1* to be his own invention, appears now to have been drawn from a faux-Augustine sermon printed as genuine by Armand Caillau in 1836, and again by Angelo Mai in 1852 as Sermon 194, On the Assumption of The Blessed Virgin Mary, to Hermits (p. 454). Urging his audience of hermits to honor Mary by avoiding women, the speaker (as if Augustine) says, "Fratres mei, attendite quod dixit magnus ille Cato de feminis: si absque femina esset mundus, conversatio nostra absque diis non esset. Non ergo licet clericis feminarum conversationem habere." Dom Germain Morin in 1893 ("Un écrivain belge") exposed it and other sermons thought to be by Augustine as the work of Godfrey of Bath, perhaps the same person as Geoffrey Babion. See also Morin, *Sancti Augustini sermones*, 1930, p. 736. This "sermon" is in the same vein of exuberant anti-feminism as Map's letter; he may well have known it as a kind of in-joke, and cited the Cato from it in homage.

703 **Socrate qui numen . . . habuit.** Cf. Apuleius's *De deo Socratis* (in Moreschini, pp.7-38), *passim*. See also Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.14.122 and Calcidius, ed. Waszink, pp. 199, 263.

712 **abbatem Panucium.** For the story of the conversion of Thais by "abbas Paphnutius," see the *Vita Sanctae Thaisis* in the *Vitae patrum*, *PL* 73.661; also in *Acta sanctorum*, 10.4.225 (October 8) and in Jacobus, *Legenda aurea* 148 (ed. Maggioni 2.1038-40). This is not St. Paphnutius the Great, the Egyptian bishop of the fourth century, but the rather shadowy St Paphnutius of Thebais, who was an abbot. His feast is November 29, not yet treated in the *Acta sanctorum*; see 3.1.750 (March 8, where he is listed among the "Praetermissi" erroneously assigned to this day). See also *Acta sanctorum* 1.2.36, 57 (January 17, in the material on St Anthony of Egypt). For a version assigning the legend of the conversion of Thais to Saint Pannucius, due probably to a simple scribal variant in the *Vitae patrum* tradition, see *PL* 21.435, note a; and Stephen of Borbon, *Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus*, 1.1.5.420-49 (*CCCM* 124, p. 33). Cf. Tubach 2440. For further instances of the use of the story in late texts, see *CCCM* 124.1, p. 402. Hrotsvitha has a play on the conversion, called "Paphnutius," *PL* 137.1027-46,

and Marbod of Rennes wrote a versified life of Thais, *Vita Sanctae Thaisidis, PL* 171.1629–34.

Clearly Ridewall's copy of Map had "Thais" for "Lais," but he seems to have had a copy of Aulus Gellius that had the same mistake. Thus it was not necessarily his original idea to identify the courtesan whose price Demosthenes scorned with the courtesan whom Paphnutius converted, but he might have seen that the chronology is fuzzy, since Demosthenes lived in the fourth cnetury B.C., and Paphnutius (presumably) in the fourth century A.D.

727–28 **quem hic vocat aconiton.** Ridewall misunderstands Map, who does not say that the erroneous love-drink was aconite. For the etymology of aconite (733–34), see Hugutio, C.113.4: "Hec cautes, -tis petra durissima et asperrima. . . et componitur cum a et dicitur aconitum, -ti, herba venenifera, quasi a caute natum, quia in cautibus abundet, vel quia de spuma quam Cerberus super lapidem spuit natum est."

771–822 **The Labors of Hercules.** Ridewall gives the same twelve labors, in the same order, as Boethius in 4m7, though he stops quoting Boethius after the fourth labor and stops referring to him at all after the fifth. Ovid's list in *Metamorphoses* 9.182–97 adds up to sixteen, and does not include Achelous and Cacus. Seneca's list, recited by Amphitrion in a prayer to Jove on Hercules' behalf in *Hercules furens* (the first play in all mss. of Seneca's plays) 222–48, includes eleven of the traditional twelve, adding the cutting of the Straits of Gibraltar, which is not in Ovid, but only six of those in Boethius. Clearly our author did not actually consult Seneca, or Trivet's commentary on it, which discusses Seneca's twelve "exempla" of the "continuam vexationem Herculis" by Juno, never calling them "labors." But at least he knew of the play, as few seem to have, though at least one ms. was in England in the thirteenth century (Rouse, "The A Text" and "New Light"). He did draw, however, in several places on Trivet's commentary on Boethius; we consulted our copy of Edmund Silk's edition. Ms Trinity 115 (D^1) adds further material from Trivet.

815–16 **libro 5 . . . et primo**. Actually, 2.287 and 6.175.

852 **Veneris.** It is curious that Ridewall, for all his sophistication, has nothing to say about the whole paragraph preceding, in which it is evident that the author is Christian. *Grues* likewise passes it by; *Religiosos* notes only that it has value if one is speaking of virtuous pagans. The Lambeth 330 author, who seems to take it for granted that the author is Valerius Maximus, whom he cites on f. 24v, since he calls both "Valerius" without comment, glosses the paragraph blandly sentence by sentence, piling up authorities in his usual way without remarking on the author's Christian identity. Trivet alone faces it squarely.

858 **cantus super cunabula.** From Hugutio, F.1.29; cf. *Grues* 389–90n, Trivet 1719–21.

880–81 ***Dialogo inter Atticum et Critobulum.*** The *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos*, *PL* 23.517–618.

COMMENTARY THREE: NICHOLAS TRIVET

1 **Mulier.** As Dean (1950: 131-36) points out, Mss. Lo and U have a different opening, bearing on authorship. Dean prints it on page 136; we translate it here: "You should know that there were three Valeriuses and all were Romans. One was Valerius Martialis, 'The Cook,' who made playful epigrams. Another was Valerius Maximus, who wrote *De dictis et factis memorabilibus* for Tiberius Caesar. The third was this Valerius, not identical with either of these, though the author of *Manipulus florum* says that he is Valerius Maximus. Rufinus was a philosopher, also a Roman." Ms. U adds a final sentence: "I think it was he of whom Claudian wrote that all vices are joined together in one man, in Rufinus." On *Manipulus florum*, see *Parvus* 304-5 and n. Claudian's *In Rufinum* depicts Rufinus (d. 395, praetorian prefect of the East under the emperor Theodosius) as a completely evil man; it is the referent of Alan of Lille's title *Anticlaudianus de Antirufino*, the antithesis of Claudian's poem, depicting a completely good man). For mss. Lo and U, see the Headnote and its appendices, and 721-22n below.

6 **Causa 33, Questio 17c.** Trivet's regular way of citing Gratian. We have added his name in our translation. In Friedberg's edition this is Pars 2, causa 33, quaestio 5, ch. 14, pp. 1254-55. The source is Augustine, *Quaestiones Deuteronomii*, Qu. 33 (*PL* 34.762).

24 **cause quattuor.** Material, formal, efficient, final. See Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, pp. 28-29, 160-65.

38 **Historias Romanorum.** I.e., the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus. (*PL* gives no instance of this title). Later at line 723 Trivet cites it as the "books dedicated to Tiberius Caesar" (and again treats our Valerius as that Valerius).

49 **Canonica.** Sc. epistola. The seven non-Pauline epistles in the canonical New Testament are collectively called the canonical epistles.

58-59 **omnia . . . possunt moribus ministrare,** 63-64 **omnia moribus aptari possunt.** See the similar desperate move in *Parvus* line 250—and the whole of *Religiosos* and Lambeth 330. Cf. in particular *Religiosos* 319-23.

74 **10 capitula.** This division, characteristic of Trivet's organizing bent, and of late-medieval *ordinatio* in general, is applied in several manuscripts, apparently mentioned once by the *Religiosos* commentator (line 1045), marked as marginal rubrics in the Clare College ms. of *Religiosos*, and relied on by the *Parvus* commentator. In our text of the "Dissuasio," *Loqui prohibeor* is line 1; *Prima primi uxor*, 46; *Iupiter rex*, 89; *Iulius Cesar*, 136; *Cithero post repudium*, 174; *Lais Chorinthia*, 228; *Tandem an umquam inter tot*, 265; *Amice, miraris*, 284; *Veneris te nolo*, 308; *Sed ne te*, 331.

95-96 **unam . . . retrahentem et aliam moventem.** A metaphor from horsemanship. Cf. the similar metaphor in *Purgatorio*, where each terrace has

examples of the sin to give the penitents pause and examples of the opposite virtue to spur them towards repentence. At Canto 13.37-40, Virgil explains them, and calls them curb (*fren*) and whip (*ferza = sferza*).

104 **ordine literato.** Isidore is apparently thinking, not of the actual fact that migrating cranes most often (though not always) fly in a V (or delta)-formation, but rather of the literary notion that they form the shapes of various letters in turn; see. e.g. Lucan, *Pharsalia* 5.711-16, Martial, *Epigrams* 9.13.7 and 13.75. Thus the legend that Palamedes invented certain letters by copying the formations of cranes (see the Martial poems listed above and Philostratus, *Heroikos* 33.10-11), and thus also Lucan's extended simile, *Pharsalia* 5.711-16, comparing a fleet of ships to a flock of cranes, in which he says that cranes at first make various figures, but then the wind breaks them up into disordered groups and "the letter disappears" (Et turbata perit dispersis littera pinnis" 716). Isidore quotes this line immediately after the statement "unam sequuntur ordine literato." That statement he took (without attribution) from Jerome, Letter 125. 15 (*PL* 22); Jerome is speaking of the need we all have for teachers, and cites the way cranes follow a leader—presumably to make a series of letters in turn, not just one letter. See also Claudian, *De bello Gildonico*, 15. 476-78, in volume one of the Loeb Claudian. There is a full discussion (arguing that the letter Martial calls "Palamedes' bird," i.e., the crane, is gamma, or perhaps alpha or lambda) in Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Ornithologiae*, I (1599), translated into English in 1613-14 by Edward Topsell and left in manuscript until edited by T. P. Harrison and F. P. Hoeniger, *The Fowles of Heaven, or History of Birdes,* 1972, pp. 186-88. On actual crane flight, see Heppner, "Avian Flight Formations"; Walkinshaw, *Cranes of the World*, p. 49; and esp. Pennycuick et al., "Soaring Migration of the Common Crane *Grus Grus* Observed by Radar and from an Aircraft."

141-58 **lucinia . . . nythegale.** This passage is discussed in Lawler 1991:102-3.

156, 158 **goldfinch, nythegale.** For more instances of the gloss "goldfinch" (along with French chardenrole, i.e., Mod. Fr. chardonneret, the goldfinch, scientific name *carduelis carduelis*) for "luscinia," see Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin* 2.140 (in vernacular glosses to John of Garland's *Dictionarius*). Other vernacular words in Trivet's commentary: 166 throstelkoc, 327 triacle, 663 Gallice esperver, 905 Galice conoil, Anglice rokke, 1244 Gallice primerole; 844 variants anglice stive, gallice un eltyn. See also 1198 "vocatur hic primevum lilium," where "hic" must mean "here in England."

161 **De natura rerum.** See also Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale* 16.107—though Vincent does not have the sentence "In hieme . . . pinguedinem." Cf. 323n. below.

166 **throstelkoc.** Usually the male song-thrush, but here the male blackbird (*merula*). See *OED*, s.v. throstel, where several citations (e.g. *Promptorium parvulorum*, which translates "thrustel" as *merula*), as *OED* points out, apply the name to the blackbird.

170 **apud Tullium.** It is not clear what passage in Cicero Trivet has in mind. In *De amicitia* 2.10, Laelius cautions Scaevola, "cave Catoni anteponas ne istum quidem ipsum quem Apollo, ut ais, sapientissimum judicavit": be careful not to put before Cato even the man you say Apollo judged to be the wisest, i.e., Socrates (cf. 2.7).

198–205 **Ulixes . . . transformari.** Trivet repeats almost verbatim his synopsis of the story in his commentary on *The Consolation of Philosophy*, 4m3, ed. Silk p. 558. The discussion of transformation that follows at 220–86 is a simpler version of the long discussion there, Silk pp. 559–64.

228 **forme substantiales,** 232 **forma substantialis.** See, e.g., Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, prima pars, qu. 67, 76 passim; tertia pars, qu. 75 passim.

240–44 **Unde . . . hinniens.** The examples of laughter in humans and neighing in horses are drawn from Porphyry's *Isagoge* in Boethius's translation. See *PL* 64.130.

278–79 **Alvredus super Boecium.** This is indeed King Alfred's translation of Boethius into Old English, Book 4, Meter 3: "Aulixes under haefde/ þaem casere cynericu twa:/He waes þracia þioda aldor/and Retie rices hirde" (Ulysses ruled two kingdoms under the emperor (i.e., Agamennon): he was lord of the people of Thrace, and shepherd of the kingdom of Retia). (Retia is apparently the island (or mountain on Ithaca) Neritos: Boethius, using a favorite adjective of Ovid's, calls Ulysses only "Neritius dux.") Trivet also quotes Alfred on Ulysses in his commentary on *Consolation* 4m3: "Inhabitauit autem hec maga (i.e., Circe) quondam insulam secundum ueritatem hystoricam que ad regnum Tracie pertinebat, cuius rex erat Ulixes, ut dicit Aluredus rex in Anglico" (ed. Silk, pp. 558–59). Alfred's prose version, from which scholars agree that the metrical version of Boethius's poems was certainly made, says that the two kingdoms Ulysses ruled "waeron hatene Iþacige and Retie," i.e. Ithaca and Neritium. See *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius*, ed. Sedgefield, pp. 115 (prose), 193 (verse). The reading of the prose suggests that "Thrace" is a scribal error in the meter, even though it appears twice more later in the poem (in those case with no counterpart in the prose); however, Daniel Anlezark, "Three Notes on the Old English *Meters of Boethius*," has made a strong case that Alfred did indeed write Thrace, which was later corrected in the prose by a scribe who knew that Ulysses was from Ithaca. If so, it is a curious assertion, and it is still more curious that Trivet, with all his learning, especially his knowledge of Ovid and Servius, would swallow it and pass it on. What is certain is that Trivet respected Alfred's opinion. He cites him six other times in his commentary on Boethius, in several cases on points of real importance for understanding Boethius's ideas; see Donaghey, "Nicholas Trivet's Use of King Alfred's Translation of Boethius." Donaghey treats the statement that Ulysses was king of Thrace on pp. 22–24; his various speculations are thoughtful and interesting but to us not fully persuasive. As might be supposed, Trivet's apparent ability to read Old English has

excited some comment; see, besides Donaghey and Anlezark, Bolton, "Study of the *Consolation of Philosophy* in Anglo-Saxon England," p. 38 and Godden, "King Alfred's Boethius," p. 420. A possibility suggested to us in a private communication by Mark Faulkner, whose Oxford dissertation is on the use of Old English manuscripts after the Norman conquest, is that Trivet had a late manuscript, now lost, that was closer to Middle English than to Old English. But Cameron, "Middle English in Old English Manuscripts," gives plenty of evidence that Old English itself was read for centuries.

323 **De natura rerum.** See bibliography, s.v. Thomas of Cantimpré. The quotation is not quite verbatim. The passage is also in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*, 20.46, and that may have been Trivet's source. See note to *Religiosos* 100–7.

329 **ipso . . . die**, 331 **ex illa die.** *Dies* is often feminine when it means a particular day, but it does so in both instances here, and the change of gender is slightly curious.

399 **Iorach.** Perhaps cited from Arnold of Saxony, *De floribus rerum naturalium*, though more likely from Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale*, 16.49. See Isabelle Draelants's learned and enlightening "case history" of this arcane author—actually, as she shows, Iuba II, king of Mauritania (d. 23 or 24 A.D.): "Le dossier des livres 'sur les animaux et les plantes' de Iorach." As an appendix to her essay, Draelants prints all of Arnold's extracts from Iorach; the cited passage about the swan appears on p. 259: "Et auis olor in dulci modulatione minime delectatur. Sed cum suauissime modulatur, significat tunc, quod morti sue magis uicinatur."

413 **antiqui unius philosophi.** This is the *De planctu naturae*, well known in the Middle Ages as the work of Map's contemporary Alan of Lille (Alanus de Insulis). Thus Trivet's "antiqui philosophi" is a little coy, since Alan was not all that ancient to Trivet, and not ancient at all to Map. The line is 2.157–58 in Häring's edition, part of the council of birds that Chaucer imitated in "The Parliament of Fowls."

426 **chimera.** Cf. Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 5.903, "Prima leo, postrema draco, media ipsa chimaera." The literal meaning of the Greek word is "she-goat."

482 **conniveo, -ves.** The meaning "shut the eyes" makes clear that Trivet read *connivet* or *conivet* at line 39 of Map's text, where we print *convivit*. Map probably wrote *conivet*. Trivet presumably also wrote *conniveo* here, changed scribally to *convivo*.

574 **fabulam Ovidii.** Ovid treats Apollo's service as the shepherd of Admetus allusively at *Metamorphoses* 2.676–85 and *Heroides* 5.151–52, and more openly, using Admetus's name, at *Ars amatoria* 2.239–40. He gives the story of Phaethon fully at *Metamorphoses* 1.750–2.400. At *Metamorphoses* 15.533–35, Hippolytus tells of being brought back to life by Apollo's son, referring to him obliquely as Paean in the phrase "ope Paeonia" (by Paeonian help) in line 535. Finally, Ovid

also tells of Aesculapius's birth and rearing by the centaur Chiron, at 2.629ff., but does not give his name. He does not tell the story of Aesculapius in the field; for that see Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 49 and *De astronomia*, 2.14. The latter speaks of a miraculous herb, but the story of the shepherd fighting with the basilisk is not in either place in Hyginus. Nor does it appear in the exhaustive modern work on Asclepius by the Edelsteins; it is simply not clear where Trivet got the story. It seems to mingle elements from Ovid (Apollo's fatherhood, the name Paean) and Hyginus (serpent, healing herb) with a version of his story in which Aesculapius is exposed and later found by a shepherd; see www.mythindex.com/greek-mythology/A/Asclepius.html. The phrase "ire spaciatum" "to go for a walk" is medieval; Latham dates the noun *spatiatus* c. 1140. Map and Trivet both seem to regard Phaethon as a variant name for Paean; Ridewall 292-305 and Lambeth 330, 2.217-26 are clearer on the question. For further comment, see our note to *Dissuasio* 72, *JBWW* 1.204.

584 **Ypolitum.** See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.533-35.

611 **Fenix.** Much of this is verbatim either from Thomas of Cantimpré or from *Grues*. See *Grues* 131-43 and note.

618 **filiis Beniamin.** Rather, the Reubenites and Gadites and the half tribe of Manasseh, as the scribe of Lo realized.

622-23 **traductio . . . idem color.** The puns are on "amari/amaritudine," then "amantur/amare."

625 **in principio Catonis.** The eighteenth of the brief injunctions that precede the *Distichs* proper.

647 **Androchium.** Basically the story is in *Metamorphoses* 7.456-8.6 (Minos) and 8.6-151 (Nisus and Scylla), though Ovid refers only obliquely to Androgeos's death in Athens: he twice makes it clear that Minos is avenging it (7.458, 8.58), but otherwise does not relate it, perhaps because there are so many conflicting versions of it; see Pauly-Wissowa. Androgeos, in school in Athens, won all the events in the games and was ambushed and killed by the other competitors. See *Mythographi Vaticani* 1, c. 49 (ed. Bode, p. 16) and 2, c. 122 (ed. Bode, p. 116); Hyginus 41; Servius on Aeneid 6.14, 6.20; Hard, *Handbook*, p. 340. But Trivet draws on another tradition, of obscure origin but widespread in the later middle ages, that he went to Athens to study, and his fellow students envied him for his success in school; see Meech, "Chaucer and the Ovide Moralisé," p. 186 and *Ovide moralisé*, 7. 2246-63; Chaucer's Legend of Ariadne, *The Legend of Good Women,* 1898-99; and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Documentum* in Faral 1971, p. 266. For all these see Meech, pp. 186-87. The addition in MChDE (see variants) is apparently from the *Bursarii Ovidianorum* of William of Orléans, which we have not seen; cf. McKinley, *Reading the Ovidian Heroine*, 73-78. See also Pierre de Bersuire, *Ovidius moralizatus*, f. 69v (at *Metamorphoses* 7.457) which also follows the tradition that Androgeos went to Athens to study: "Minos rex Cretensis filium habuit Androgeum, quem magistris Atheniensibus erudiendum tradidit:

sed in brevi tempore non solum discipulos sed etiam magistros in scientia superavit, quod invidentes contra eum conspiraverunt, ut eum de turris altitudine praecipitarent, sicut et fecerunt."

651 **Nisus:** Nisus was king of Megara, not Athens; see *Metamorphoses* 8.6–8. For the story of Nisus and Scylla, see, in addition to Ovid, Vergil, *Georgics* 1.404–9, Hyginus 198, *Mythographi Vaticani* 1, c. 3 (ed. Bode, p. 2), 2, c. 123 (ed. Bode, p. 116). See Hexter's discussion of the commentary tradition on the two Scyllas, *Ovid and Medieval Schooling*, 78–82. The various strands that lie behind Ovid's account are discussed by R. Lyne in his edition of the pseudo-Virgilian poem *Ciris*. For the explanation of the lock as treasure, see Neckham, *De naturis rerum* 1.68 (De alauda) and *Ovide moralisé* 7.363–66; for Nisus's persecution of Scylla, see *ibid.*, 7.396–407. Ovid says that Nisus is changed to an osprey (haliaeetus, spelled alietus at 662 below), Scylla into a bird called "Ciris." See the next note.

661–62 **Non est . . . Nisi.** Unfound. The simplest explanation of the verse by itself is that the nisus is the osprey, as in Ovid: the lark is not safe from accipiters, but is safe with the osprey, since it is a fish-eater—but such a reading would hardly explain Trivet's "Unde." The best explanation we can offer is that "tuta" has the rare meaning "prudent, cautious": the lark flies high and sings with abandon unless in the presence of the hawk. The reading "sine" for "cum," in JCh, would in any case be a classic example of a *lectio facilior*.

662–63 **alietus, smirilius, nisus, et esperverius . . . idem sunt.** We have here three birds, not one. Alietus is the osprey, *pandion haliaeetus*; the Greek word haliaietos means "sea-eagle." Smirilius or smirilio (smirilio>Fr. esmerilion>Engl. merlion) is the merlin, a falcon not a hawk, *falco columbarius*. Nisus and esperverius are the same bird, the sparrow-hawk, *accipiter nisus*, a short-winged hawk common throughout Europe. (The bird commonly called a sparrow-hawk in North America is a falcon, the kestrel.) Ovid's story, that Nisus became an osprey and chased Scylla, now a bird of uncertain identity called the "ciris," is odd, since ospreys do not prey on birds. Hyginus solved the problem by declaring that the ciris is a fish (198); the standard solution, evidenced in the name accipiter nisus, implicit in Vergil's *Georgics* 1.404–9, and repeated here by Trivet, was apparently to turn the chase into the classic contest between the acrobatic and high-flying lark and the sparrow-hawk (or the merlin). See Chaucer, *The Parliament of Fowls*, 339–40: "the merlioun, that peyneth/Hymself ful ofte the larke for to seke." Trivet's declaration that the four names describe a single bird seems like a desperate attempt to impose order, but has precedent in the lexicographers: Papias says that Nisus was changed "in smirilium" (p. U2rb, s.v. Scylla), but defines alietus as "avis qui vulgo smirilium dicitur vel sparaverius" (p. B1ra). Hugutio says that Nisus became the nisus, which is the same bird as alietus (N46.2), but also equates alietus and "lo smirilio" (A119.9).

Ovide moralisé has "esprevier," sparrowhawk (8.335) and "aloe," lark (8.347) (= Latin alauda; cf. Neckham, cited above; Arnulf also has alauda, as does Papias:

all medieval authorities agree that Scylla became the lark). Chaucer's "Nysus doughter song with fressh entente" (*Troilus* 5.1110) presumably means the lark, which he calls "messager of day" in the Knight's Tale (*CT* A 1491); see Meech 1931:189. Cf. André, *Les noms d'oiseaux en latin*, s.v. nisus, haliaeetus, alauda, ciris. That sparrow-hawks and merlins prey on larks is stated clearly by Frederick II in his *De arte venandi cum avibus*: "Quaedam [rapaces aves] magis utuntur avibus minoribus, ut vanellis [lapwings], plueriis [plovers],. . . alaudis . . .passeribus [sparrows], cardillis [goldfinches] et similibus, ut sparverii et qui dicuntur smeriliones" (1.50). This is Frederick's only use of the terms "sparverius" and "smerilio"; clearly he knew they were different birds. He uses "nisus" often, usually as a synonym for sparverius, sometimes for accipiter (ed. Budriesi, p. 1219). On ff. 25r and 38v of ms.Vat. Pal. Lat. 1071, a sumptuous copy of Frederick's book with markedly accurate pictures of birds, we see what he calls accipiter, the goshawk (*accipiter gentilis*), and what he calls nisus, clearly the sparrow-hawk, much smaller than the goshawk, side-by-side and labeled, the goshawk in each case clearly bigger. Other pictures of one or the other or both, not labeled but always accompanying text where the birds are mentioned, appear frequently; see the editor's lists on 2.61 (Habicht, goshawk) and 62 (Sperber, sparrow-hawk). Frederick does not use "alietus" at all, but then he is not interested in ospreys. Clarification of all the relevant terms can be had from Adrian Walker's *Encyclopedia of Falconry*. For a good general account of hunting with falcons and hawks in medieval England, see Oggins, *The Kings and their Hawks*. Oggins rarely writes of individual species, only falcons and hawks, presumably because the whole subject is full of unclarity. As Frederick says, "Eadem genera et heedem species avium diversis vocabulis aput diversos nuncupantur et multotiens eisdem. Non tamen propter identitatem nominum eadem sunt dicenda, sicut neque propter diversitatem diversa" (1.13). For one more example of the confusion, see Bartholomaeus, *DPR* 12.4 (transl. Trevisa, 1.609), who first equates the alietus with the falcon, then with the sparrow-hawk. And the vernacular glosses printed by Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin*, identify the alietus variously as sparrow-hawk, merlin, hobby, and falcon (3.5).

682-83 **Nichil peius . . . servi.** We have not found this proverb, but cf. Prov. 30.21-23. Since "There's nothing worse than x" has been a common way of talking in English since the middle ages, as *OED* shows, it may well be an English proverb that Trivet has in mind.

695 **Itinerario Clementis.** *The Recognitions of Clement*, a theological romance, probably dating from the third century A.D., in which Pope St. Clement I gives a first-person account of his instruction in Christian belief by St. Peter, his travels with Peter, and his reunion, in a series of "recognitions," with his mother, father, and brothers. It was translated from Greek into Latin by Rufinus. In the Middle Ages the title *Itinerarium Clementis*, from a letter purportedly by Clement to St. James prefixed to the text in some mss., alternated with *Recognitiones*

Clementis. The Greek text is lost. The Latin text is in *PG* 1.1201–1454; English translation by Thomas Smith in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 8.73–211. Trivet's reference is probably to 10.25 (transl. Smith, p. 199), where Clement asserts that, just as Hector, Achilles, Patroclus, and Alexander came to be worshipped as gods, earlier generations deified Jupiter and so on, conferring "divine honour upon dead men, who perhaps had had some power or some skill, and especially if they had stupefied stolid men by magical phantasies."

709 **in navi cuius insigne erat taurus.** So Arnulf, *Allegoriae* 2.13, p207.

721–22 **Valerius . . . ipsemet.** See variants. Either the writer of this note forgets that in the beginning the expositor does opt for Valerius Maximus, or the note means, "Here, as at the beginning, he takes Valerius Maximus to be the author, and that seems unlikely." Clearly JM had a common ancestor for this remark; it is not original with the J compiler. Again the J compiler must have had at least two mss, one like C and one like M. It may be that the whole sentence was omitted in Lo because the U/Lo compiler knew that Valerius was not Valerius Maximus.

732–33 **Apollo fuit ad litteram unus homo.** Cf. Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* 1.8.4: "Apparet Herculem, Apollinem, Liberum, Mercurium, Iovemque ipsum cum ceteris homines fuisse." See also Isidore, *Etymologiae* 8.11 1–2 and 53–55. Isidore's whole chapter 8.11 is a major statement of euhemerism, as is Book 10 of the *Itinerarium Clementis*.

750 **sicut in morte Christi.** Cf. Luke 23.45, "And the sun was darkened."

751 **littera.** That is, the literal meaning, not what the Gloss goes on to say.

757–61 **Papias . . . Hugutio . . . Ysidorus.** Papias's definition of *Satiri* is from Isidore 12.2.33. Hugutio's definition of *satyriasis* is from Isidore 4.7.34. And Isidore's anecdote about St Anthony is from Jerome, *Vita Pauli eremiti* 8 (*PL* 23.23).

770–73 **fingitur . . . nuncupatur.** Cf. Isidore, *Etymologies* 8.11.50–51 (though Isidore says that *mors* comes from Mars, not vice versa). Ares, Mars's Greek counterpart, was indeed king of Thrace; Isidore says, "Mars autem apud Thracos Gradivus dicitur" (8.11.52), and the *Itinerarium Clementis* 10.24 says that the sepulcher of Mars is pointed out in Thrace. The story of the adultery and Vulcan's net (670–76), glanced at by Isidore 8.11.52, is told fully in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.169–89, though the detail of the castration of Mars (676) is not there, or in any version of the story we have found; see 1264n below.

781–82 **Vulcanus nutritus fuit a simiis.** So Arnulf, *Allegoriae* 2.8, p205.

784–94 **Erictonius.** Servius on *Georgics* 3.113–14: "Vulcanus impetrato a Iove Minervae coniugio, illa reluctante, effectum libidinis proiecit in terram; inde natus est puer draconteis pedibus, qui appellatus est Erichthonius, quasi de terra et lite procreatus. Nam ερισ est lis, et χθων terra. Hic ad tegendam pedum foeditatem, iunctis equis, usus est curru, quo tegeret sui corporis turpitudinem."

804 **articulo in universo 551.** Article 6 of Question 102 is in fact the

551st article in Prima Secundae. It was not common to number the articles cumulatively in this way. Articles were numbered, then as now, newly under each question, as Thomas numbered them in all his work. There seems little value in a running series of article numbers, unless one imagines an owner writing such a series in the margins, then constructing an index keyed to them, since it would be slightly less cumbersome to enter "551" than "q206 a6"; but Trivet's citation suggests some common use of such a system, and we know of no evidence for that. For a hint of something like it, see Duin, 1959, p. 28, where the citation from Godefroid's index to the Prima pars in Paris BN Lat 15819 seems to indicate that the articles have some form of cumulative numbering. And compare the Quaracchi edition of the *Summa* of Alexander of Hales, which numbers the articles and chapters of each book consecutively, both because the manuscripts divide the parts inconsistently and in order to facilitate citation; and there is precedent for it in some manuscripts; see 1.xxvii. Trivet may after all have known of some inconsistency in the division of the questions and articles, and so offered this alternative designation.

811 **Augustinus.** The writer is actually Aquinas, *loc. cit.* in the text. He has just quoted *Contra Faustum* 6.7, then makes this remark, which Trivet apparently took to be still part of the quotation from Augustine.

824–25 **cecos vocat . . . premuniebant.** A murky passage with confusing pronouns. We have taken *suos* and *se* to refer to Rufinus, *ei* to Valerius, and *illud* to the love affair.

831 **pulchrioris donum.** See Variants. Another good indication that J had an M-type ms. as well as a C-type.

835 **soror.** Both were children of Saturn & Rhea, as numerous genealogies of the gods make clear.

836–39 **Venus's birth.** Cf. Servius on *Aeneid* 5.801; *Itinerarium Clementis* 10.20. Saturn's father is Uranus (Caelus).

839–41 **Ideo per Iunonem . . . voluptatem.** Similarly, Fulgentius associates Juno with the active, practical, acquisitive life, Pallas with the contemplative life, seeking truth; and Venus with a life of pleasure (*Mythologies*, transl. Whitbread, 2.1, pp. 64–65); cf. *Grues* 239–41. The *Itinerarium Clementis* 10.41 equates Juno with chastity, Pallas with courage, Venus with lust, and Paris with the understanding: the man of weak understanding despises chastity and courage and gives the prize to lust. Trivet's "Ideo" is so abrupt that he must be relying on a prior and well-known explication of the myth such as Fulgentius's.

842 **historia Homeri.** This is just what Homer says, *Iliad* 24. 29–30, his only reference to the judgment: Paris "insulted the goddesses . . . and favored her who supplied the lust that led to disaster" (transl. Lattimore). It seems inconceivable that Trivet, polymath though he was, knew Homer's Greek text, though he did know some Greek, as the commentary on Boethius shows at all the places where Boethius quotes Greek. He almost certainly knew people, whether in England

or in Italy, who knew Greek, and he could have had information about Homer from them. Weiss 1951, "The Study of Greek in England during the Fourteenth Century," treats Trivet on pp. 230-32. Of course the statement here may mean only that the story of the *Iliad*, of the *Ilias latina*, shows that Paris gave the apple to Venus. If Trivet has any definite place in mind, it is the account in Book 3, ll. 252-343 of the *Ilias latina*, which tells how Venus rescues Paris from his single combat with Menelaus, but does not say explicitly that he chose pleasure, or even chose Venus. Fulgentius says, "ad libidinem limaces visus intorsit quam virtutem aut divitias inquesivit" (2.1, ed. Helm p. 37), he turned his snail's eyes to pleasure, rather than sought virtue or riches. On Trivet's knowledge of Greek, see also 1847-48n below.

844-51 **Pallas invenit tibiam . . . eloquentia.** For the story, see Hyginus 165; 2nd Vatican Mythographer 115 (Bode, p. 114), and 3rd Vatican Mythographer 10.7 (Bode, p. 226). None actually quote Pallas; Trivet seems to have written her remark himself. Only the Second Vatican Mythographer associates the story with the river Triton, which he calls a swamp. Did Map intend the allusion? More likely Trivet is being a little too clever.

870 **terra.** So all mss. Isidore reads *creta*, white earth or clay.

871 **serto.** See variants. We suppose *mixto* to have originated as a gloss to *serto*, and *intermixto* to be a scribal development of *interim mixto*. Both Isidore's *pariter tingitur* and the application to style suggest "joined here and there" rather than "intermixed": i.e. white with occasional red, not pink.

881 **preoccupatio.** As a name for a rhetorical figure, the word appears in Bede's *De schemis et tropis,* and means "seizing beforehand," that is, prolepsis or anticipation; *TLL* gives examples of this sense from Augustine and Cassiodorus. Caplan's edition of *Rhetorica ad Herrenium* has *occultatio* for the figure Trivet describes (commonly now called "praeteritio"). "Occultatio" must have been early corrupted into "occupatio," since that is the standard medieval term: see Faral, passim. But that "praeoccupatio" was also common is suggested by the citations of 16th century rhetoricians in *OED*; and cf. the standard modern meaning of "preoccupation" which is closer to the figure Trivet means than to prolepsis. The *OED* defines preoccupation as prolepsis, but the examples given, from Elyot and Huloet, in fact give a definition of praeteritio.

896-902 **Unde a Bruto . . . lecta.** Trivet knew the details of Caesar's assassination either from Suetonius, *Julius* 80-82 or Valerius Maximus 8.11.2, though he seems to have accepted the name Tongilius from Map.

905 **rokke.** *OED*, s.v. rock sb². Trivet has a pretty good understanding of the Greek names, though Clotho (which he treats as indeclinable) means not "calling up" but "spinner"; Lachesis means not quite "chance" but "Dispenser of lots" (lachos = sors): she measures how long your thread is. Atropos, "the one who cannot be turned from," breaks the thread. (Though we have emended *Attropos* to *Attropo* in line 919, where it is clearly dative, Trivet might have con-

sidered it indeclinable also; all the mss. have *Attropos*.) Isidore says, "Parcas . . . quas tres esse voluerunt: unam, quae ordiatur [spins], alteram, quae contexat, ; tertiam, quae rumpat." Trivet does seem to have focused carefully on the actual process of spinning, however: "convolvit et perficit" is perhaps more precise than "rumpat." Walther, *Spr.* 2879b reads, "Clotho colum baiulat, Lachesis net (spins), et Atropos occat." Trivet has the line in the form of Eberhard's *Graecismus*, 7.45. Map clearly knew the line, as Trivet (and the Lambeth 330 commentator, who quotes it) realized. It is not necessarily original with Eberhard, who may be a little later than Map. It is also in *Grues* 278 and Eneas 280–81, with baiulat, trahit, occat.

932 **in lege.** The reference is probably to the various interdictions of the unclean or defiled in Leviticus, or perhaps to the mention of "hewers of wood and drawers of water" in Deuteronomy 29.11 (see also Joshua 9.21. 23), though the word "despicabilis" does not appear in the Vulgate. Cf. also the Decretals of Gregory IX, 5.31.1 (Friedberg 2.835), where prelates are chastised for so mistreating the priests under them as to make them "laicis despicabiles."

944–45 **Modus . . . penas.** See *Glossa ordinaria* to 2 Thess. 1.9, *PL* 114.621; the sentence "Qui . . . penas" 948–49 appears there. It is repeated by Comestor commenting on the same verse, *PL* 192.314.

954 **de non operatione.** This could also mean, "about why he does not retaliate against Valerius." It's an odd phrase, though—was Trivet thinking in English? See below, 1011–20 and note.

967 **album.** An error for *Aulum*, the name (Aulus) of the young standard-bearer.

996–1004 **Placaris ut dipsas . . . extinguit.** See the discussion of this passage, comparing Trivet's treatemnt of the dipsas to those in *Grues* and Ridewall, in Lawler 1991, 103–5.

1006–7 **Tibi . . . tu.** In Map's image, Rufinus is both the shipwrecked man and the ocean: he doesn't hear the cries of his own bitter self.

1011–20 **Deinde . . . libet.** Jesus has said to the crowd, "Why do you seek to kill me?" The crowd replies by denying that the accusation applies to them. Likewise, Valerius has said to Rufinus, "You are like the dipsas, who kills without thinking." Rufinus might reply like the crowd in John, denying the accusation, brushing it off: "Don't be silly. Who's trying to kill you?" To this putative reply Valerius responds, "You want to kill me but you restrain yourself out of fear of the king." Trivet's idea is that Valerius is trying to provoke Rufinus into anger as a way of getting his mind off his lust. Note that Medea and the sea are also killers, and the boar and the asp are at least potentially killers.

1018 **Vitas patrum.** The author of *Religiosos* cites this same story at 884–89, though in a different context. See our note there.

1026–27 **paronomasia.** Cf. *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* ed. Caplan, p. 301; Trivet's definition seems based on that passage, but not verbatim.

1039 **penitus.** Trivet's ms. of Map evidently read "et non penitus" after "obedivit"; see *Dissuasio* variants. But the text in ms. C does not have it. Likewise at 1076 Trivet seems to have had the reading "tales gignasios," this time as in C.

1041 **protigerit.** J protigerit vel attigerit, M attigerit; once again evidence that J had two mss., one like C and one like M.

1046–50 **Dicit . . . superciliorum.** i.e., "quid conferet," what good will it be, touches on the issue of *bonum utile*; anger indicates loss of *bonum delectabile*; and the loss of human honor is the loss of the *bonum honestum;* cf. 1380–82 below. In addition, the thieves rob him of pleasure, as Trivet goes on to point out.

1054–55 **Ita . . . nitebatur.** The young Bernard, traveling with several companions, put up at an inn. The landlady, attracted by his beauty, decided to seduce him, and went to his room in the middle of the night. Bernard called out "Thief!" to rouse the other guests and so scare her off. After this was repeated twice more, she gave up. In the morning after they had left the inn, he explained what had happened to his companions, and remarked that the woman really was a thief, since she was attempting to rob him of his chastity, his most precious possession. (See William of St Thierry, *Vita et res gestae sancti Bernardi*, *PL* 185.230–31). Cf. *Religiosos* 203n for further references.) This topos (chaste man meets woman at night in bedroom of an inn) of course became a staple in the comic novel; among St. Bernard's later bedfellows are Don Quixote, Joseph Andrews, and Mr. Pickwick.

1069 **Felix . . . cautum.** A particularly widespread notion, here in the form of a hexameter. Walther gives numerous references, and compares Plautus, *Mercator* 4.4.40, "Feliciter sapit qui alieno pericula sapit." See also Whiting (1968) C161, L247, M170, W391. Cf. Troilus 3.329, "Wyse ben by otheres harme chastised," and variations at 1.203, 630, 635; Romance of the Rose 8003–4; WBP III.180–83, quoting Ptolemy's version, "Qui per alios non corrigitur, alii per ipsum corrigentur"; *Piers Plowman* B.10.81 (C.11.61); and *Disticha Catonis* 3.31. It expresses the central idea of Map's book and of anti-matrimonial literature in general, indeed of all exemplary literature.

1074 **consules.** None of Caesar's assassins was a consul.

1079 **ut dictum est.** At 343–44 above.

1086–87 **verborum significationibus.** Cf. *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. Caplan, p.332: the figure nominatio (onomatopoeia) is said to come either from imitation or from "significatio," expressiveness. Trivet means that, given who Phoroneus was, the meaning of the word "forus" is expressed in its form.

1089 **Aliqui libri.** The text in C has Valencius; another indication that it is not the text that Trivet used. Why Trivet is so certain about the form of Valencius's name when he knows nothing about him is unclear, unless he simply regarded the manuscripts that had that form as better manuscripts. But then why didn't he use one of them? Was his commentary originally written in the margins of a certain manuscript, so that he had to accept its readings?

1092 **nullus imperator fuit.** An example of Trivet's confidence in his knowledge. The major historians of the Romans available to him were, besides Livy and Augustine's City of God, on both of which he commented, Sallust, Pompeius Trogus, Eutropius, and Orosius. He himself wrote a *Historia ab origine mundi ad Christum natum*. "Ut multis videtur" 1094 perhaps refers to Trivet's colleagues and students rather than to other commentators. But 1093 "historias Romanorum" (which is used of Livy below at 1166) might simply mean Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*—it's the phrase Trivet has used for it at line 38 above.

1100 **idem legimus de beato Luca.** The tradition that Luke died at the age of 84 originates in the anti-Marcionite Prologue to Luke; see De Bruyne, "Les plus anciens prologues latins des évangiles," 197. The text appears also in Grant, *Second-Century Christianity: A Collection of Fragments*, p. 92. Trivet probably knew it from Pseudo-Jerome, *Expositio quatuor evangeliorum*, *PL* 30.567; cf. *Religiosos* 835-40. For the statement in ms. Lo that Jerome also was an octogenarian and a virgin, see *The Golden Legend*, transl. Ryan, 1.213 (he died a virgin), 215; he died at age 98). He is now thought to have been about 77 when he died.

1103 **satis plana.** Plain indeed, and often cited: by John of Wales (Vol. 1, p. 64, n133); by Peter of Blois (letter 73, which we discuss in Vol. 1, p. 46); and by the 14th c. English Augustinian friar John Waldeby, who quotes Peter's account verbatim (though from "Epistola 52") in a sermon on the Ave Maria, Morrin 1975: 91/27 – 92/6, and John of Wales's more loosely in a sermon on the *Pater noster* in Oxford, Bodleian library Ms. Laud misc. 296, fol. 10rb.

1110-11 **Terentia's other husbands.** Trivet's source is *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.48.248-51, the next sentence after the one Map quotes: see Vol. 1, p. 177.

1131 **accipitur a Tito Livio.** This can only be a (most uncharacteristic) guess on Trivet's part, and of course it is wrong, since the story is not in Livy but was probably invented by Map; see our note *ad loc.*

1145 **turris.** Most authors speak of "columnae," e.g. Isidore 13.15.2. Rodericus Ximenius, *Historia de rebus Hispaniae* 1.4.13 like Trivet says that Hercules built towers, "turres fortissimas". Hugutio has no entry; Papias (p. 11va) says, "Gades insulae sunt hispaniae in occidente; hinc et gaditanum mare dicitur; ubi primum ab oceano mari limen magni maris aperitur; ubi et Hercules colunnas erexit pro fine."

1147 **patet.** Not true at all: Ovid makes only the slightest of allusions to Tityos's story. Trivet must be thinking of a glossed *Metamorphoses*; the next sentence may be from his source. In Ovid, Juno goes down to hell to summon the Furies, who are in a place called "sedes scelerata" where "Viscera praebebat Tityos lanianda novemque/iugeribus distenta erat" (was stretched over nine acres) (4.456-58). Trivet's next few sentences suggest that he had a euhemerist interpretation, though we have not found it; perhaps he invented it. The first two Vatican Mythograhers have the facts but not the allegory; see Pepin 2008:

19, 149. Fulgentius does not treat Tityos. The Third Vatican Mythographer offers a euhemerist explanation, not at all like Trivet's, based, though in a narrowing way, on Lucretius 3.992ff, associating Tityos with the libido.

1160-61 **philosophos . . . iecur.** For the snatch of verse from *Graecismus*, see Ridewall 593-94 and note. As for "philosophers," see Isidore, *Etymologiae* 11.1.125: "In iecore autem consistit voluptas et concupiscentia iuxta eos qui de physicis disputant" and Vatican Mythographer 3, Bode p.176, "libidinem, quae ita secundum physicos in jecore, sicut risus in splene, iracundia in felle est." Despite Isidore's *voluptas*, we think Trivet wrote *voluntas*, since sexual pleasure is not the subject. Either he knew Isidore's reading and took *concupiscentia* in the broadest sense (as he is taking *amare*), or he is quoting from memory, as it sounds like he is. Or it's all from his source, an Ovid commentary. Mss DgDL may read *voluptas* (actually *vo*^{9}*tas*).

1166 **lactea eloquentia.** Jerome's Letter 53 is to Paulinus, inviting him to join him in Bethlehem to study the scriptures. He gives other examples of those who traveled in order to learn, including noblemen from Spain and Gaul who came to Rome to see Livy "flowing in a milky fountain of eloquence." (Ad T. Livium lacteo eloquentiae fonte manantem, de ultimis Hispanie (a Gadibus), Galliarumque finibus, quosdam venisse nobiles legimus.) Trivet's memory of the phrase is slightly faulty. Cf. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 10.1.32, arguing that certain stylistic beauties are out of place in the courtroom: "Neque illa Sallustiana brevitas . . . captanda nobis est, neque illa Livi lactea ubertas satis docebit eum iudicem, qui . . . fidem quaerit" (We should make no effort to recapture the famous conciseness of Sallust . . . nor, on the other hand, will Livy's creamy richness give clear enough information for a judge who looks . . . for credibility).

1178-79 **alternis . . . delectabile.** A hexameter missing the last foot. Walther: "Alternis uti fit delectabile multis." Walther cites 2 Macc. 15.40, "alternis autem uti, delectabile." Clearly the hexameter is simply a versifying of that.

1192 **apud philosophos.** For the history of the theology of hell, see *NCE*, s.v. Hell (Theology of). As for darkness, see Matt. 8.12, 22.13, 25.30 ("tenebras exteriores"); commentators treat the darkness as perpetual (e.g. Cassiodorus on Psalm 68, "perpetuas tenebras" *PL* 70.491B, Haymo on Apocalypse 20.10, "perpetuis tenebris" *PL* 1117.1188D). Cf. Dante's "tenebre etterne" (*Inferno* 3.87) and Milton's punning "utter darkness" (*Paradise Lost* 1.72).

1196-1200 **calidum . . . efficacius.** Trivet quotes Dioscorides, not from the *De materia medica*, but from the so-called "Alphabetical Dioscorides," whose proper title is *Aggregationes de simplicibus*, incipit "Multi voluerunt auctores antiqui." That is the prologue; the text proper begins "Acorus primus herba." It was edited, with additions and corrections, by the great physician Peter of Abano (Peter of Padua) in the early 14th c., an edition published at Colle in 1478 and again at Lyons in 1512. See Thorndike & Kibre, col. 417, s.v. Multi voluerunt; also Thorndike 1929-58: 1.609-10, 2.923. Bartholomaeus cites it on the

lily, *DPR* 980/11-29; since what Trivet quotes appears nearly verbatim there, Bartholomaeus might well have been his source. The Trevisa editors identify the passage as #374, f. lxix^{rb-va} in the Lyons 1512 print (Seymour et al., 1992, p. 196). It also appears, cited from Matthew Platearius's *Circa instans*, which often parallels the alphabetical Dioscorides, in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale* 10.83, "De medicinis ex lilio."

1200 **efficacius.** i.e., as a medicine.

1201-19 **Aliud . . . Arcum.** Isidore, *De natura rerum* 37 (*PL* 83.1006) lists the twelve winds as follows: Septentrio (north), with the sidewinds Circius toward the west and Aquilo toward the east; Subsolanus (east), with Vulturnus toward the north and Eurus toward the south; Auster or Notus (south), with Euroauster toward the east and Euronotus toward the west; and Favonius or Zephirus (west), with Africus or Libs toward the south and Corus toward the north. In *Etymologies* 13.11 the system is the same except that Euronotus becomes Austroafricus or Libonotus. Trivet introduces three variations from Isidore on sidewinds: "Arcus" for Circius, Austroafricus/Zephirus for Africus, and Austronothus/Africus/Libs for Euronotus/Austroafricus/Libonotus. The first is simply a puzzle, but the other two are perhaps induced by Isidore's confusing synonyms. They are absurdities: Austroafricus, which means "south of Africus," is placed west of Africus; and "Austronothus" is a non-wind, composed of two names for the South wind. Austroafricus should be Africus, and Austronothus should be Austroafricus. Furthermore, Zephirus is made a side-wind instead of an alternative name for the West wind. But Trivet does get across his main point, that Zephirus is a westerly wind and Libs a south-westerly wind. The statements that Isidore calls Zephirus Austroafricus and Libs Austronothus are untrue. Nor do the errors appear to be scribal, since the initial statements are confirmed by the subsequent list of collateral winds, and that list is in turn confirmed by the figure.

In Trivet's defense, it might be mentioned that there was general confusion, arising probably from Isidore's offhand introduction of synonymous names, and the unwieldiness of naming only twelve winds instead of sixteen (which leaves us with, for example, an east-northeast wind and a north-northeast wind, but no northeast wind). Bartholomaeus Anglicus (*DPR* 11.3, pp. 573-77) gives West Favonius, West-southwest Zephirus, South-southwest Africus, South Auster, South-southeast Nothus; so too Ridewall 626ff. John of Garland, *Integumenta Ovidii* 46-47 similarly makes Nothus the South-southeast wind, but reverses the places of Favonius and Zephirus: Zephirus is the West wind, Favonius the collateral wind to the south. Bartholomaeus's scheme is the same as Trivet's for the four winds from West to South (though he reverses Corus and Aquilo in the north, and he too calls Nothus south-southeast). See *TLL* under the various names; under Favonius it says that "rarely and late" it gets put as a side wind; the most thorough treatment of wind-names is Pauly-Wissowa Suppl. 2, 8:2 (1958), cols. 2288-2325.

Trivet's chief source for winds, then, even though he cites Isidore, is probably not Isidore but Bartholomaeus (though Bartholomaeus never mentions Libs). From him come the terms cardinal and collateral (Isidore says there are only two cardinal winds, north and south; his word for the four winds is "principales"; instead of "collaterales," he uses the circumlocution "geminos hinc inde ventorum spiritus" [13.11.2]). Though Isidore gives some properties of winds, Bartholomaeus (true to his title) gives them systematically. Virtually every statement in Trivet's paragraph on properties, 1060–78, is from Bartholomaeus, though Trivet draws out the key corollary that collateral winds show the properties of the cardinal winds they lie next to. For ease of reference, we cite the recent edition of Trevisa's translation: for the south wind, see 575/20–30; for the west wind, 574/23–25; for the north wind, 576/20–32, 577/3. Ridewall may also draw on Bartholomaeus. It is not characteristic of Trivet to suppress a source. Though it seems petty, he may have omitted Bartholomaeus's name, both here and on Dioscorides above, simply because he was a Franciscan. It is conceivable, of course, that many others of his citations from Isidore also come through Bartholomaeus.

1219 **figura.** Only in Clare 14, f. 72r. There is space but no figure in J and Mm. The figure is conventional and extremely simple, with the usual medieval orientation, east at the top, as in the three pictured in Obrist 1997: 44. It is a wheel with twelve spokes, forming twelve wedges of equal size. North, marked "plaga septentrionalis" just inside the circumference, is at 9 o'clock, East ("plaga orientalis") at 12, south ("plaga meridionalis") at 3, and west ("plaga occidentalis") at 6. Outside the circumference, at each point where the lines intersect, is a wind name: Septentrio at 9 o'clock, Subsolanus at 12, Auster at 3, and Favonius at 6, each with the two side winds assigned it in the passage above, though where alternative names are given there, only the first appears in the figure. The errors remain; see the previous note. And see Obrist's article to appreciate all the possible elaborations that Trivet has avoided.

1244 **primerole.** A name applied to various flowers that bloom in the early spring.

1264 **addendum.** Actually Trivet did mention the castration of Mars briefly at line 780. It is, however, otherwise unheard of, and is a denouement totally unsuited to the comic tale of the capture and exposure of Mars and Venus. We consider that Trivet invented it to make sense of the reading of his text of Map at line 190, *ruptis testiculis*. (Oddly, mss. DL have *reticulis*; see Variants.) Note the inconsistency between the firm statement of agency the first time (Vulcan did it) and the evasive passive verbs here (abscinderetur, abscisis), and the uncharacteristic failure to mention a source. The binding of Vulcan by a thick rope is also not in the story; by the rope Map surely meant marriage, as Ridewall saw, but Trivet misses that, and gives us one more invention, an actual rope woven from the cords of the net.

1298 **Greco.** Why Trivet thinks Pacuvius is Greek is unknown. Pacuvius in Gellius is clearly Roman; see our note *ad loc.* Trivet almost seems to shut off discussion precisely because he does not know who Pacuvius was.

1307 **Cato rigidus dictus est.** See, e.g., *Consolation of Philosophy* 2.m7.15 "rigidus Cato"; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* (*PL* 199.691B), "Catone rigidior." The actual incipit of Seneca's Letter 11 is "Locutus est mecum amicus tuus"; the phrase (from Epicurus) cited as the incipit, "Aliquis vir bonus," is 11.8. Trivet confuses Cato Maior, b. 234 B.C., the author and severe censor, of whom Seneca is speaking, with Cato Uticensis, his great-grandson, b. 95 B.C., who sided with Pompey against Caesar and famously took his own life. *Ethica Catonis* is a fairly common name for the *Disticha* (which begins "Si Deus est animus"); but the idea that it is drawn from a larger work also called *Ethica Catonis*, and the source of Map's story, may only be Trivet's guess. His carefully impersonal "extrahitur," however, does seem to indicate that he does not think of Cato as the actual author of the distichs.

1333 **poetas.** E.g. Ausonius, *Cupido cruciatur* 77, 88-92; Martial, *Epigrammata* 7.89; *Aegritudo Perdicae*, 32-37; and, perhaps implicitly, Horace's well-known Fifth Ode of the First Book, "Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa/ . . . urget." See also Bode, *Mythographi Latini*, 85, 228. The *Romance of the Rose* may well have been also in Trivet's mind.

1337-38 **sicut . . . displicentie.** See variants. The reading of the β group, "semper enim sequitur displicentia libidinem," is not exactly what Trivet says. See however, Ridewall 714-15 (also 200-6); conceivably the β reading originated from consultation of Ridewall.

1342 **qui Libiam devicit.** Gaius Marius conquered Jugurtha, king of Numidia, in 107 B.C. But what Trivet's warrant is for assigning Map's story to him is unclear.

1381 **bonum delectabile . . . utile.** See 1045-46 above.

1392 **De hoc loquitur Seneca.** The *De remediis fortuitorum* may not be by Seneca; see Newman 1988 for the case in favor of his authorship.

1406 **Non cuivis . . . Corinthum.** In Epistle 1.17, Horace sets Aristippus's sprightly and successful pursuit of pleasure and honor against the sour asceticism of Diogenes. He generalizes in lines 32-35 in praise of those who get what they go after; line 36 is either an objection by an imagined interlocutor or a concession by Horace: "But not everybody gets to Corinth," i.e., not everybody is so lucky. The line is a translation of a Greek proverb, which Gellius gives in *Attic Nights* 1.8 as he passes on the Lais-Demosthenes anecdote from the Greek philosopher Sotion, asserting that Sotion claimed that it had its origin in Lais's high prices. Trivet overreads Horace in the light of Gellius, as if the line implies that among Aristippus's successes was to enjoy Lais (taking "Corinth" as a metonymy for Lais) for free.

1410 **fingitur.** For this euhemerist explanation of Amphion's harp, see the

third Vatican mythographer, Bode p. 212.1–7.

1430–33 **Livia . . . amabat.** Trivet makes several mistakes here. Papias's entry under the name Livia is actually irrelevant, since it describes, not Map's Claudia Livia Julia (c13 BC–31 AD), but her mother-in-law Livia Drusilla (58 BC – 29 AD), whose second husband was Octavian. Papias turns Livia Drusilla's son by her first husband Tiberius, Nero Claudius Drusus, into two, Drusus and Nero Claudius, and then Trivet turns him into three. (It was this Drusus, Livia Drusilla's son, whom Livia Julia married and later poisoned.) See Tacitus, *Annals* 4.1, transl. Grant, p. 154; Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, Tiberius ch. 62 (transl. Rolfe, 1.381–83). A further error is the assertion that Ovid was assassinated rather than exiled—though the medieval lives usually treat an affair with Livia Drusilla as the chief reason for his exile; see Ghisalberti 1946: 32. As for Lucilia, where Trivet got his little remark about her and her husband is a complete mystery, since Map invented her.

1444–45 **ut habet . . . viarum.** Trivet tries desperately to save the scribal reading *iniciis*, but in view of *unicus . . . exitus* and *unicum capud, inviis* is surely right.

1461–65 **Ixion . . . aura.** *VM* 2.107, Bode p. 111: "Democritus . . . scribit, Ixionem in Graecia primum regni affectasse. Qui sibi centum equites primus omnium conquisivit; unde et Centauri dicti sunt quasi *centum armati*." Isidore 11.3.37: "Quidam fuisse equites Thessalorum dicunt, sed pro eo quod discurrentes in bello velut unum corpus equorum et hominum viderentur, inde Centauros fictos adseruerunt." Trivet's "centum/aura" is perhaps a development of both these ideas. He has the same euhemerist note, with some changes of wording, in his Commentary on the *Consolation of Philosophy*, 4.m7.14, "Ille domuit centauros superbos." See note to 1509–62 below.

1468 **Interula . . . camisia.** Hugutio I.55.12: "Interula, -e, idest camisia."

1471 **Hispania.** An odd detail; Ovid makes it clear that Hercules was returning to Thebes after wedding Deianira at her home in Calydon in Aetolia, in Greece.

1483 **intoxicata** with blood of the Hydra (*Metamorphoses* 9.130. 158). Trivet does not seem to know that.

1503 **quod natura tantum placeret.** Apparently the idea is that she would like to please uniquely and by nature, rather than only by the artfulness of the man whose "You alone please me" is only a seduction line. But the passage is hardly clear, and there is no word for "uniquely."

1507 **Aureolus Theofrasti.** See esp. ll. 27–34 in our edition.

1508–62 **Hercules' Labors.** Trivet treats the labors at greater length in his commentary on the *Consolation of Philosophy,* 4.m7 (ed. Silk, pp. 653–66). There is nothing here that is not there, and whole sentences are verbatim; it is hard not to think that the Boethius commentary is prior, and that Trivet cribbed the essentials from it when writing this account. In the earlier commentary he offers

euhemerist explanations for seven of the twelve labors (1, 6–10, 12); here he just gives the myth straight.

1514 **Fineus.** There seems to be confusion here between the story of Hercules driving away the birds of Stymphalos and that of Jason and his men driving the harpies away from Phineus. Ovid mentions Stymphalos in his list of labors at *Metamorphoses* 9.187, but says at 7.3 that Jason and his men drove away the harpies from Phineus. This may be connected with Trivet's statement at line 1768 below that in Dares Hercules and Jason are identified. This whole account of the third labor is nearly word-for-word the same as in the Boethius commentary; see previous note.

1517 **fedabant**. The C reading *fedebant* appears also in Silk's Trivet, p. 658. Silk let it stand, and yet *foedo* is a first-conjugation verb. We emend according to our lights and the other mss.

1521 **sopivit.** Lucan does not have the detail that Hercules put the dragon to sleep.

1533 **adunata congerie lignorum.** The pile of wood appears in Trivet's Boethius commentary also; it is not in the standard treatments of the labors of Hercules such as *Metamorphoses* 9.182–98 or *Pharsalia* 4.589–660. Cf. Servius on *Aeneid* 6.287: "Cum saepe amputata triplarentur, admoto ab Hercule incendio consumpta narratur, cuius felle Hercules sagittas suas tinxisse dicitur. Sed constat Hydram locum fuisse evomentem aquas vastantes vicinam civitatem, in quo uno meatu clauso multi erumpebant. Quod Hercules videns, loca ipsa exussit, et sic aquae clausit meatus." Isidore repeats the second statement at 11.3.3, and 12.4.23, as does the First Vatican Mythographer, transl. Pepin, p. 39. *Metamorphoses*, Lyon 1518, f. 119v, at 9.69, says simply, "Eam (Hydram) tandem hercules domuit igni"; *Metamorphoses*, Antwerp 1618, p. 163, "quam Hercules igni Graeco confecerit."

1589 **corrupit custodes turris auro.** So Fulgentius, 1. Prologue and 19, though he says that Jupiter bribed Danae herself, not the guards.

1600 **Ne Boreas.** Unfound; not in either of Walther's collections. Cf. Georgics 1.93, "Ne . . . acrior . . . Boreae . . . frigus adurat" and Whiting W344, "When northern winds blow, great houses are in trouble." Whiting associates this nonce-proverb with various proverbs of the sort that say "High winds blow on high hills," i.e., greatness has its dangers. One may perhaps imagine a proverb of this sort: "Ne Boreas te adurat, pete loca humiliora."

1605–7 **Certum . . . *amandi*.** The ref. to *Dissuasio* 329 "promovet . . . Zephirus" suggests that there Trivet sees a witty replacement of this part: wind goes from representing sex here to representing the chaste life there. His point here in this sentence seems to be that after all Favonius's breeze has done some of the work, and a woman's humble suitor softens her up. His meaning is not that Ovid refers to Favonius—he does not—but only that Ovid generally implies that every little bit helps; the instances he has given from *Ars amatoria* are places where women are moved.

1610 **Pericio, virgo Cretensis.** For Periction, of whom Trivet should have known through Jerome, see our Jerome selections, line 112 and our note to line 110, *JBWW1* p. 238. He did not learn there that she is Cretan, however—and Apuleius (following Diogenes Laertius) in fact says that she was descended from Solon, who was of course an Athenian. The euhemerist explanation of Apollo is clearly made up by Trivet to suit Plato's attributes; both Apollo and Plato are easily enough associated with wisdom and eloquence (for this combination in Plato, see, e.g., Valerius Maximus, 1.6. ext. 3 and 2.8. ext.3), and Apollo at least with physical beauty. The (implicit) idea that Plato was handsome may come from the story of Socrates's dream of the swan, and especially from the statement that when Socrates saw him he discerned his inner genius from his face; see Apuleius, *De Platone et eius dogmate*, 1.1 (in Moreschini's edition). Curiously, at the end of the paragraph Trivet disregards his euhemerist interpretation and treats Apollo straightforwardly as a god.

1623-24 **Hoc est dictum ut.** An awkward and uncharacteristic expression; possibly there is an "ut ostendat quod" omitted.

1677 **interrogative.** A verbal such as *dictus* or *positus* is understood with this adverb. Cf. Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae* 18.49: "Horatius in I carminum interrogative: cur apricum/oderit campum? Idem in eodem relative . . . . 'quia' similiter Vergilius in V interrogative: Heu quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?" Though the adverb makes more sense in Priscian's use than in Trivet's, he must have derived it from shorthand sentences such as these. The use of *versus* to mean "sentence" is unusual, but not far, perhaps, from the idea of a verse of the bible.

1679 **ut dicit Valerius alibi.** Valerius Maximus is praising the Greek Carneades: though he had reached the age of ninety, "idem illi vivendi ac philosophandi finis fuit," his only purpose in life was to study philosophy. This statement by Trivet is another proof of the puzzling fact that he thought not only that Valerius Maximus wrote the *Dissuasio*, but that he was a Christian, despite the piety towards the Roman gods everywhere evident in his work. Here, Trivet refers to him right in the middle of the passage in which Map insists on the difference between his own Christianity and paganism—and quotes a passage so deep into the *Dicta et facta memorabilia* as to suggest that he knew the work well.

1708-18 **Mercurius . . . intelligitur.** The etymologies of Mercurius, Stilbon, and Fronesis are in Hugutio (M.89.31, S.320.4, F.99.1). For Philology, see Remigius's commentary on Martianus, ed. Lutz, p. 66: "Philologia interpretatur amor vel studium rationis . . . . Philologia ergo ponitur in persona sapientiae et rationis." For Alathia, properly Alethia (αληθεια), "truth," see the *Ecloga Theoduli*, where she is portrayed as (like Martianus's Philologia) the daughter, not the sister, of Phronesis. The equation of Libanus with "candor," whiteness is standard; see, e.g., the *Glossa ordinaria* to Ecclesiasticus 24.17 (PL 113.1209): "Libanus in

Hebraeo candorem significant," and lines 41-42 to the appendix to our Jerome text, and our note there. But it also means frankincense, as at Ecclus. 21:24, 39:18, and Hugutio glosses it "thus" (i.e., tus).

1709 **mentis currus.** So Hugutio M.89.31 (one of several alternatives he offers). **Stillans bonum:** S.320.4.

1734 **repititionem.** The repetition is of *hic*, "this," in various inflected forms: hec . . . hec . . . hae . . . harum . . . huius. It actually continues through *huc* 314.

1750-54 **immo evadimus . . . incedere.** Trivet follows the variant reading of Map's text, "imo [i.e., immo] ad summa queque fastigia per salebras evadimus," omitting 320 "immo . . . evadimus."

1758 **Dares Frigius.** The quotation of Dares is hardly verbatim, but true to the gist of the opening lines in the edition by Meister.

1768 **vocatur Iason Herculis.** An understandable misreading of Dares, who gets Jason back home with the golden fleece at the end of his second chapter, then takes up his fellow Argonaut Hercules in the next chapter so abruptly, and continues the story so seamlessly, as to seem to be speaking still of Jason.

1775 **Iason.** I.e., Hercules; see 1555 above.

1778-85 **Her . . . gignit.** The etymology of the name Hercules is from Hugutio C.290.2; Fulgentius gives Eracles<eroncleos, i.e. virorum fortium famam (ed. Helm, p. 41). Fulgentius in the *Vergiliana continentia* (ed. Helm, p.97; transl. Whitbread, p. 129) gives the names of four Hesperides instead of the usual three, and labels them study, intellect, memory, and eloquence; "manliness [*virtus*] seizes the golden jewel of learning." Alberic, *De deorum imaginibus libellus* (ed. Liebeschütz, p. 125) says, "Nam virtus animi non potest fructum carpere virtutum, nisi malitia prius interimatur, que iugiter vigilat ad custodiam vitiorum." Trivet may well have woven his own allegorical interpretation from hints such as these, extending the number of daughters to seven to match the seven deadly sins and their corresponding virtues (cf. Langland's seven sisters that serve truth ever, *Piers Plowman* B.5.618-24, with peace substituted for vigilance, the opposite of sloth). "Contemplator celestium" just means astronomer, as Atlas traditionally was; see Hugutio A.413.

1785-89 **vellus aureum . . . sapientiam.** As the phrasing suggests, these are Trivet's own interpretations—though the thought that it means actual gold is obvious enough: Map's "thesaurum" suggests it, and Strabo had posited it long before in his *Geography* 1.2.39 (ed. Jones, vol. 1, p. 167).

1792-93 **catacrisis . . . abusio nominis.** "Abusio" is the Latin translation of catachresis. Hugutio C.74.1 "usurpatio alieni nominis cum proprium deest, ut parracidum dicimus qui fratrem occidit." Cf. *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.33.

1831-32 **Theofrastus in *Aureolo*.** It is not at all clear what passage in Theophrastus Trivet can have in mind. Indeed, if "quecumque causa" means "whatever reason to marry," as on the surface it seems to mean, the reference makes no sense at all, since Theophrastus implies that marriage is precisely what

the woman wants. The next two sentences, on Medea's powerful revenge on Jason for leaving her, strongly suggest that the meaning is rather "whatever reason not to marry," or even "whatever reason to divorce her."

1838 ***Medea*.** The reference is to the entire play, not to any particular line.

1847-48 **Orestes non debet scribi per "H."** Because there is no earlier h lost in pronunciation, as in arena<harena or Oracius<Horatius; the breathing in Greek is smooth. Trivet apparently knew enough Greek to know that, though perhaps he merely relies on Papias, who lists it under O, not H, and shows that he knows its Greek form: "Orestes, oresiae et orestis. Huiusmodi enim quae in oyoy apud grecos genitivum faciunt saepe sunt primae et tertiae declinationis" (p. P7va). For an example of the spelling Horestes, one need look no farther than *Grues*—or our text of the *Dissuasio;* see also the commentary on *Heroides* 8 in Hexter 1986: 261.

1856-59 **Sencio me . . . reprehendi.** *Adversus Jovinianum*, ch. 47 (vol. 1, p. 175); not quite the end. For remarks on the import of Trivet's associating himself in this way with Juvenal, Map, and Jerome ("cuius verba etiam ego de meipso dicere possum" 1855-56), see Lawler 1991: 106-7.

Ms U changes Trivet's next sentence considerably: Dean cites the passage (1950: 146). We translate: "So far Jerome, but I can say that all the more. I confess that I have often said too little, often too much. And I am not of the same opinion about women as Valerius seems to have been, who in all truth has gone too far in this work, brilliant though much of what he has written is. And so I have written another, shorter book on it that praises what is said well, and explains what it can be good for, and condemns the rest. If you don't have that little book you shouldn't criticize this one until you have seen both (even though I consider both defective). Although [reading *cum* for Dean's *tamen*] some useful things are contained in them, for what is said badly or too reductively or excessively, the fault is my ignorance; for all such things I humbly beg the pardon of God and the blessed Virgin and all the many thousands of female saints, calling on God and all those women to witness that I did not want to say anything derogatory about them—as is clear enough in that little book. If anything is said well, it is the gift and grace of God alone, to whom be honor and glory forever."

COMMENTARY FOUR: "VALERIUS QUI DICITUR PARVUS"

2 **Valerii Marcialis.** Martial's full name was Marcus Valerius Martialis. Compare the opening paragraph of "Sciendum quod tres fuerunt Valerii," Dean 1950:136 and our translation at Trivet 1n.

5-13 **Super . . . utroque.** The first commentary here mentioned is lost; the second is Trivet; the third, in our opinion, is a slight revision of Trivet made by someone else; see Trivet headnote.

8-9 **"Mulier que privatum habeat."** We take this to be an inaccurate memory of Trivet's incipit ("Mulier si primatum teneat," quoting Ecclesiasticus 25.30), compounded by the scribal error "privatum."

10-11 **tertium super hoc opusculum.** I.e., "tertium opusculum super hoc," a third brief work on it, where "hoc" is apparently the letter of Valerius, now referred to in the neuter though previously called *epistola*. Conceivably, however, "super hoc" goes with "addidit and means "added beyond it," i.e., the second version (also previously feminine (explanatio sive expositio), as if version #3 were a brief addendum (*opusculum*) to version #2. The diminutive ending of *opusculum*, both here and at 12 below, seems certainly meant to emphasize the relative brevity of both version 3 and version 4. In fact, however, "Sciendum" is as full a commentary as "Mulier." Again, see the Trivet headnote.

15 **planius.** I.e., than any of the three earlier versions. Trivet speaks (57-71) of the applicability of the work to morals, but never really applies it.

16 **Sciendum.** A witty allusion to "Sciendum" above: here is what you *really* should know.

18 **admittens.** I.e. amittens. See Prinz and Schneider 1967, , s.v.amitto, admitto 2. Also *OLD* admitto 14; *DML* admitto, amitto 2.

19-20 **novem . . . conclusiones:** These are summarized near the end of the commentary, in lines 250-84.

25-26 **qui fuit principalis successor Aristotelis.** This fact, which we know primarily from Diogenes Laertius 5.36, was known to the Middle Ages through Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 13.5.1-12, given in full with English translation in Fortenbaugh et al., *Theophrastus of Eresus: Sources* (1992), 1.58-59. On pp. 60-63 the authors list thirteen other sources for this information, some of whom, especially Bacon and Grossteste, might have been known to our author. Gellius's account of the succession is summarized in Burley's *De vita et moribus philosophorum*, 68.

27 **Crisostomus.** Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, widely admired and consulted in the Middle Ages, when it was universally thought to be a translation of a work by Chrysostom. The actual author is an Arian of the fifth century. Though a Latin work, it appears with the works of Chrysostom in *PG* 56.611-946. A new edition is being prepared for the series

Corpus Christianorum by J. van Banning; see his preliminary volume, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*: *Prefatio* (Turnholt, 1988), CC 87B.

69 **Ripham et Edodam.** This seems to go back to the legend that Abel and Cain each had a twin sister destined to be the other's wife—and that Cain's real motive for killing Abel was that he liked Abel's girl better. See Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 1, 108; Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, p. 148. Several names are cited by these authors from ancient apochryphal sources, but not the two here. The Ethiopic text called in German *Die Schatzhöhle* (ed. Bezold, 1.8) calls Cain's twin Lebhuda and Abel's Kelimath, names repeated in the 13th c. Syriac *Book of the Bee* (transl. Budge, 1886), a work that elsewhere quotes the *Opus imperfectum*, as Leboda and Kelemath; Edoda may well be related to Lebhuda/Leboda. (Edoda is clearly the form in our manuscript, though J. van Banning (see previous note) in a letter to us gives the form as Edocla.) For a learned and witty treatment of a similar problem, see Utley, "The One Hundred and Three Names of Noah's Wife."

101 **Beda.** Homily 1.14 is for the second Sunday after Epiphany; the gospel reading is that just mentioned in our text, the wedding feast at Cana (John 2.1-11). Bede may be thinking of the *Contra Jovinianum* 1.3 and 2.16 (*PL* 23.212-14, 309-10), where Jerome cites the anti-matrimonial views of the second-century Gnostics Marcion and Tatian; but to mention them and their puritanical views together is a bit of a commonplace: see *PL* online, s.v. Marcion + Tatian.

115-16 **Ieronimus . . . in quadam epistola.** *PL* 22.503-4 (Epistle 48), *CSEL* 54.372-73 (Epistle 49 [48]). The bracketed portion, necessary to the sense and apparently omitted by scribal eyeskip, has been restored to the passage from these texts. Jerome here "glosses his own words into this (i.e., Augustine's) meaning," that is, the passage from Epistle 48 implies that the anti-matrimonial stance of the *Contra Jovinianum* (see line 25 above) is only relative; like Augustine, he acknowledges that marriage is good. See below, lines 152-58.

126 **Seneca ad Lucilium.** Loeb 2.240-59 (Letter 82); the passage quoted is #13-14 on p. 248. The subject of the letter is fear of death. After the quoted passage, Seneca goes on to explain how death is "indifferent": "Death is honourable when related to that which is honourable; by this I mean virtue and a soul that despises the worst hardships." The ensuing discussion by our author of the grades of indifference is based roughly on what follows in Seneca, though Christianized; the example of hair styles is taken almost verbatim.

126 **dessii.** I.e., desii, "I have ceased."

160-61 **inductio . . .. omnis homo currit.** The use of Socrates as the subject of model propositions in logic goes back to Aristotle's logical works, and the addition of Plato and the use of "run" as the verb goes back to Boethius's commentary on the *De interpretatione* (*PL* 64.302, 308, 348, etc.); all are still common in modern logic textbooks. Socrates and Plato run everywhere in the work of late-medieval nominalists. See, e.g., Freddoso and Schuurman, *Ockham's Theory*

of Propositions, passim; Walter Burley, *On the Purity of the Art of Logic: The Shorter and the Longer Treatises*, passim in the shorter treatise; John Buridan, *Summulae de dialectica*, especially Treatise 1 and Treatise 2. The sentences here are very close to Buridan's definition of induction, Treatise 6 ("On dialectical loci"), 1.4: "Inductio est a singularibus ad universalem progressio probandam, ut Socrates currit, Plato currit, et sic de singulis, ergo omnis homo currit" ("An induction is a reasoning from several singulars to the universal that has to be proved, as in "Socrates runs and Plato runs . . . and so on for the singulars; therefore every man runs" [p.393]) and 6.1.5, "Reducitur autem inductio sic: Socrates currit, Plato currit, et sic de aliis. Et omnis homo est Socrates vel Plato et sic de aliis, ergo omnis homo currit" ("Induction is reduced [to a syllogism] thus: "Socrates runs and Plato runs . . . and so on for the others, and every man is Socrates or Plato . . . and so on for the others; therefore every man runs" [p. 398]).

168 **implicite vel explicite.** Explicitly "ducendo sic de singulis"; implicitly "dicendo plures non esse mundo quam ponnt." There is chiastic order.

174–75 **Teofrastum . . . Averoys.** An odd statement, since in fact Averroes generally respects Theophrastus (and all Greek philosophers, reserving his barbs only for the Muslims Ghazali and Avicenna). See Gutas, 1992 and 1999, and "The Life, Works, and Sayings of Theophrastus in the Arabic Tradition," in Fortenbaugh et al. 1985, 63–102. See also Fortenbaugh et al., 1992. In a private communication, Professor Gutas has suggested to us that the remark, which puzzles him, might possibly have its origin in Aquinas's *On the Unity of the Intellect against the Averroists* where, in paragraphs 64 (transl. Zedler, p. 49) and 121 (p. 73), Aquinas says that Averroes was wrong to go against Theophrastus and misrepresent the Peripatetic tradition, and calls him "the perverter of Peripatetic philosophy" (p. 73).

177–78 **Augustinus . . . dicit oppositum.** Pseudo-Augustinus, *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, *PL* 35.2154: Abel "prosapiam generis in saeculo non reliquit. . . . Si ergo longiori tempore, ut Enoch, Abel maneret, sine ulla dubitatione coniugium iniret" (left no descendants in this world . . . .Of course had he lived longer, as Enoch did, he would doubtless have married").

187–88 **Secundo capitulo.** The author follows Trivet's division into chapters, though he seems to differ on where to start chapter ten (see below); see Trivet 63–68 and 64n. *Parvus* is the only one of our commentaries that follows Trivet's divisions in this way, although *Religiosos* has one reference, at line 894. The author of Lambeth 330 made his own divisions; see the introduction to that commentary.

204 **sicud ostendit Augustinus.** *The City of God* 1.17–20; he discusses Lucretia in chapter 19.

205 **Ieronimum et Jacobum de Utriaco.** For Jerome, see the well-known chapter 41 of *Adversus Jovinianum*, which Chaucer's Dorigen knew so well (cf. our vol. 1, pp. 160–67). As our translation indicates, we take *ibi* 220 to refer only

to Jacques, not to Jerome (since Jerome's examples treat women of many nations, and in one instance, the seven Milesian virgins (pp. 164-65), the Gauls are the attackers, not the victims). For Jacques de Vitry, see the *Prologue* to his life of St Maria Oigniensis (June 23), in *Acta sanctorum*, 6.4.637. In his prologue, Jacques tells of the virtuous actions of the women of Lièges during the pillaging of their city (1212): "Quæ enim ad ecclesias confugere non poterant in fluvium se projiciebant, magis eligentes mori, quam damnum castitatis incurrere. Quædam etiam in stercorarias sentinas prosilientes, malebant extingui fœtore quam spoliari virginitate" ("Women who couldn't flee into churches threw themselves into the river, preferring to die than to have their chastity violated. Some even jumped into the foul waters of the sewers, preferring to die in the stink than to be robbed of their virginity").

212 **Altionum regem.** For Antinoum (Antinous) who is named along with Eurymachus as Penelope's chief suitors at *Heroides* 1.92; a very common variant for the genitive form *Antinoi* there is Alcinoi (*Epistulae heroidum*, ed. Dörrie, *ad loc.*), a possible ancestor of the name "Altionus" here. Penelope does not identify him in Ovid's poem as a king, nor is it clear that if she hears of Odysseus's death she will marry him: this is rather our commentator's somewhat knowing opinion.

230 **oportet propter studium dimittere cibum.** Possibly to be emended to "propter cibum dimittere studium," whose sense would be easier: your wife isn't bad just because she makes you leave off studying in order to eat supper. But the manuscript order yields good enough, if cryptic sense: your wife isn't bad just because you have to skip supper in order to study (and she keeps badgering you to come and eat). The author imagines a particular instance of Cicero's problem of giving the same attention to a wife and to philosophy.

240 **undecim milia virginum.** The legend of St Ursula and her eleven thousand companions, all martyred at Cologne; see *Acta sanctorum*, 10.9.73-303 (21 October), and *The Golden Legend*, transl. Ryan, 2.256-60.

243 **Decimum capitulum . . . Medea.** This statement seems to imply that Chapter Ten starts (sensibly) at "Audivit Iason" rather than at "Sed ne longo," where Trivet (1591) puts it.

250-51 **per mulierem . . . ratio.** A commonplace, though perhaps alluding to Trivet's commentary, 57-71; see also *Religiosos* 319-23. See, e.g., Hugh of St-Victor on 1 Cor 11.7: "`Vir imago et gloria est Dei, mulier vero imago et gloria est viri,' etc. Quaeritur quomodo vir sit imago Dei et non mulier . . . . moraliter accipiendum: ut per virum, intelligatur ratio; per mulierem sensualitas, et secundum hoc vir et non mulier est imago Dei" (*PL* 175.533C). The statement in the next sentence that Valerius's examples, rightly interpreted, can have value is also the credo of the author of *Religiosos*, and apparently of the author of *Sciendum* as well: see Dean 1950: 146 and our translation in the note to Trivet 1622-24.

260-62 **solent aliqui dicere . . . dicunt.** Presumably these human responses to the calls of cranes and nightingales are genuine folklore, and are what Map had in mind in his "preululant" and "praeloquuntur"; but we find no corroboration, other than the general pleasure people have in hearing the nightingale. "Benedicatur" is echoed by *The Owl and the Nightingale* 434-35: "Ech wight is glad for mine thinge/& blisseth hit whanne ich cume"—though the coming referred to is its return in the spring, not its call at dawn.

262-63 **Sic est de predicationibus.** The first hint of the author's interest in using Valerius's anecdotes in the pulpit, soon to gather momentum.

263-64 **gravis yemps . . . calorem maximum.** The preacher's graphic picture of purgatory. There is a good parallel in the Cistercian Helinandus of Froidmont's *Chronicon* (c.1225), *PL* 212.1059B, in which a man is vouchsafed visions of purgatory, hell, and heaven. In purgatory "plures animae per vices alternas transibant ab aquis nivium ad calorem maximum, et e converso" (many souls were passing back and forth from wet and snow to intense heat). The origin is Job 24.19, "Ad nimium calorem transeat ab aquis nivium, et usque ad inferos peccatum illius."

271 **esse in igne et non comburi.** See *Religiosos* 167-68 and note.

278-79 **Septima conclusio.** The fifth and sixth conclusions are perhaps omitted by scribal eyeskip. However, the text towards the end gets more and more perfunctory, as if it were being edited down in the course of scribal copying; so maybe the omission is intentional.

287-88 **divicie . . ., honores, et deliciae.** A commonplace trio, perhaps with distant reference to Boethius; cf. *PL* online divit/honor/delici. See, e.g., *PL* 195.396D (Aelred of Rievaulx, *Sermon 10*): "Sublato autem timore, nata est dissolutio, crevit ambitio, honores et divitiae virtutibus praeponuntur, vitia deliciis nutriuntur."

293 **machinationes Peleos.** Since Map makes no mention of Peleus, this is an implicit reference to Trivet's commentary (1759-98).

294 **apis.** The author has already himself employed Valerius's bee simile for his own purposes; see above, lines 16-19.

302 **etc..** Some pious formula to complete the prayer is understood. E.g. Hildegard, *PL* 197.311D, "Hoc tibi Deus concedat, et liberet te ab omni tempestate flagrantium vitiorum."

304-5 **etsi auctor Manipuli florum dicat oppositum.** The same thing is said at the beginning of *Sciendum* (i.e., the version of Trivet in Lincoln 81 and earlier in University 61; see Trivet headnote): that the author is neither Valerius Martialis nor Valerius Maximus, "licet auctor manipulus (*sic*) florum dicat eum esse secundum predictorum." See Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia, and Sermons*, p. 218, "This [i.e. Trivet's remark, which they cite from the ms.] must be a reference to the list [of authors and works] at the end of the *Manipulus florum*; for while Thomas nowhere states explicitly that the two Valerii are one, in the

list he couples their names in such a fashion as to make it fairly evident that he regarded them as one and the same." Presumably the *Parvus* author makes a similar inference from Thomas of Ireland's list—or, perhaps, just copies the remark in *Sciendum*, which we know he knew.

305 ***De religione.*** The reference is to the first chapter of the first book of Valerius Maximus's *Dicta et facta memorabilia*, entitled "De religione."

COMMENTARY FIVE: "HOC CONTRA MALOS RELIGIOSOS"

11 **reprobato.** See Job 38: 1-2. Gregory in the *Moralia* treats Elihu as a figure of arrogance, *PL* 76.252-53.

36 **tractatu.** We have translated the term here as the formal discussion that takes place in chapter, or better perhaps as a conference between our author and his superior; "in chapter" would be "in capitulo." For the meaning "discussion," see *DML*. For a lively account of the Dominican chapter, see Jarrett 1921, pp. 43-44.

43 **unctio.** Probably the grace he received at ordination. Damon and Phintias (whose garbled names we have allowed to stand in the text, but corrected in the translation) were perfect friends. Dionysius of Syracuse sentenced one (Valerius Maximus does not say which) to death, but allowed him to go home to set his affairs in order if the other would be surety for him. When the first was slow to return, his friend made good on his pledge and was about to be executed when the first finally appeared. Dionysius admired both so that he forgave the offender and asked to be taken into their friendship. Thus, in our author's words, "both were freed from ruin."

53 **botorio.** See Bartholomaeus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, 12.36 (Frankfurt, 1964, pp. 550-51; transl. Trevisa, 1.644) on the *ulula*. After granting that "it semeth that the ulula and the owle is alle one," he quotes the Gloss on Isaiah 13.22, "ulula is a bridde of the quantite of a crowe ispronge with speckes and picche th the bille into a myre and maketh horrible soun and noyse. And hereby it semeth that *ulula* is a myredromble"—that is, a bittern; see *MED*, s.v. mire, n. (1).4. Our author may think, relying on Bartholomaeus, that *ulula*, the screech owl, which Map mentions in the passage commented on here, and *botorius*, the bittern, which Map does not mention, are the same bird: see also below, lines 68-69, 74-75, 84-85. Albertus Magnus ascribes the habit of thrusting its beak into mud to the *botorius*; see Cartlidge's note.

64, 71 **Aristoteles.** The first statement (64-65) is not in Aristotle (though cf. 614b 18-26, where Aristotle gives several instances of the intelligence of cranes), nor in Michael Scot's version as transmitted by Albertus Magnus (ed. Stadler,

1916–20). Cartlidge has found it in Neckam's *De naturis rerum* (ed. Wright, p. 98), citing Cassiodorus, *Variae* (*PL* 69.766); both Neckam and Cassiodorus moralize the phenomenon more or less as our author does. See also Isidore, *Etymologiae* 12.7.15, "Castigat autem voce quae cogit agmen: at ubi raucescit, succedit alia" and Albertus 23.49 (ed. Stadler p. 1495), "Hee enim aves se invicem multum diligunt et iuvant, unde rauco propter clamores duce alius constituitur" (These birds love and help each other much, and so when the leader is made hoarse from shouting another is made leader). The phenomenon is fully discussed, clearly on the basis of observation, by Frederick II, *De arte venandi cum avibus*, 1.69; he actually asserts that Aristotle says the opposite, "quod una semper sit dux aliarum." The second (71) is in Aristotle's *Historia animalium* 597a 5–7, although what Aristotle says is that they fly from Scythia to Egypt, which is south, not east. Again Cartlidge has found a verbally similar statement in Neckam, p. 98: "manifestum est in septentrionalem plagam hieme grues frequentissimas convolare" (a statement cited also by Ridewall, lines 21–23), though "septentrionalem" (north) is even odder than "orientalem." Perhaps both authors are remembering snatches of the Bible: "ad orientalem plagam" Deut 4.41, "ad septentrionalem plagam" Jud. 7.1 and often elsewhere.

75 **garbas.** Sheaves of wheat; the reference is apparently to the *decima garbalis* or wheat-tithe.

77–78 **bubo . . . lampadibus.** See Bartholomaeus, *De proprietatibus rerum* 12.5 (Frankfurt, 1964, p. 524); transl. Trevisa, 1.614; Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum*, 5.18.

99 **in Historiis de Herode.** This is Agrippa 1, the grandson of Herod the Great, called Herod in Acts. The reference is to Acts 12.21–23, in which the people acclaim Herod's voice as that of a god, and he is smitten by an angel and dies consumed by worms. For Comestor's full account, emphasizing the process outlined in the previous sentence, see *PL* 198.1688–89.

100–7 **tirus.** Apparently mentioned in reference to Map's "thyriaco," treacle or theriac, from Greek *theriake (antidosis); theriakos* is an adjective meaning "pertaining to venomous animals," from *ther* "wild animal" (cognate with Latin *ferus*) via its diminutive *therion*, which came to be used for poisonous reptiles; see further *OED*, s.v. *treacle* and *theriac*. *Tirus* is a term that Michael Scot, in his translation from Arabic of *De animalibus*, uses as a generic term for a snake, a synonym for *serpens*, both equivalent to Aristotle's *opheidion*. Thus it has nothing to do with theriac, though conceivably it might have arisen as a calque translation for an Arabic word that was itself a calque of *ther* or *therion*.

Albertus Magnus corrects Scot, declaring that *tirus* is in fact a particular snake (perhaps the viper, of which theriac is sometimes said to be made), though he says that he will treat it as a genus. Thus shortly after he transcribes Scot's sentence (corresponding to the Greek text 607a, 8.29.30, where Aristotle has *ti opheidion micron*, a certain small snake), "Invenitur autem tirus sive serpens

quidam . . . quem alii serpentes etiam magni fugiunt, cum tamen in longitudine non excedat cubitum . . .” (there is found a certain snake or serpent . . . that other serpents, even big ones, flee, even though it is no longer than a cubit), Albertus writes, “Non oportet latere quod tyrus apud nos est serpens quidam, anteriora sui corporis erigens . . . et de carnibus eius recipitur in compositione tyryacae. Hic autem non utimur sic tyro, sed potius pro genere serpentis, quod sub se multas continet species” (I shouldn't hide the fact that among us the tirus is a particular snake that raises up the front parts of its body . . . and material is taken from its flesh in the making of theriac. In this book, though, we don't use tirus in that sense, but rather for a genus of snake that has many species within it) (Albertus, ed. Stadler, 1.552-53 [Book 7.2.5, 132-33]; for Stadler's system of differentiating between Albert's words and Scot's, see 1.5n.)

On the belief that treacle was made from the tirus, see further Trivet (quoting Thomas of Cantimpré), 322-34. As Trivet says, its healing virtue came from being hung on the cross: thus 105 **appenditur lateri crucifixi** seems to be a reference to the Trivet commentary. Compare Bartholomaeus, *De proprietatibus rerum* 18.8 (Frankfurt, 1964, p. 999; transl. Trevisa, 2.1125), “*tyrus* is the leste of addres and yit, as Aristotil seith *libro vii°*, vnnethes is remedy yfounde ayeins his bytynge.” See once again Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, 607a, 8.29, though Bartholomaeus has in mind Scot's translation of Aristotle's next sentence, the last of the chapter, where *opheidion ti*, a certain snake, has become *quidam parvus tyrus*, a certain small snake.

103-4 **Unde . . . fornicando.** The first mention of sexual temptation, the subject of Valerius's letter.

108-12 **in exercitu Darii . . . timenda est.** Demaratus was the exiled king of Sparta, taken up by Xerxes (not his father Darius). The story of his bold answer to Xerxes is in Herodotus 7.101-5; the flattery comes in Herodotus from just one man, Mardonius, at 7.9. But our author's source is Seneca, *De beneficiis* 6.31.2-4. The story is cited also by Hildebert, *Moralis philosophia, PL* 171.1012; Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum, PL* 205.68, *CCCM* 196.284; and Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, #148, p.66.

112 **Nectanabi.** A historical person, Nectanebo II, the last native Egyptian Pharaoh, who fled Egypt in 343 BC, thirteen years after the birth of Alexander. Reduced to legend, he appears in the original Greek Alexander romance by Pseudo-Callisthenes as Alexander's natural father, killed by him for his arrogance in presuming to know the fates. Since our author cites it as an instance of deadly flattery, he must be thinking of Alexander's sudden shift from dutiful student, asking apparently sincere questions, to murderer, and “captus” must mean “taken in,” i.e., misled or fooled. The story is repeated in many (though by no means all) medieval versions; there is a long retelling in Gower's *Confessio amantis*, 6.1789-2316. Our author might have known it from one of the Latin accounts of the deeds of Alexander, probably the widely known epitome of the *Res ges-*

tae Alexandri of Julius Valerius (the "Zacher Epitome," 1867), from a vernacular romance such as Thomas of Kent's *Roman de toute chevalerie*, or from Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* Book 5. See Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* and, for an excellent brief account, Bunt, *Alexander the Great in the Literature of Medieval Britain*, pp. 3–13.

120–36 **Didici 3 socios . . . anserem.** Our author may have bent a very old and widely known story, included in the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*, (Book 3, story 4, The Brahmana and the Goat) and other Sanskrit collections, and well known throughout Europe, to his purpose. In that story, the peasant has a lamb or a goat and is persuaded that it is a dog, a dead calf, an ass, etc., and so finally gives it away. See *The Pancatantra*, transl. Chandra Rajan; for other versions, see Tubach 2975, Cartlidge's excellent note, and the very full account in Theodor Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, pp. 355–57. Here, however, since the tricksters fool the gullible owner of the animal not by belittling it but by flattering it, and since goose and swan are so apropos to Map, it seems likely that the version is original with our author.

138 **in Bruto.** "Brutus" is apparently a generic word for "the history of Britain"; see *DML*, s.v. brutus 2. Thus the reference could be to Geoffrey of Monmouth 2.11–14, or to a vernacular version such as Wace or Layamon. (For a full account of versions of the Lear story, see Perrett, *The Story of King Lear*.) However, the statement that she alone spoke the truth suggests that the source is either Roman de Brut (Corneille) or Brut (Cordoille/Gordoille), since Geoffrey tells the story with little editorial comment, whereas the vernacular authors, and especially Layamon, draw attention both to the lying of the two older sisters and to Cordelia's truthfulness; see Wace, ed. Weiss, lines 1691, 1726–30, 1937, 1949 and Layamon's *Brut*, ed. Barron and Weinberg, lines 1483, 1505, 1514–16, 1532, 1727–40. Stephen of Bourbon gives a full version of the story, *CCCM* 124, pp. 166–67; Tubach 3006.

162–63 **in Macrobio De saturnalibus.** Macrobius discusses many passages of the Odyssey in Books 5 and 7 of the *Saturnalia*, but does not mention the Sirens episode. But portions of the *Saturnalia* are lost, and there is some evidence, particularly in John of Salisbury, that the Middle Ages had a fuller version than we have; see von Jan's edition of Macrobius, 1.l–li; Webb, ed., *Policraticus*, 1.xxxviii; *Saturnalia*, transl. Davies, p. 25. See also *VM3*, ed. Bode, p. 234: "Siren, inquit Macrobius, *deo canens* Graeco intellectu valet." Thus it is conceivable that our author had a passage now lost—at the end of Book 2, for example, where a lacuna occurs in the received text just as the subject has turned to restraint of the sexual appetite. The sleep the Sirens induce is death, *Odyssey* 12.39–46; the verb *insoporare* is odd, unrecorded elsewhere, and may be a Macrobian usage; *soporare* means "put to sleep," and does not need a prefix.

The Sirens episode was treated time and again by Christian writers; see Hugo Rahner's brilliant chapter, "Odysseus at the Mast," *Greek Myths and Christian*

Mystery, pp. 328-86, and, with fuller references, his "Odysseus am Mastbaum"; Pierre Courcelle, "L'interprétation euhéméristе des Sirènes-courtesanes jusqu'au XIIe siècle"; Leclercq-Marx, *La Sirène*, 47-61; Tubach 4495. Siegfried Wenzel includes the story of Ulysses and the Sirens among "perhaps a dozen classical tales that recur with frequency and at predictable places" in sermons, "The Classics in Late-Medieval Preaching," 138. The wording here is close to Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum ecclesiae, PL* 172.855, speaking of the Sirens: "Cumque quidam dux Ulixes necesse haberet ibi praeternavigare, jussit se ad malum navis ligare, sociis autem cum cera aures obdurare [sic, for obturare?], et sic periculum illaesus evasit et eas fluctibus submersit." The same passage is in *PL* 157.848, Werner of St Blaise, *Libri deflorationum*.

167-68 **Esse in igne . . . comburi.** See also line 209 below, and *Parvus* 271. The closest verbal parallel we have found is Hildebert of Lavardin, Sermon 76, *PL* 171.709, "Fugienda est fornicatio cum caeteris vitiis. Grave [i.e. hard] est in igne esse et non comburi." The positive argument in favor of being in the fire (though not really in the sense cited by our author), is made vigorously by the aptly-named Radulfus Ardens, who argues in his Homily 7 (in the manner of Milton in *Areopagitica*) against the merit of virginity "coacta . . . propter timorem vel custodiam," and virginity "propter dignitatem, aetatem, vel frigiditatem corporis," and for a vigorous and chosen virginity: "Quae enim major virtus, quod meritum majus, quam vivere in carne, non secundum carnem: quam esse in igne, et non ardere; manere in luto, et non contaminari, et inter malitias hujus mundi angelicam ducere vitam?" (*PL* 155.1326).

The ultimate source of the quotation is biblical, a combination of Isaiah 43.2, "Cum ambulaveris in igne, non combureris, et flamma non ardebit in te" (because you are God's) and Proverbs 6.27-28 (which our author quotes just below), "Numquid potest homo abscondere ignem in sinu suo, ut vestimenta sua non ardeant? Aut ambulare super prunas, ut non comburantur plantae eius?" In their context, the verses from Proverbs are evidently about sexual temptation, and are always interpreted that way, for example by Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis, PL* 101.626, who says the lines "prohiben[t] cohabitationem feminarum"; cf. *PL* online for many examples. In the Pseudo-Augustinian tract cited below at lines 304-11, we read, "Et impossibilis liberatio est, flammis circumdari, nec ardere. Quod Salomon non negat, dicens: Quis alligabit in sinu suo ignem, vestimenta autem sua non comburet? Aut qui ambulabit super carbones ignis: pedes vero non comburet? Sic qui introierit ad uxorem proximi sui, non erit immunis, neque omnis qui tangit eam." Cartlidge aptly cites Jerome's Letter 22 to Eustochium (*Select Letters*, 22.14); Jerome like our author both cites Proverbs 6.27-28 and claims to know people who share a bed but protest their innocence. The argument seems to use Isaiah (wittily) to trump Proverbs. (There is perhaps in the phrase also a nod to the story of the three companions of Daniel, Sidrach, Misach, and Abdenago, whom Nebuchadnezzar cast into the flames but who

were unharmed by them, Daniel 3.)

Dolcino and his Apostles (see below) may well already be on the author's mind, especially since he returns to them, citing Margaret's pregnancy, below at line 211. Bernard Gui cites as one of their tenets "quod iacere cum muliere et non commisceri ex carnalitate maius est quam resuscitare mortuum" ("De secta," p. 25), and says that Dolcino claimed that he treated Margaret "more sororis in Christo pudice et honeste," and when she was found to be pregnant claimed it was by the Holy Spirit (p. 26).

170 **Dulcinus hereticus.** See also line 211 below. Fra Dolcino was the leader of the free-thinking Italian splinter group who called themselves the Apostles; he and his consort Margaret were executed as heretics in 1307. See Gordon Leff, *Heresy*, 1.191-95, and Dante, *Inferno* 28.55-60.

173 **Glosa.** *PL* 114.85, "Nunc autem poterat aliter de templo descendere, quam per jactantiam se praecipitare. Postquam deficit humana ratio, commendet se homo Deo, non tentando, sed devote confitendo." The phrase from 2 Paralipomenon, "Cum ignoramus quid agere debeamus," is not part of the Gloss, but inserted by our author.

187 **iura.** Gratian, *Decretum*, Prima pars, Distinctiones 26-28, passim, pp. 95-106; and *Corpus iuris canonici* 2, Decretalia Gregorii IX, Liber 3, Titulus 2, pp. 454-58.

188 **Quod est minus.** That is, the issue isn't so much sex as it is tempting God, and restraint.

203 **Bernardo.** This story—Bernard is a guest in the home of a woman; she desires him, so she puts him up in a separate bedroom, then comes to him in the middle of the night offering sex; Bernard foils her by yelling "Thieves!", waking the household, then has to do it twice more—is in William of St. Thierry, *Vita et res gestae sancti Bernardi* 1.3 (*PL* 185.230-31). It is also told by Gerald, *Gemma* 2.11 (transl. Hagen, pp 169-70), and by Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea* 116 (ed. Maggioni, 2.813; transl. Ryan, 2.99 [#120]). For further references see Cartlidge. See also our note on Trivet 1054-55. Commenting on Map's *latronum* 150, he refers to the story likewise glancingly, as if it were well known—though the reference here perhaps again implies acquaintance with Trivet's commentary.

209 **ad minorem.** We take this to mean "the minor premise" (*minor propositio*) in a syllogism that goes: "It is more glorious to be in the fire and not be burned, But we are in the fire and are not getting burned, Therefore we are more glorious."

211 **Margareta de eo concepit.** See 170n. above.

230-31 **sdministrationem . . . publicam.** For clergy in government (though regular clergy are not specified), see Swanson, 104-8. But the reference is more likely to administrative posts within one's order such as prior or provincial, or perhaps to the episcopacy, since in fact there were a number of friar-bishops (mostly suffragans), and a few monk-bishops, in England in the

13th and 14th centuries. See, e.g., the list of Augustinian bishops in England and Ireland (all 14-16c) in Roth, *The English Austin Friars*, pp. 479-84, and the wealth of information in Smith, "Suffragan Bishops." There were also two Dominican popes, one French and one Italian; see below 256n.

236 **Esdra.** 3 & 4 Esdras (see below, line 667) appear among the apocryphal books in editions of the Vulgate. In other editions of the bible, they appear among the apocrypha as 1 and 2 Esdras because the Vulgate 1 and 2 Esdras are the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, respectively. The story here is on pages 5-7 of the Apocrypha in the New English Bible. Our author characteristically uses it in his own way by applying it to "truth in friendship." It is more commonly used to bolster pro-feminine arguments; indeed Alcuin Blamires regards it as "the single most cogent source and paradigm for the medieval case for women" (1997, p. 50; cf. his full discussion, pp. 50-58).

245 **huius spei fuit hic Valerius.** A rare piece of attention to what Valerius actually says, here on the context of the letter.

249-50 **de eo . . .secutus est.** Two brothers, monks, swear never to leave each other. One, needing sex, wants to return to the world; the other, failing to dissuade him, agrees to leave the monastery with him, but maintains his ascetic ways. They work as laborers, the voluptuary brother taking all the money to spend on his pleasures. Eventually Abbot Abramius comes upon them working assisting the masons in the building of a new monastery. The builders, noticing that the one fasts daily and maintains silence, bring him to Abramius's attention. He calls him in and hears the whole story; his hope, the young mans says, is that God will see his tribulation and save his brother. Abramius assures him, "God has given you your brother's soul." And immediately the naughty brother goes to Abramius and pleads, "Take me to the desert that I might be saved." Abramius goes with them both to a cave near the Jordan, where the repentant brother makes magnificent spiritual advances, then dies. The other, maintaining his oath of staying with his brother, remains in the cave until his own death.

256 **quidam religiosus.** This interesting story is not otherwise known, as far as we are aware. Since all orders of friars except the four major ones were disestablished at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 (See Emery, "The Second Council of Lyons and the Mendicant Orders"), the "unapproved order" might be some order such as the Friars of the Sack, the Pied Friars, or the Crutched Friars that continued to exist for decades in defiance of the ban (see Andrews, *The Other Friars*, pp. 207-23, 228-33 and passim). The "approved order" is probably the Dominicans, given 1) the probability that our author is a Dominican; 2) Dominic's leadership skills (see esp. the story of Pope Innocent's dream in which Dominic is single-handedly holding up the Lateran basilica—i.e., the church—from falling into ruin [Jacobus, transl. Ryan 2.46]) and those of his successors; and 3) the relative youth of the order, making plausible the contention that its leaders have "always" been strong. Benedict XI (Niccolo Boccasini), elected

pope in 1303, had been master general of the order since 1296, and Innocent V (Peter of Tarentaise), elected in 1276, had been Dominican provincial of France 1264-67 and 1269-72. It is almost certainly not the Franciscans, since no one would claim that Francis's gifts included the ability to rule the whole church, and probably not the Augustinians or Carmelites, though both claimed to have been founded by St. Augustine, precisely because that claim had little evidence to support it, and in general their history was obscure. The Cistercians, founded by the great Bernard, might be a candidate if so much else in the treatise did not point to friars rather than monks as the subject.

The use of the word "religio" to mean "a religious order" is characteristic of the language of Ecumencial Councils of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the phrase "religio approbata" for "approved order" occurs in the decree of the Lateran Council of 1215. See *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Tanner, 1.242 (Lateran 1215); 299 (Lyons 1245); 326 (Lyons, 1274, in the passage suppressing fraternal orders other than the main four), 337 (Vienna, 1311-12). "Religio" is also the standard Franciscan term for the order: see, e.g., Bonaventure, *Legenda S. Francisci* (the "Legenda major"), where the third chapter, on the founding of the order, is entitled "De institutione religionis" (Quaracchi edition, 8.510).

277-78 **aliqui religiosi non . . . gloriandum.** This remark is consistent with our supposition that the author is a Dominican, since it must be directed at Augustinians, who claimed to have been founded by St Augustine and to have taken their ultimate origins from the founders of monasticism, Paul the Hermit and Anthony (Andrews, *The Other Friars*, pp. 158-62), and Carmelites, who traced themselves back to Elijah (Andrews, pp. 56-64). Both claims arose around the turn of the fourteenth century, as competition among the orders grew shriller; Dante alludes slyly to such competition in *Paradiso* 11 and 12 when he gives us Aquinas praising Francis and Bonaventure praising Dominic.

296 **hic auctor.** I.e., Walter Map.

299 **teste Augustino.** Epistle 78 (*PL* 33.272, *CC* 34 part 2, p. 344): "Fateor . . . quomodo difficile sum expertus meliores, quam qui in monasteriis profecerunt, ita non sum expertus pejores, quam qui in monasteriis ceciderunt," quoted by Gratian, *Decretale*, 1. dist. 47. canon 9, p. 173 and by various others.

315-19 **Iohannes Crisostomus . . . tales esse.** These two sermons are actually two slightly different translations of one Greek sermon (the Greek is in *PG* 59), an almost unrelieved diatribe against women, not by Chrysostom. They have different beginnings but after a few lines differ only in wording. The concession our author mentions occurs near the beginning: "Sed nunc de mihi [sic] mala muliere sermo est, non de bona et honesta. Novi enim multas bonas et honestas et ornatas, in omne opus bonum promptas" (printed by Migne as Sermon 50 by Paul the Deacon, though queried as "Ex operibus beati Chrysostomi?"; *PL* 95.1509); "Mihi certa nunc de mala, non de proba et honesta muliere sermo habetur. Scio namque multas esse bonas et honestas mulieres" (*PG* 59.485-86).

319-20 **in scriptura sacra.** Particularly 1 Cor 11.3-11, as searching *mulier* and *sensualitas* in the online *PL* or CETEDOC will demonstrate; see, e.g., Peter Lombard on these lines, *PL* 191.1633. Cf. Trivet 60-63.

323 **in libro Melibei.** *Albertani Brixiensis Liber consolationis et consilii*, ed. Sundby, pp. 12-19, Melibeus's attack on women and Prudence's response. See Chaucer's *Melibee*, lines B 2247-53, 2260-2301, though Chaucer omits some of Albertanus's material. Blamires 1997: 22-26 praises Albertanus's book as a major document in the tradition of defenses of women.

333-40 **In Vitis Patrum . . . inobediens esse.** A version of this story, without the motif of the closed eyes, is in Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones feriales et communes*, ed. Greven, #69, p, 43.

342 **Augustinus.** See Gerald of Wales, *Gemma*, 2.15, p. 236 (transl. Hagen, p. 180), "Juxta Augustinum tamen tutius est ab harum [i.e.one's female relatives] etiam abstinere consortio: 'Multotiens enim quae cum sorore mea sunt, sorores meae non sunt.'" A few lines later Gerald mentions the story of Amnon and Tamar, suggesting that he is perhaps our author's source here. However, the saying is also quoted by Gratian, *Decretum*, 1. dist. 81, canon 25, p 287 and Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea* 120 (ed. Maggioni, 2.859; transl. Ryan, 2.128 [#124]). See also Gregory, *Epistulae* 9.60 (*PL* 77.997), "Nam legitur quod beatus Augustinus nec cum sorore sua habitare consenserit, dicens, 'Quae cum sorore mea sunt, sorores meae non sunt.'" This saying summarizes pithily this passage from Possidius, *Vita sancti Augustini, PL* 32.55: "Feminarum intra domum ejus nulla unquam conversata est, nulla mansit, ne quidem germana soror, quae vidua Deo serviens multo tempore usque in diem obitus sui praeposita ancillarum Dei vixit. Sed nec patrui sui filiae, et fratris sui filiae, quae pariter Deo serviebant: quas personas sanctorum episcoporum concilia in exceptis posuerunt. Dicebat vero, quia etsi de sorore et neptibus secum commorantibus nulla nasci posset mala suspicio; tamen quoniam illae personae sine aliis necessariis secumque manentibus feminis esse non possent, et quod ad eas aliae etiam a foris intrarent, de his posse offendiculum aut scandalum infirmioribus nasci; et illos qui cum episcopo vel quolibet clerico forte manerent, ex illis omnibus feminarum personis posse una commorantibus vel adventantibus, aut tentationibus humanis perire, aut certe malis hominum suspicionibus pessime diffamari. Ob hoc ergo dicebat, nunquam debere feminas cum servis Dei, etiam castissimis, una manere domo, ne, ut dictum est, aliquod scandalum aut offendiculum tali exemplo poneretur infirmioribus."

344 **sine teste.** This was a major reason why friars traveled in pairs. See, e.g., Statutes of 1260 in "Statuta generalia ordinis," 1941, p. 70: a friar cannot stand or sit near a woman to hear her confession or for any other reason unless he and his companion can see each other.

372 **Homo cum in honore.** Quoted more fully above, lines 159-61.

380 **Tollit . . . libido.** Also Walther, *Spr.* 31449a.

387 **De Salomone sunt opiniones.** Since he gives only positive opinions, our author seems to side with Jerome and Ambrose who count Solomon among the saved (see also Peter Comestor, *PL* 198.1331). Dante agrees, putting him appropriately in the sphere of the sun, *Paradiso* 10.109-14, 13.91-108, 14.34-60. Langland's Will is less sure, but hopeful: *Piers Plowman* B.12.271-76. All the opinions, including those of Jerome and Ambrose cited here, are on view in Phillip de Harvang, *De damnatione Salomonis, PL* 203.621-66; he concludes with Augustine, Gregory, Bede, and others, against Jerome and Ambrose, that there is no evidence that Solomon ever repented his follies.

396 **Iudeus . . . de Basilio.** *Vita sancti Basilii apocrypha sancti Amphilochio adscripta* 4.63, in *Acta sanctorum*, 6.2.955 (June 14). The Jewish doctor Joseph predicts that Basil will die by sunset ("Dicit illi Joseph Hebræus; Credas, Domine, sol hodie cum sole occidet"), but Basil stays alive and so converts him. The story is also told in the Golden Legend (ed. Maggioni, 1.186-87; transl. Ryan, 1.112) and in Gerald, *Gemma*, 1.26 (transl. Hagen, p. 70).

426-27 **Virginitatem . . . aureola.** See Aquinas, *In IV Sententiarum*, distinctio 49, question 5, solutio 1: "Et ideo illis tantum virginibus aureola proprie debetur quae propositum habuerunt virginitatem perpetuo conservandi, sive hoc propositum voto firmaverunt sive non." Abel's virginity is commended by (for example) Ambrose, *Exhortatio virginitatis, PL* 16.347.

427-32 **Quod . . . informaret.** The reference to Orosius is unclear. Cartlidge (p. 175) cites the *History Against the Pagans* 5.16.13 (*PL* 31.954-55), where the women of Gaul assert to their Roman conquerors their willingness to live on if they can serve as Vestals. But "manifeste docet" suggests some more explicit assertion; the reference is probably to his *Opus apologeticus contra Pelagium*, and to no particular passage but rather to the whole argument that human goodness depends on the grace of God. Orosius never mentions Mary anywhere in his work. We are also uncertain of the exact purport of our author's statement about Mary, or of the difference between "primo" and "prima." The line from Sedulius is part of a well-known ten-line apostrophe to Mary, beginning "Salve, sancta parens." The whole sentence reads "Nec primam similem visa es, nec habere sequentem,/Sola sine exemplo placuisti femina Christo" (You seem not to have had the first woman [i.e. Eve; or, perhaps, any prior woman] like you, nor any successor; you were pleasing to Christ, a unique woman, a woman without a peer [or, perhaps, you had no example: you are the only woman who pleased Christ]). Line 69, the line quoted, was used in the Magnificat antiphon on the feast of the Presentation of Mary (Springer, *The Gospel as Epic*, p. 91; Connelly, *Hymns of the Roman Liturgy*, p. 57). It does not seem necessarily to mean what our author says, that Mary was the first to choose the virginal life.

445 **Enoc et Helias.** Both were taken into heaven: Genesis 5.24, 3 Kings 2.12. In the apocryphal *First Book of Enoch* 24.1-7, Michael shows Enoch the tree of life, and says "Its fruit shall be food to the elect" (v. 5), though not till after the

great judgment (Charles, ed. *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, 2.204–5). Nevertheless, this may be the source of the supposition, shared by our author with others, that Enoch and Elias may already eat that fruit. See Jerome, *Contra Johannem Hierosolymitanum* 1.29 (*PL* 23.381), "Enoch translatus est in carne . . . . Elias carneus raptus est . . . habent membra cum quibus rapti sunt et translati. Quod nos imitamur jejunio, illi possident Dei consortio. Vescuntur coelesti pane . . ."; Augustine, *Contra adversarios legis, PL* 42.616, speaking of the tree of life as wisdom, immortal food for the blessed: "Utrum autem illo cibo vescatur nunc aliquis, nisi forte Enoch et Elias, non temere asseverandum puto."

459 **una glosa.** Our author is perhaps remembering this remark on Ecclesiastes 7.27 by Hugh of St-Cher (Venice, 1754, 3.92ra): "Sagena cor ejus: quia omnes capit, magnos et parvos indifferenter. Ezech 16: 'Exposuisti fornicationem tuam omni transeunti, ut ejus fieres.' Ideo autem dicit, 'Sagena cor ejus,' et non ipsa, quia sicut sagena totum fluvium occupat et nullus piscis effugit, sic cor mulieris totum vicum vel civitatem vel regionem in qua habitat, occupat, et omnes capit voluntate et desiderio, licet multi effugiant ipsam; nullus tamen effugit cor ejus." For his familiarity with Hugh's exegesis, see the many notes below, starting at line 481.

465–545 **Videto cui des.** This discussion of Cato's sly maxim is marked by the author's usual balance and good sense. It is surely influenced by Peter the Chanter's *Verbum abbreviatum*, chapters 47–49, urging discrimination in giving and citing many of the same authorities (though it is more generous in spirit), and perhaps (since at moments he seems to agree) also by St Bonaventure's argument that, in combination with Luke 6.30 "Give to all who ask," "Let your alms sweat in your hand" (see below 435) implies that it is better to give to "servo Dei, militi Christi," that is, to a friar: "De paupertate quoad mendicitatem," in *Quaestiones disputatae de perfectione evangelica*, quest. 2, art. 2, *Opera omnia*, 5 Quaracchi, 1891), p. 141. See the discussion in Scase, pp. 72–73.

476 **Marcianus et poete.** The three graces ("gratia trina") appear in the poem that opens Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, line 14. Remigius glosses: "Gratiae tres sunt . . . unius nominis et unius pulchritudinis. . . . Pinguntur . . . una nobis aversa et duae nos respicientes, quia gratia simpla a nobis profecta dupla solet reverti" (ed. Lutz, 1.69.) For the poets, see, e.g., Servius on *Aeneid* 1.720: "Quod vero una aversa pingitur, duae nos respicientes, haec ratio est, quia profecta a nobis gratia duplex solet reverti"; Horace *Carmina* 1.4.6, 1.30.6; 3.19.16; 3.21.22; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.429. See also *VM2*, Bode p. 86, *VM3*, Bode p. 229. A number of frescoes and statues survive that depict the graces in exactly the way described, two facing forward and one turned away; search "three graces in Roman art" in Google Images.

481 **specificat ibi.** I.e. at 12.2 (justo), 4 (misericordi), 5 (bono), 6 (humili). At the start of the chapter, Hugh of St-Cher writes: "Duo dicit Auctor in hoc capitulo. Primo docet discretionem esse servandam in eleemosynis faciendis,

ostendens cui danda sit eleemosyna—justo scilicet, et humili, bono et misericordia—et cui non; et quae retributio facienti; et quod incommodum facere [negligenti]; sub ostendens quando et qualiter agnosci possit verus amicus, quod nimis difficile est, et quomodo ad falsos amicos nos habere debeamus" (Venice 1754, 3.194rb; all citations of Hugh on Ecclesiasticus in the notes that follow are from this edition; we consulted the copy in the Columbia University library. We have emended *negligentis* to *negligenti*). Most of what our author says on to whom to give seems to draw on Hugh, though not slavishly, and he has plenty to add on his own. See the notes that follow.

487 **pro indigente cui est miserum cor.** Hugh: "misericordi: idest, miserum cor habenti, et misericordia indigenti" (3.194.va).

492-93 **pauperibus religiosis.** Another indication that the author is a friar. See also 517-30 below. We have taken "secularis" through here to mean "layman," especially because of "quantumcumque sit peccator" 498. But possibly it means the secular clergy (who we feel sure are meant at 861 below).

500-1 **in quantum est peccator . . . consideranda est.** Hugh of St-Cher on Ecclus. 12.6: "'et non receperis peccatorem': ad eleemosynam, in quantum peccator est" (3.194va); on 12.5: "In homine tria consideranda sunt: gratia, natura, culpa. Propter prima duo subveniendum est homini, propter tertium, nunquam. . . . Unde Glossa: Qui indigenti eleemosynam tribuit, nec pro delicto spernit, vere misericordiam facit; natura enim respicienda est, non persona" (3.194va). Again, on 12.6: "qui autem dat indigenti peccatori, non quia peccator est, sed quia homo est, non peccatorem sed justum nutrivit, quia culpam non diligit sed naturam" (3.194vab).

502 **Luce.** See below, 512-13n. Hugh of St-Cher (3.194va) brings up this verse as "contra," and the Proverbs verse as well, but not Matthew 5.

506 **Seneca.** This is not Seneca's thought. Rather, he quotes a verse couplet by an unknown author, "Beneficia in volgus cum largiri instituteris,/Perdenda sunt multa, ut semel ponas bene" (When you start giving out benefits to the common mob, many must be lost in order to place just one well)—then goes on to oppose the sentiment, arguing for giving without counting the cost.

507 **Matthei 7.** Instanced by Hugh of St-Cher, 3.194vb.

509 **Ieronymus.** This remark is not in Jerome, though attributed to him by Hugh on Ecclus. 12.6 (glossing "da bono," Hugh [3.194va] says "verbi gratia, non histrioni," then quotes Jerome), and by Peter the Chanter, *PL* 205.155: "Hieronymus: Paria sunt histrionibus dare et daemonibus immolare"; see also Peter of Blois, Letter 102, also citing Jerome, "Paria sunt peccatoribus dare et daemonibus immolare," *PL* 207.319. No one seems to know where the idea of equating giving to actors and sacrificing to devils comes from. Baldwin 1.202 says the Capetian historian Rigord refers to it as "the teaching of holy men." Peter the Chanter cites it again in his *Summa de sacramentis* without ascribing it to Jerome; see Haring, "Peter Cantor's View on Ecclesiastical Excommunication

and its Practical Consequences," 102, n. 20. Thomas of Chobham quotes it (ed. Broomfield, p. 293) as a canon, in two forms. His editor says, "Canones non inveni," but compares Augustine, Sermon 198 (*PL* 38.1026) ("qui pro pestilentibus hominibus lites et contentiones usque ad inimicitias suscipiunt, pro mimo, pro histrione . . . . Ista facientes quasi thura ponunt daemonis"), and *On the Gospel of St John*, Tractatus 100.2 (*PL* 35.1891) ("Donare quippe res suas histrionibus, vitium est immane, non virtus"); Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, c. 49 (*PL* 205.155 cited above); and Peter the Chanter, *Summa*, 2.351 (a reference that puzzles us; it is to the *Verbum abbreviatum*, which is also called "Summa magistri Petri Cantoris" [ed. Boutry, p. 7], but to what part is unclear). But it does appear in Gratian, *Decretum*, Prima pars, Distinctio 86, canon 7, which repeats Augustine's Sermon 198, and canon 8, which has the line "Qui donant istrionibus, qui donant meretricibus, quare donant?" (ed. Friedberg, 1.299-300). Langland quotes "Dare histrionibus, etc." at *Piers Plowman* C.7.118 as if the full statement is common knowledge.

510 **Thobie.** This verse is also instanced by Hugh of St-Cher at Ecclus. 12.6. He says that "noli ex eo manducare cum peccatoribus" means "pro eo quod peccatores sunt, noli communicare. Sicut faciunt illi qui nutriunt histriones cum esuriant Christi pauperes" (3.194va).

512-13 **in Ecclesiastico: "Desudet . . . des."** An ancient variant of Ecclus. 12.1, "Si benefeceris, scito cui feceris," whose oldest surviving witness is the Greek *Didache* 1.6, where it is said to be "a word of Scripture"; it is cited by Augustine and Cassiodorus as if from scripture. For a full account of how the variant emerged in Hebrew and was translated into Greek, see Skehan, "Didache 1.6 and Sirach 12.1." Our author probably knew it from Hugh of St-Cher, who cites it at Ecclus. 12.1 as "alia translatio"; see Kneller, "Zum 'schwitzen Almosen,'" Turner, "'Let thine Alms Sweat in thy Hands,'", and Audet, *La Didachè: instructions des apôtres*, pp. 275-80. See Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos*, *CCSL* 40, on Psalm 102.6 (p. 1462), 103.14 (p. 1509), and 146.8 (p. 2135, where he introduces it by saying "alio loco scriptura dicit"). In the last two places Augustine brings in Ps. 40.2, "Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem." In all three places he sets "Desudet" against Luke 6.30 (as the *Didache* does also), though he treats it positively as an exhortation to be active in seeking out the needy, not negatively as later writers (probably influenced by the *Distichs of Cato*) do, as an excuse to be stingy. Cassiodorus cites it in discussing Ps. 40.2 (*Expositio psalmorum, CCSL* 97, p. 373); he too quotes Luke 6.30 as well, introducing the two sayings with the words "legitur enim . . .. Scriptum est etiam." Unlike Augustine, he sees the two sayings as in conflict with each other. Langland cites "Desudet" in connection with Cato's "Videto cui des" (with "Est" for "Desudet") in *Piers Plowman* B.7.75 from Peter Comestor (*PL* 198.1251C). See Alford, *Quotations* p. 54 (who erroneously states that the saying is not in Comestor), and Scase, who mentions Augustine as "the ultimate source of the opposition" (p.198), and shows (pp.

72–73) that citation of these and other authorities on both sides of the issue is frequent in mendicant and anti-mendicant polemics. For more instances, see Kneller's article, CETEDOC, and *PL* online (under both *desudet* and *sudet*).

514–45 **Pro istis . . . moderna.** With these sensible remarks our author takes the discussion well beyond what he found in Hugh of St-Cher.

526 **Galatas 6.** Hugh quotes this at Ecclus. 12.5, "da misericordi" (along with Luke's "omni petenti te tribue") as a contrary idea by ending the quotation at "omnes," and not adding "maxime autem ad domesticos fidei" (3.194va). Our author's use is truer to Paul.

540–41 **Thomas de Aquino.** *Summa theologiae*, Secunda secundae, quaestio 168, articulus 3, responsio ad argumentum 3.14: "Unde illi qui moderate eis [sc. histrionibus] subveniunt, non peccant, sed justa faciunt, mercedem ministerii eorum eis attribuendo." See Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* 1.58–59.

544 **regere.** Perhaps an error for *se regere*, but we have kept the reading of both mss., supposing an intransitive sense, "keep straight, function well."

569 **Circa.** A guess: we cannot read the abbreviation in either manuscript (*circa* 563 is spelled out in both). Cartlidge has *circa*. Note also that the C scribe leaves space for discussion of point four; see Cartlidge's note.

569 **canonem.** Gratian, *Decretum* 2.33.3, De penitencia Distinctio 6, canon 1, ed. Friedberg 1.1243: "Iudas enim qui penitens iuit ad Phariseos, relinquens Apostolos, nichil inuenit auxilii nisi augmentum desperationis. . . . Iuit ad diuisos, et diuisus periit." See Matt. 27.4; Judas's confession is in Matthew only.

574 **abbas Appollonius.** The *PL* text has "abbas Apollo."

584 **domigerio.** The etymological source of Chaucer's "daunger," and the equivalent of his "maistrie."

611–12 **cum socero tuo.** Some Vulgate texts read "cum eo qui tibi insidiatur." See Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem 12 (Sapientia – Sirach), Rome, 1964, *ad loc.*, and de Bruyne, "Étude sur le texte latin de l'Ecclesiastique," p. 35. What follows is almost verbatim from Hugh of Saint-Cher on Eccl. 37.7: "Noli consiliari cum socero tuo: idest cum patre vel quolibet consanguineo uxoris tuae, maxime de ipsa castiganda vel vestienda, quasi dicat, non de omnibus consulendus est socer: quia saepe carnalis affectus imperat rationi. Jer 9: Unusquisque a proximo suo se custodiat, et in omni fratre suo non habeat fiduciam. Mich 7: Noli credere amico, et noli confidere in duce. Ab ea quae dormit in sinu tuo, custodi claustra oris tui. Moraliter per socerum, qui ex parte feminea affinis est, intelligitur omnis homo femineum et mutabilem habens animum, cum quo non est consiliandum" (3.242r).

624 **zelantibus.** *Zelare* means "to love ardently," and so "be jealous of," in a good sense; it is the source of our word jealousy. See Ecclus. 9.1. Here Douay's "them that envy thee" presumably means "those who are so concerned for you that they are jealous of you, i.e., envy you your freedom." The reliance on Hugh continues: "Et a zelantibus te: idest tibi invidentibus vel nimis ardenter

diligentibus, ut est uxor, et filii, et familia" (3.242rb). But then it stops: what our author says in opposition to the Gloss is his own, or at least not from Hugh.

628 **prodet.** So CJ; Vulgate prodit, which the Douay translation follows.

629 **glosa.** "Adhuc docet cautelam omnem habendam in suscipiendis amicis et consiliariis. Multi enim se amicos et consiliarios fingunt, et insidias tendunt" (*PL* 113.1219–20). (Hugh also says, "Vel sic: Omnis Consiliarius, idest fere, Prodit, idest revelat, Consilium, idest secretum sibi commisum.") Our author takes a far more benign view of the verse, perhaps taking his cue from what Hugh has said a few lines earlier: "Ille consiliarius verus est qui sibi et aliis consulit facere quod Deo placet, quod est unicum consilium infusum a Spiritu Sancto" (both citations 3.242va).

675 **inquisitionem.** Possibly *the* inquisition, established by Gregory IX in 1233 with the Dominicans as inquisitors.

683 **Thomam.** *Summa theologiae*, Secunda secundae, quaestio 69, articulus 1, "Ex debito tenetur accusatus judici veritatem exponere, quam ob eo secundum formam juris exigit. Et ideo si confiteri noluerit veritatem quam dicere tenetur vel si eam mendaciter negaverit, mortaliter peccat."

700 **Rabanus.** Our author cites Rabanus as he appears in the Gloss on Ecclus. 37.14, *PL* 113.1220 , and in Hugh of Saint-Cher (3.242va) as well. Rabanus's original words are slightly different; see his Commentary on Ecclesiasticus, *PL* 109.1026. The explication of Rabanus seems to be original.

710 **secretarius.** Iago seems to come right out of such a moral tradition as this.

718 **idest in cathedra magistrali.** So Hugh 3.242vb.

720–21 **Dominus solus cogitationes novit.** Cf. Ps. 93.11, Ezek. 11.5, 1 Cor. 3.20.

727 **sicut fere capiuntur.** Hugh: "Et loquitur auctor transumptive, tangens quod ferae sudibus capiuntur, quasi dicat, ideo primo considera qualis sit Consiliarius quam ei consentias, ne forte sit terrenum ejus consilium, et te per cupiditatem figat in terram, vel occidat, sicut feram per terrenum ostium ('a door in the ground,' i.e., a trap in the form of a hidden pit)" (3.242va).

733–38 **talis . . . Viennensis hic.** Hugh: "Quid tibi eveniat: de consilio suo, ut si bene evenerit, laudetur, si male, irrideat, et dicat, non fecisti eo modo quo dixi tibi, quod maxime medicorum est et advocatorum" (3.242va). Thus (as Cartlidge also saw) "**Viennensis**" is clearly Hugh of St-Cher, who is occasionally called Hugo de Vienna in manuscripts (St Cher is near the town of Vienne, in the Dauphiné, now the département de l'Isère). See F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, 3.114, 140, 146; Lerner, "Poverty, Preaching, and Eschatology," 159 n7; and the Vita at the front of volume 1 of Biblia cum postillis Hugonis de Sancto Charo (London, 1669), which ends by calling him "Fr. Hugo de Celidorio Viennensis Dioecesis." The marginal note explains: "Intellige de vrbe Vienna, in Delphinatu ad Rhodanum sitata, intra fines Burgundiae antiquitus comprehensa" (p. viii). We

have not, however, found another example besides our text of calling him simply "Viennensis." Lerner 164 cites another text, by the 15th c Cambridge theologian John Beverley, in which he is called "Viena." "Viennensis" or "Viena" is perhaps a Dominican insider-name, modeled on the name "Hostiensis" for Hugh's friend and fellow-cardinal Henry of Susa, Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, and alluding to their close association (for which see Gy, "Hugues de Saint-Cher Dominicain," 28 and de Miramon, "La place de Hugues de Saint-Cher dans les débats sur la pluralité des benefices (1230-40)," 375.

739 **yronica.** Hugh: "loquens ironice" (3.242ra).

747-48 **scilicet . . . peragendis.** Hugh: "consiliandis, vel intelligendis aut peragendis" (3.242vb).

751-52. The citations of James and Kings are from Hugh 3.242vb. Hugh has "Exemplum de Salamone 2 Reg. 3," but that is clearly a misprint in the Venice 1754 text, since Solomon only comes to the throne in 3 Kings. In 3 Kings 3.5-14, the Lord appears to him at Gibeon and he prays for wisdom and is granted it.

764 **Seneca.** Perhaps quoted from Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum* 1.68 (*CCCM* 196.446; *PL* 205.206 [where it is chapter 69]).

770, 771 **Loth, Iacob.** Gen. 33.14, 36.7.

773 **Vitis Patrum.** "Ne habeas amicitias cum muliere, neque cum puero, neque cum haereticis," *PL* 73.857D; part of the deathbed instruction of Abbot Chame in the "Verba seniorum."

783 **Bernard.** We have not found this statement in Bernard or anywhere, but see Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, *PL* 42.386 and *Contra Secundinum*, *PL* 43.601; also Peter Lombard, *Commentaria in Psalmos*, *PL* 191.514.

785 **Esdras 19.** Since 3 Esdras has nine chapters, chapter 8 of 4 Esdras would become chapter 17, not 19 if the two books were treated as one. This verse appears on page 36 of the Apocrypha in the New English Bible.

787-78 **In arte . . . deficiunt.** A baffling statement. "Sagittantes" may well be erroneous. See the statement that similarly begins "In arte" above at line 761, also a statement about contamination. Cartlidge reads "pueri" for "puri," but the reading is clearly "puri," and the subject of the paragraph is purity.

788 **8**. If the reading "9" in both manuscripts is right, the only explanation that occurs to us is that the writer interpreted the mention of Cham's son Chanaan at Genesis 9.18 as implying that Chanaan was born on the ark.

789 **de Pentapoli 3.** See Wisdom 10.6, whose "Pentapolis," destroyed by fire, was interpreted as the five cities Sodom, Gomorra, Segor, Seboim, Adamam (cf., e.g., Hugh of St-Cher *ad loc.*, 3.156v and Peter Comestor, *PL* 198.1092C) from which only Lot and his two daughters escaped, Gen. 19.1-26.

813 **in prosperitate mundana . . . ponunt.** A simplistic view of Jewish belief, based presumably on such texts as Genesis 13.2 (on Abraham's wealth) or Psalm 111.1-3 ("Beatus vir qui timet Dominum . . . Gloria et divitiae in domo

eius."

814-15 **in voluptate . . . Sarraceni.** For the common Western belief that Islam was all about pleasure, see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, chapter 5, "The Place of Self-indulgence in the Attack on Islam," pp. 158-85 and Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, pp. 135-38.

817-18 **Ethicorum 10 (7.9; 1178a 4-9).** See *Ethica Nicomachea, translatio Roberti Grossteste*, fasc. 4, p. 578, ll. 19-24.

832 **iste paganus.** I.e., Phoroneus.

845 **Pacuvius.** This anecdote offers the most severe challenge to our author's resourcefulness in inventing moralizations, and though it is hard to imagine a preacher using the story in a sermon in this way, his ingenuity here compels a certain admiration. Compare the also inventive but more conventional moralization, using the old triads of world-flesh-devil and covetousness-of-eyes, covetousness-of-flesh, and pride-of-life, in *Gesta romanorum 33* (ed. Oesterley, p. 331); Pratt, "Jankyn's Book," pp. 25-26 draws attention to the comparison.

861 **Secularibus.** Probably the secular clergy. See 492-93n above.

882 **Exemplum in natura.** Apparently to salt meat is as it were to flog it: both flogging and salt are bitter safeguards. What Bernard tells Robert is to avoid fancy spices, which fire the libido; instead "prudenter sobrieque conversanti satis est ad omne condimentum sal cum fame."

884-85 **in Vitis Patrum.** Trivet gives this story at 1017-20, commenting on "Quod manus contines" 144. It is also in Jerome, Letter 125, Ad Rusticum, *PL* 22.1079-80, and in Gerald, *Gemma*, 2.20 (transl. Hagen, pp 200-1).

904-5 **Dionysius *De angelica ierarchia*.** Perhaps what is meant is human awareness of the divine; see *The Celestial Hierarchy* 4.2-3, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, transl. Luibheid, pp. 157-58. Cf. Aquinas, *Summa theologica,* Prima secundae 9.5.2: "Sed intellectus hominis reducitur in suum actum non solum a Deo, sed etiam ab angelo per illuminationes, ut Dionysius dicit." Vol. 17, p. 78. The editor cites *De caelest. hier.* 4, *PG* 3.180 (the passage referred to above). Aquinas seems to apply what Dionysius says to all human knowledge, not just knowledge of the divine.

907-8 **Cato . . . autenticat.** The point here seems to be that to assert that Cato always spoke the truth is to validate all the dicta in the *Disticha Catonis*.

922 **Collecta.** Dominican Breviary, Prayer at Compline: "Visita, quaesumus, Domine, habitationem istam at omnes insidias inimici ab ea longe repelle; angeli tui sancti habitantes in ea nos in pace custodiant [Roman Breviary: habitent in ea, qui nos in pace custodiant], et benedictio tua sit super nos semper." *Breviarium iuxta ritum ordinis praedicatorum* (1, p. 565); *Breviarium Romanum*, p. 109. Cited by Aquinas, discussing whether angels exist in space, *Summa theologiae*, Prima pars, quaestio 52, article 1 Sed contra: "Sed contra est quod in collecta dicitur, *Angeli tui sancti habitent in ea, qui nos in pace custodiant*." The wording, with its slight difference from the Roman breviary, is strong evidence that our author is a

Dominican. On the special place of Compline in Dominican life, see Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, pp. 148-67; he calls "Visita, quaesumus" "the old monastic prayer that had been used for centuries by the monks as their dormitory was sprinkled with holy water just before bedtime" (p. 161). It seems to be typically Dominican to cite the office: Aquinas does so a number of times, and so does Hugh Of St Cher: see Morard, "Hugues de Saint-Cher, Commentateur des psaumes," pp. 13-31.

930-35. The subject seems to be homosexuality, and the author seems to grant its presence but not to think it widespread.

937 **in expositione.** See Trivet's commentary, lines 1307-8.

947-48 **sentencia, similitudo.** We have translated these in the plural because the reference seems to be the entire *Disticha Catonis*. Oddly, our author writes as if the adage "Placet delectatio" and the image of the rose are Cato's, not Valerius's.

951-52 **Aristoteles in libro Predicamentorum.** Boethius has "videtur autem alienissimus esse modus habendi"; Moerbeke "videtur autem alienissimus modus habendi esse": *Categoriae vel Praedicamenta*, ed. L. Minuo-Paulello, pp. 41, 117.

970-71 **sicut in expositione.** See Trivet's commentary, lines 1432-33, "quandam herbam venenosam et mortiferam."

979-81. Verses developing the common motif in moral writers of "timor sine spe." See, e.g., Pseudo-Gregory, *In librum primum regum* (*Clavis patrum* 1719, cited from CETEDOC), "Timor quidem sine spe in desperationem praecipitat." Walther, *Vers*. 18030, cited from C and (probably the first line only) from the front board of Munich ms. CLM 23787 (15c).

986-87. Ovid urges his (male) readers to deceive women, since they are themselves deceivers, and thus will fall into their own snare. He then instances the deserved deaths of Thrasius (arranged by Busiris) and Perillus (arranged by Phalaris): "uterque" refers to Busiris and Phalaris.

997-999. The second of these texts, "Reddet Deus mercedem laborum," is indeed in the mass and office for several martyrs: *Breviarium iuxta ritum ordinis praedicatorum*, 1, p. [85], with "reddidit" (the Vulgate reading) for "reddet"; *Breviarium Romanum*, p. 966 (reddet); see also *PL* 151.945 (excerpts from liturgical books at Fonte Avellana). Our search of the extensive collection of missals and breviaries, both printed editions and xerographs of manuscripts, in the Bonniwell Collection at the library of Providence College confirms the regular appearance of that text for feasts of several martyrs (and random distribution of the variants reddidit/reddet). But the first, Ecclus. 51.35, is not in the office or mass of any part of the Common of the Saints, or in the feast of any apostle, doctor, or martyr (though 51.1-12 appears regularly in the common of a virgin martyr). Indeed, in his edition of the Sarum Rite, in which the Commune Sanctorum is unusually full, Dickinson gives a list of all bible passages that appear anywhere

in the office, and Ecclus. 51.35 is not there.

1016 **vir et mulier.** Note the equal treatment of women.

1025 **unus doctor.** We have not been able to identify this doctor who advocated reciting Prudentius so as to guard against wicked dreams; perhaps he was one of the writer's own teachers.

1034-36. On concubinage for the sake of progeny, see Aug. *De bono conjugali, PL* 40.384; Nicene Fathers 3.406.

1043 **Totum capitulum.** Trivet's eighth chapter begins at "Amice, miraris." Along with the references to "expositio" at lines 937 and 970-71, this is a further indication that the author had Trivet's commentary, with its chapter-divisions, at hand. The chapter-divisions are indicated in the margins of *Religiosos* in ms. C.

1044-45 **precipue . . . narratur.** No commentator has anything at all sharp to say about this striking passage of Map's; perhaps they avoid it because it is so clearly Christian, so clearly not by Valerius Maximus. In John of Wales's *Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum* (Venice, 1496, fols 258vb-59ra; the start of part 5, after four parts on the four cardinal virtues among the ancients), we have found this striking rewording of Map's idea: "His breuiter premissis de virtutibus premeditandum est: quod si ill[i] antiqui non illumin[a]ti fide, neque ordinati charitate neque solidati spe, tam virtuosi fuerunt in operibus virtutum, et tanta sustinuerunt, et hoc pro cupiditate glorie et temporali vtilitate vel vite honestate, quanta debent facere fideles qui sunt prediti virtutibus gratuitis, scilicet fide, spe, et charitate et quanta contemnere pro eterna felicitate." (We should think about what I have briefly said about the virtues: if those ancients, who were neither enlightened by faith, guided by charity, nor strengthened by hope were so good in carrying out the virtues, and sustained such great works out of the desire of glory and for worldly usefulness or just to live an upright life, how much ought we believers, endowed as we are with god-given virtues of faith, hope, and charity, do, and how much ought we spurn, for the sake of eternal happiness.)

COMMENTARY SIX: LAMBETH 330

MF = *Manipulus florum*, *CA* = Aquinas, *Catena aurea*

1.

1 **Gregorius.** *MF* Prosperitas m.

6-7 **Valerius Maximus.** So Trivet 36-39; not so *Parvus* 1. See our discussion of authorial ascriptions in the "Dissuasio " manuscripts, Vol. 1, pp. 60-63, for similar speculations about the source of the work.

11-12 **per epistolam presentem . . . peccatum.** A recurring undertone of the Lambeth 330 commentary; see also selection 3.104-17, 4.94-145.

14 **Secundum glossam.** Not found.

16-19. Cf. the Wife's analysis at D 59-86.

20 **in glossa.** Peter Lombard, *Collectanea in epistolas Pauli, PL* 191.1588.

38 **Ieronimus in quadam epistola.** *MF* Castitas l. Not found among Jerome's letters. But see Gregory, *Moralia* 21.2.54: "Quantalibet virtute mens polleat, quantalibet gravitate vigeat, carnales tamen sensus . . .ad fluxa quaeque et levia mentem enervem trahunt." (*PL* 76.189).

39 **niteas.** MS. *vireas* is produced by confusion of minims, as well as of t and r. The semantic attraction exercised by *polleas* may also have contributed to the error.

42 **dicit Ambrosius.** *MF* Virginitas l. Not Ambrose; from the Gloss to I Cor 7:26, *PL* 114.531; also Peter Lombard, *Collectanea in epistolas Pauli, PL* 191.1596.

47 **virginem.** So the ms, though the nominative *virgo* is apparently meant.

52 **Crisostomus in omelia.** *Commentarius in S. Matthaeum evangelistam*, hom. 78.1 (*PG* 58:712), cited *CA* 1:285a, on Matt. 25:4, in the parable of wise and foolish virgins. Cf. Langland's similar reading, Piers Plowman B 1.188-89. Charity is a common interpretation, favored by Augustine among others, but by no means the only one; see Wailes 1987: 180-82.

54-55 **Bernardus in quadam epistola.** *MF* Castitas n. *De moribus et officio episcoporum, PL* 182.816. The statement is originally John Cassian's, *PL* 49.272.

60 **Augustinus, De virginitate.** *MF* Castitas k. Actually from Ambrose, *De virginibus*, *PL* 16.193.

90 **Crisostomus, Super Mattheum, Omelia 2.** *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, hom. 1 (*PG* 56:619-20).

100-1 **fidelis . . . fortis.** In allusion to Ecclesiasticus 6.14, the text that structures the prologue to the Lambeth commentary; see the headnote, p. 378.

104 **aureola virginum.** See Apoc 2:10, 3:11; James 1:12.

104 **fructus centisimus.** See Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.3 (Verona, Bibl. cap. 17, f. 5rv): "Centessimus et sexsagesimus et tricessimus fructus quamquam de una terra et de una semente nascatur, tamen multum differt in numero. Triginta referuntur ad nubtias. . . . Sexaginta vero ad viduas, eo quod in angustia et tribulatione sint positae. . . . Porro centesimus numerus . . . circulum faciens, expremit virginitatis coronam." ("Although the hundredfold and the sixtyfold and the thirtyfold fruit spring from the same ground and the same sowing, they differ considerably in number. Thirty refers to married women, and sixty to widows, since they have been placed in poverty and tribulation. But the hundredfold number, making a circle, represents the crown of virginity.") See further the direct reference at Parson's Tale I 869; and the Wife of Bath's use of similar material comparing the values of marriage and virginity at D 99-101, 143-46.

2.

11 **terra.** Isidore reads *terre* ("greater than the size of the earth").

14 **omnium:** Macrobius adds *sphaerarum*.

17-18 **illustrarentur . . . existeret.** We emend to follow the readings of the source (in the second case "extaret"); the Lambeth scribe probably has overlooked a suspension.

18-19 **Libro de elementis dicit Aristoteles.** From the pseudo-Aristotelian *Liber de proprietatibus elementorum*. For information about this text, see Schmidt and Knox, *Pseudo-Aristoteles Latinus*, p. 20. As they point out, a complete text is printed in Paul Hossfeld's edition of the commentary of Albert the Great (Hossfeld 1980); the sentence quoted here, not quite verbatim, appears at the beginning of book 2, chapter 1, Hossfeld p. 89: "Sol habet lumen, et lumen lunae et stellarum est acquisitum a sole." The same sentence, worded as in Lambeth, appears in Bartholomaeus, 8.28, p. 406 (*DPR* 8.16, p. 485), likewise introduced by the phrase, "Et in libro de elementis dicit Aristoteles." See Isidore, Etymologiae, 3.61, *PL* 82.177: "Stellas non habere proprium lumen, sed a sole illuminari dicuntur, sicut et luna."

28 **Sic . . . exponitur idem Cantici 7[:6].** The normal interpretation of the bride in the Song of Songs is the Church or the soul, but because Mary was considered a type of the church, and because the phrase "hortus conclusus, fons signatus" (4.12) was applied to the virgin birth (e.g. by Jerome in *Contra Iovinianum* 1.30, *PL* 23.254: "Quod clausum est, atque signatum, similitudinem habet Matris Domini, matris et virginis"), "mariological" interpretations developed as well. See Matter 1990, ch. 6, "The Woman who is the All: the Virgin Mary and the Song of Songs," pp. 151-77; she singles out commentaries by Honorius of Autun, Rupert of Deutz, and Alan of Lille. Alan of Lille, *Elucidatio in Cantica Canticorum, PL* 210.51-110, several times calls her by the standard epithet *gloriosa virgo*.

31-32 **thesaurus . . . repositum.** Hugutio T56.1, 2. Cf. the entry for "thesaurus" in Balbus's *Catholicon* (we cite the unfoliated British Library Arundel 110): "Thesaurus: teca componitur cum aurum, et dicitur hic thesaurus, -ri, id est aurum repositum vel locus ubi aurum reponitur."

45 **Set heu . . . felicem.** Cf. Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae* 2.p4.2.

54 **Interlinearis ibidem.** Cf. Rabanus, *Commentaria in Ecclesiasticum*, *PL* 109.963.

64 **affeccione.** The *qua* that follows in the manuscript either echoes the preceding *quia* or anticipates the subsequent *que*.

74 **philosophus, 3 Ethicorum.** 3.3 (p. 181/19-21).

76 **Augustinus, 3 De libero arbitrio 1.** 3.1.2 (*PL* 32:1271).

88 **ut dictum est supra.** Near the end of part 5 (f. 23v), the commentator reads *leonis olentis* ("Dissuasio" line 30) as a single phrase. He then asserts "Sic

luxuria ardorem habet et fetorem," and proves this claim by citing Job 18:15 and Gen. 19:24, together with explanation from Gregory, *Moralia* 14.19.23 (*PL* 75:1051–52, *CC* 143A, p. 711).

92 **Libanus candidacio interpretatur.** Apparently derived, in a rather confused way, from the *Glossa ordinaria*, itself a derivative of Rabanus, *Commentaria in Ecclesiasticum* 8.18 (*PL* 109:1041): "Et quoniam sicut rosae martyrium, ita et lilium castitatem significat" ("Just as roses symbolize martyrdom, the lily symbolizes chastity"). Cf. Apoc. 7:14 and Jerome in lines 41–43 of the Appendix to our selections from *Adversus Jovinianum* (Vol. 1, p. 193), where he explains Eccles. 9:8 on the basis of Song 4:8, where Libano means "candor."

96–97 **secundum glossam, 2 Corinthiorum 2.** Peter Lombard, *Collectanea in Epistolas Pauli, PL* 192.20.

98–99 **Necglector . . . honoris.** A hexameter verse; Walther, *Spr.* 16310a.

106–7 **Quippe . . . fatigant.** Augustine here quotes Sallust, *De coniuratione Catilinae*, 11: "Quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant." Augustine's text also reads *sapientium*, but we have allowed the common alternative form *sapientum* to stand.

112 **transvertit.** So the Vulgate; cf. 110, which presupposes this reading.

109–27 **Bona . . . ludificatur.** Hugutio, at F1.32 defines "fascinare" as "incantare" and provides the Virgil citation. Although most of the information here has no parallel in the *Derivationes*, Balbus provides virtually all of it (including a reference to the verse from Wisdom which opens the discussion here) in his entry for the verb "fascino, fascinare."

128 **auctoritate predicta.** I.e. Wis 4:12, cited at 110–12.

134–36 **Inconstans . . . spes.** A rhyming hexameter couplet, with lengthening of the last syllable of *animus*; Walther, *Spr.* 12215.

143–44 **"zabulus" contrarius interpretatur.** Hugutio, Z6.

155–56 **nec erat . . . patris sui.** Alluding to 3 Kings 9.4.

158–59 **Magister historiarum.** Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, 3 Reg. cap. 27 (*PL* 198.1370), the source of the Josephus reference in line 158 also.

163 **Gregorius, super illud Luce 11(:15).** Not found. The *Glossa ordinaria* on Luke 15 reads, "Ninus rex, conditor Ninive, Belo patri suo statuam consecravit, eique divinos honores instituit, cujus simulacri similitudinem suscipientes Chaldaei Bel vocabant. Palaestini suscipientes, Baal dicebant. . ." (*PL* 114.289) (King Ninus, the founder of Nineveh, dedicated a statue to his father Bel, and established divine honors for him, and the Chaldeans acquired a copy of that statue and called it Bel. Then the Palestinians got it and called it Baal. . .). The entire statement quoted by our author appears with different wording in Rodericus Ximenius de Rada, *Breviarium historie catholice, CCCM* 72A, 1.27.24. See also Conrad of Mure, *Fabularius*, Lexicon N, *CCCM* 210.402; Jerome, Commentary on Ezechiel 7.23, "idolum enim baal siue bel . . . est consecrata in honorem patris a nino beli filio" *PL* 25.217; also Isidore, *Etymologiae, PL* 82.316, Comestor

198.1090; and cf. Wisdom 14.14–21.

173 **mania.** The scribe copied *mia*, the customary abbreviation for 'miser(icordi)a', certainly senseless in this context. We assume he is following a common English abbreviatory style, in which the 'standard mark' is an instruction to supply all the material until the next nasal. We thus expand mia as if m*an*ia.

175 **Glossa ibidem.** *PL* 113.1178, from Rabanus, *Commentaria in librum Sapientiae, PL* 109.740.

188–89 **Quartum scripsit librum.** Isidore ascribes to Solomon only three books; he reserves treatment of Wisdom for the conclusion of his conspectus of Old Testament works (6.2.30): "Liber Sapientiae apud Hebraeos nusquam est" ("The book of Wisdom does not exist in Hebrew"), a passage frequently quoted as a prologue to Wisdom. (See Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum* 468–70.) The reference to Ambrose and Bede apparently derives from something like (perhaps even a misunderstanding of?) Rabanus's preface (*PL* 109:671–72). Cf. "Frequenter quoque orthodoxi doctores eisdem sententiis in dogmatibus suis utuntur" (Also the orthodox fathers frequently cite its opinions in their writings about the faith), although "beatus Hieronymus asserit non a Salomone, ut usus habet, sed a Philone doctissimo Judeao fuisse conscriptum" (Saint Jerome asserts that Solomon did not compose the book, as common opinion has it, but Philo, the most learned of the Jews). In the passages we cite below, Ambrose and Bede do not address authorship directly, but refer to Wisdom as if it were a legitimate work of Solomon.

189–90 **secundum Ambrosium et auctorem Ecclesiastice historie.** Cf. Ambrose, *De paradiso* 1.6, 12.54 (*PL* 14.277, 301); the author of the Ecclesiastical History is probably not Bede, who is named in a number of places in the commentary, and who surely knew Jerome's universally accepted ascription of the book to Philo Judaeus—though Bede does include several passages from Wisdom in his *In proverbia Salomonis allegoricae interpretationes*; see *PL* 91.1060–62, 1064. Most likely the reference is to the Greek author Eusebius, whose work of that name is a central document of early Christian history, and who like others of his time (3rd c) uses the title "The Wisdom of Solomon" regularly in his works (though the book is not mentioned in the Ecclesiastical History). How his works were available in Latin to our author is not clear, however.

211 **Hic culpa . . . imputatur.** Alluding to Ezechiel 18.20. Cf. Langland's Wit on spiritual genetics, in passus B.9 and parallels.

223 **sagittam.** Perhaps a gloss that has intruded in the text.

232 **Augustinus, 19 De civitate 21.** *CCSL* 48, p. 689/63–65.

233 **ulla.** We emend to follow the text of Augustine.

236 **Gregorius, 4 Moralium.** 4.36.71 (p. 215/21–22), also cited *CA* 12:358a.

238 **Augustinus, Super Iohannem.** *MF* Peccatum b (*PL* 35.1385).

242 **Augustinus, 19 De civitate 15.** *CCSL* 48, p. 682/29.

250-51 **Adam . . . erit.** A leonine elegiac couplet; Walther, *Spr.* 519.
252 **Ieronimus, super illud Proverbiorum.** Epistola 79.7 (*PL* 22:729).
255 **preparent.** Jerome wrote *preberent*, perhaps to be emended in.
258 **Gregorius 14 Moralium.** 14.34.41 (p. 723/23-30).
260 **gravioris.** Gregory reads *graviori* "the graver punishment of sin."

3.

1 **Ysidorus, 9 libro 8.** 9.7.29. See Pratt's discussion of Chaucer's possible use of this passage from Isidore (cited Vol. 1, p. 94, n. 161) and Andrew Galloway's discussion of the positive values as argued in wedding sermons (Vol. 1, p. 41, n. 86). A number of the themes Galloway discusses are here reprised. The Isidorian passage is an utter commonplace. Lines 1-3 here, along with the neighboring locus in Isidore invoked at lines 96-117 below, are standard in the dictionaries; see Hugutio, s.v. *uxor*, U42.7; Balbus, s.v. *maritus*; and Papias, s.v. *uxores*.

8 **Seneca,** 10 **libro Rethorice sue.** *MF* Libertas g. The actual source is Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum* 34.

18 **parti 10.** At the very end (ff. 41v-42), the commentator explains "videto cui te des" ("Dissuasio" line 80) by citing 1 Cor. 7:4 (the *illum*, sc. *textum*, of line 19) and the glossa: "In hoc pares sunt vir et mulier, quia neque viro neque mulieri corpus suum licet alii tradere. Invicem enim sibi debitores sunt in hac causa, ne peccandi daretur occasio" (In this, husband and wife are equals, since neither one may licitly give his body to another. For they are debtors to one another so that there may be no opportunity for sin.) Cf. the Wife's discussion of the marriage debt at D 149-62 (and D 129-32 as well).

Parti is the author's standard ablative form when referring to the parts of his treatise; cf. 4.131.

42-43 **Augustinus, 3 De civitate 14.** *CCSL* 47, p. 77/55-56.

47-48 **secundum Philosophum, in Predicamentis.** *Categoriae* (pp. 41/5-8, 117/12-15).

50 **Hugutio.** F1.44.

51-52 **proprie consistit in factis.** Hugutio derives the word from *facere*.

59 **Ambrosius, 1 libro De officiis.** *MF* Mulier k. From Ambrose's *De paradiso*, PL 16.284. Note the implicit argument for true gentility, which Wife of Bath's Tale D 1109-76 knows from its statement in Dante.

67 **Hugo, super illud Ecclesiastes 7:[27].** Hugh of St Victor, *De vanitate mundi* (*PL* 176.708); he is not, however, commenting on Ecclesiastes, this verse or any other—though his whole subject, the vanity of the world, is the subject of Ecclesiastes.. Note the reliance on such Hieronymian rhetoric as lines 421-25 of our text of *Adversus Jovinianum* in vol. 1.

78 **Augustinus, Epistola 140.** *Ep.* 189.7, *PL* 33.856.

80 **Crisostomus, super illud Matthei 19[:10].** Cf. *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, hom. 32 (*PG* 56:803), cited *CA* 11:222a, where it immediately precedes the next citation.

84 **Secundum Ieronimum, Super Mattheum.** *Commentaria in evangelium Matthaei*, Bk. 3 (*PL* 26:135), cited *CA* 11:222a.

90 **Haymo.** *Enarratio* (*PL* 117:544); but he is parroting others: see Ambrosiaster, *PL* 17.218, Rabanus *PL* 112.64. Note our discussion of the use of this Pauline remark in Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*, vol. 1, pp. 23-24; Jerome offers a similar explanation (that Paul doesn't imply that it is good to be burnt) in *Epistola* 48 ("Ad Pammachium"), *PL* 22.506.

90 **vel.** Haymo reads *explere et*, the verb possibly suppressed as simply restating later *perpetrare*.

92 **quasi.** We emend manuscript *quia* to follow Haymo's text.

97 **Tribus de causis.** Isidore (9.7.27) repeats the standard teaching of Augustine, *De bono coniugali* (*PL* 40:373-96), a work written to complement the spare asceticism of Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*. See especially 3.2-3 (col. 375) for an explanation of the *bona coniugii*; the discussion in Mogan 1970,; and ParsT I 920. And see the Wife of Bath's interest in the first "gentil text"—although as it relates to husbands, not progeny—at D 26-29, 115-34.

119 **Crisostomus, super illud Matthei 19[:9].** *MF* Conjugium k, also cited *CA* 11:221b (Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, *PG* 56.802).

125-26 **Quem . . . inimicum**. "Quem felicitas amicum fecit, infortunium faciet inimicum," 3.p5.35-36.

127-28 **Fluctuat . . . amor.** An elegiac couplet, with internal rhyme in the hexameter; Walther, *Spr.* 9682 (with *sed verus* for *nec falsus*).

129-30 **Ieronimus, 1 libro Contra Iovinianum.** 1.49 (lines 355-59 of our edition in vol. 1).

131 **rem.** Jerome reads *o rem*; the ms. perhaps provides an example of haplography after *ideo*. In this and the following line, we emend the senseless reading of Lambeth 330 to accord with Jerome.

138 **Cassiodorus, in quadam epistola.** *MF* Amicitia al. Not found in Cassiodorus (or elsewhere). "Qui . . . diligit" is Prov 17.17.

143 **Hugutio:** L91.3.

4.

8-10 **in exhortacione mulierum . . . nociva.** Cf. *Troilus* 5:1779-85 and The Wife's Prologue D 865-72; also the similar point at lines 89-91 below. This vigorous defense of women and marriage draws on the standard arguments of "the case for women" summarized by Blamires 1997, p. 9, particularly by

exposing male moral tawdriness, rehabilitating Eve, and focusing on the positive accomplishments of women in history, Mary above all. But the insistence on the goodness of marriage is perhaps a special quality of this text. See our Introduction, pp. 7–8.

13–14 **Gregorius, 12 Moralium.** 12.42.47 (p. 656/3–4).

17 **Ambrosius, De patriarchis.** *MF* Discordia d (*PL* 14.465).

22 **Tullius, in prologo Rethorice.** *MF* Ira az, *De inventione* 1.15.

22 **perspicua.** *MF* and Cicero read *perspicue* "clearly desires peace," here perhaps attracted to the surrounding feminine forms.

27 **Hugo, De claustro anime.** *MF* Patientia ak. Not found in Hugh of Folieto, *De claustro animae* (*PL* 176.1071–1182).

31–42 **Sydonius . . . secundus.** This passage seems to have two sources. On the one hand, lines 32–39 agree with the original (Sidonius, *Epistolae* 2.1.2, 3) against *MF* Convitium r and u. The latter, for example, omits 32 Scitote . . . aperiri, 34 addicit ut iudex, and 36–38 Et . . . iubet. On the other hand, lines 40–42 Prodigus . . . secundus do not seem to occur in Sidonius at all (or anywhere else in the *PL* or CETEDOC texts; certainly not in the passage referred to by Thomas of Ireland, *Epistolae* 3.13, although that is a similar diatribe); and the commentary differs from the *MF* text only in supplying the clarifying 42 secundus. The commentator, then, may have had a manuscript of Sidonius, against which he checked the *MF* citation; but, not finding there the additional *MF* Convitium u, he simply copied it from *MF*.

38 **consilio²**. I.e., *concilio*, an unhappy use of the common alternation of c and s before a front vowel; cf. forcitan just below at line 45. (The Loeb Sidonius reads, unconvincingly to us, *concilio . . . consilio*.)

43 **Gregorius, 2 Pastoralis.** *MF* Patientia x. From Alulfus Tornacensis, *Expositio novi testamenti, PL* 79.1353.

48–49 **mali viri . . . perpetrant.** Cf. *The Legend of Good Women,* Prologue G 475–79 and the large number of legenda that bear out this assertion, e.g. Dido, Hypsipyle-Medea, Ariadne, Phyllis.

51 **Gregorius, 13 Moralium.** 13.17.20 (p. 680/9–10).

63 **Augustinus, Super Iohannem.** 33.5 (*PL* 35.1650), also cited *CA* 12:351b, where it immediately precedes the next citation.

66 **Gregorius, 14 Moralium.** 14.29.34 (p. 718/26–30); our citation text of Aquinas omits 68 *fortasse . . . debeat*.

75–76 **quorum . . . infinitus.** Cf. D 865–72, the Wife's response to the Friar's supercilious interruption. There is a play on Ecclesiastes 1.15, "Perversi difficile corriguntur, et stultorum infinitus est numerus"; cf. the friars without number at the end of *Piers Plowman*.

78 **Seneca, epistola 42:** *MF* Bonum c.

84–85 **Seneca, epistola 85.** *MF* Bonum d. It is actually Epistle 74.

89–90 **scriptor vel doctor mulierum.** See 8–10 and note above.

92 **secundum consilium Apostoli.** Cf. 1 Cor 11:11–12.

98–99 **quia quandoque mali sunt filii:** Contrast Theophrastus lines 74–77, and note the ironic use of Jerome to back up this point (cf. our Jerome edition, lines 241–45).

99 **Ieronimus in epistola ad Ruffinum.** *MF* Conjugium e. Only the second half of the quotation ("quia . . . virtutum") is Jerome (*Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum*, *PL* 23.372); for the first part, see Gratian, *PL* 187.307.

104 **Gregorius, 2 Pastoralis 28.** 3.27 (*PL* 77.104).

107 **set.** Gregory has *si*.

108 **duobus modis.** I.e., both for the generation of progeny and as a cure for sin.

109 **Augustinus, nono libro Super Genesim, capitulo 9.** 9.7.12 (*PL* 34.397).

117–18 **Unde . . . socia.** Cf. Parson's Tale I 928.

120 **Secundum Ieronimum.** Cf. *Commentaria in epistolam ad Ephesios*, Bk. 3 (*PL* 26.536), actually paraphrased rather than quoted here. Jerome wrote: "In proximo enim similitudo ponitur, ut sic eum diligas sicut te, et capias esse salvatum. In uxore autem comparationis adverbium sicut non similitudinem sed approbationem et confirmationem, cum quodam pondere sonat." ("In the verse about one's neighbor, the command is couched in a likeness so that if you love him just as you love yourself, you may seize salvation. But in the verse about one's wife, the comparative adverb sicut means not a likeness, but approval and confirmation, and means it with a certain weight.")

120 **in Evangelio.** Mt 19:19, 22:39.

122 **Augustinus, 19 De civitate 1.** *CCSL* 48, p. 658/75.

125–27 **Ita . . . supportacio.** An allusion to the commentator's "text" in the prologue, "Amicus fidelis, protectio fortis." At this point in the argument, he recasts the verse so that it applies to marriage, rather than to friendship.

131 **Alquinus.** Cf. *Commentaria in S. Ioannis evangelium* 2.6 (*PL* 100.786; from Bede, *PL* 92:675); also cited in *CA* 12:299a, where it is followed by the next two quotations (see 141n, 143n).

132 **integritate.** A reading perhaps attracted to *integritate* 133; both Bede and Alcuin read *castitate*. But see 227n below, which may suggest two stages of error—*castitate* producing a substitution *virginitate*, in turn misread as *integritate*.

134 **Bernardus.** Probably an error from expanding "Be.," i.e. "Beda," to whom Thomas attributes this quotation, *CA* 12:299a. Cf. Pseudo-Bede at *PL* 93.581.

136 **Theophilus.** Probably another scribal error, since Thomas, at *CA* 12:299a, ascribes the statement to the ninth-century Byzantine exegete Theophylactus.

140–42 **Maius . . . ministro.** A hexameter couplet; Cf. Walther, *Spr.* 14273a. For marriage as a sign of the union of Christ and the church, see Ephesians 22–32, the culminating verse of which our author cites in the next sentence.

Confirmation is "greatest in its minister" because it is conferred by a bishop; a proximity search in the *PL* online of "utrum" "sacramentum" "majus" reveals that ever since a decretal by Pope Melchiades in the fourth century it was common to declare that both baptism and confirmation are great but that confirmation is a little greater because it can only be conferred by a bishop.

144-45 **Augustinus, 14 De civitate 21, 22.** *CCSL* 48, pp. 443-44.

146-48 **Secundo . . . continentes.** Cf. Merchant's Tale E 2279-83.

154 **parti 10.** At the opening (ff. 39v-40), where the Virgin is excepted from the implication "optima nulla" of "Optima femina, que rarior est fenice" ("Dissuasio" lines 74-75).

155-56 **Augustinus . . . Domini.** *Sermo sup.* 123.2 (*PL* 39.1991).

159 **Eve dictum est.** Cf. Gen 3:16.

159-60 **ad virum conversacio tua.** Varying from Vulgate *sub viri potestate eris* "you shall be under your husband's power." Similarly inaccurate is *et tristicia* 159, an addition to the biblical text. For both phrases, see Pseudo-Bede, *Quaestiones super Genesim, PL* 93.282.

163 **donis.** Augustine reads *bonis*.

164 **divine.** The ms. adds *formam,* which does not occur in Augustine. The word is a scribal supply to provide a clear and proximate antecedent for the genitives.

164-65 **angelus salutasse.** Luke 1:28.

168 **prime.** Augustine reads *plenam*, i.e. "the full grace of God's love restored. " The word has been attracted to the preceding use of *prime*.

172 **benediccionem gracie.** Augustine reads *benedictionis gloriam,* i.e. "to have returned to the glory of God's blessing."

173-74 **Ieronimus in quodam sermone.** *MF* Maria r, with partial parallels to the first two clauses at *CA* 12:10a. For another discussion of Christ as head, Mary as neck, see Helinandus, Sermon 22, On the Nativity of the Blessed Mother, *PL* 212.667, discussing in a sermon Canticles 7.4, "Collum tuum sicut turris eburnea."

181-82 **Augustinus . . . Domini.** *Sermo sup.* 123.3 (*PL* 39.1991).

186 **concipientes . . . parturientes.** Rather than plural vocatives, in Augustine these words are genitive singulars in -is and thus modify the nouns that precede them.

197 **Ambrosius.** Not from a sermon but from Ambrose's commentary on Luke, *PL* 15.1562: "Sicut peccatum a mulieribus coepit: ita etiam bona a mulieribus inchoantur."

199 **Idem dicit.** Ambrose, *De institutione virginis* 17 (*PL* 16.330).

208 **conclusum.** The ms. reading is neither sensible nor readily correctible. The reference to Eve (*prima mulier*) seems to follow St Paul, who in the next three verses (1 Tm 2:13-15) explains the need to silence women in terms of the seduction of Eve in the garden. "Eidem conclusum fuit" ("it was closed off to

her") might then perhaps mean "she was immediately shut out" (of Paradise), or "she was immediately hemmed in" (by the three curses of Gen 3:16, before she could be inconstant in some way). Or perhaps the whole sentence just means, "Eve's reply (to God) was very brief." But that would bear no relation to the issue of changefulness.

213 **Benedicta tu in mulieribus.** Gabriel's words to Mary, Luke 1.28, repeated in the *Ave Maria*.

218 **Mariam.** I.e. Mary the prophetess, sister of Moses and Aaron.

219 **chorum virginum.** Cf. Apoc 14:3-4.

222-23 **Augustinus in quodam sermone.** 191.3.4 (*PL* 38.1011).

224 **salva.** Augustine reads "salva virginitate. Sola utrumque potuit, quorum vos unum habere voluistis: quia hoc perditis, si utrumque habere velitis. Sola utrumque potuit quia . . . " ("but in the virginity she preserved. She alone was able to do two things, of which you wished to have one: for you lose this one, should you wish to have both. She alone was able, because . . . ") There is conceivably an eyeskip, but, unlike the great majority of quotations in the commentary, this one is not composed of consecutive passages in the source, and the fusion of separate readings may be deliberate.

227 **virginitas.** Augustine reads *pia integritas*. Cf. 132n above.

232-33 **mulieres sancte et devote**. With this strong praise of the women around Christ, particularly after the resurrection, compare the eloquent celebration of Mary Magdalene's role after the resurrection, leading to a strong defense of women in general, in *The Southern Passion*, ll. 1849-1990. On Magdalene, see Blamires 1997, 108-12, 147-48, 190-91.

236 **Beda, super illud Luce.** *In Lucae evangelium expositio*, Bk. 6 (*PL* 92.622), cited *CA* 12:246a.

237 **Supra legimus.** At Luke 23:49.

241 **quedam . . . 23(:27).** Cited by *CA* 12:240b, as from Cyril of Alexandria (fl. s. v in.).

247-48 **Ieronimus, Super Matheum.** *Commentaria in evangelium Matthaei*, Bk. 4 (*PL* 26.215), cited *CA* 11:227b, on Matt 27:61.

252-53 **mulieres . . . annunciabant.** Cf. Melibee B2 2265.

253 **Glosa . . . (24:8-9).** Cited by *CA* 12:248a, again ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria. For Ademptum 268, Thomas reads Adeptum.

267 **Severianus.** From *CA* 11:329b, on Matt. 28:1. Severian was bishop of Gabala and a contemporary (s. iv ex.), both friend and foe, of Chrysostom; most of the surviving fragments of his work circulated with works of Chrysostom; see Johannes Quasten, *Patrology,* 3:484-86. Here, as elsewhere in *CA*, Thomas follows an ascription to him of a sermon actually by his younger contemporary Petrus Chrysologus; this is Sermon 74, Peter's second on the Resurrection, *PL* 52.409; the ascriptions to Severianus are discussed by the *PL* editor at 52.181-82. See Dekkers and Gaar, *Clavis patrum* 227 and the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, ad loca. For

the running, see Matt 28.8.

273 **Beda, super illud Marci 16(:9).** *In Marci evangelium expositio*, Bk. 4 (*PL* 92.297), cited *CA* 11:439b.

280 **Ieronimus.** Pseudo-Jerome, *Commentarius in evangelium secundum Marcum* (*PL* 30.641), cited *CA* 11:438b.

287 **Bernardus, omelia 3, *Super "Missus."*** *De laudibus virginis matris,* Hom. 4.6 (*PL* 183.82).

288 **ipsam . . . ut.** Bernard reads *rerum tempus et ordinem tenens, ipsa*.

290 **Et idem.** Eadmer of Canterbury, *De quattuor virtutibus Beatae Mariae*, 3 (*PL* 159.582).

296 **masculum et feminam creavit.** Contrast the appendix to the selections from Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum* in Vol. 1, pp. 190–93.

297 **in figuram.** Not, apparently, a standard thing to say, but Rupert of Deutz, *De trinitate et operibus ejus, PL* 167.343 says that Noah's taking both clean and unclean animals "figures the multitude of the elect, drawn from both Jews and Gentiles." He then quotes Peter's dream of diverse animals in Acts 10, and continues: "Igitur et hic ubi tam de mundis quam de immundis animantibus masculus et femina in arcam jubentur admitti, jam illud Deus praesignavit, quod postea Petro ostendit, scilicet, nullum genus hominum a gratia Dei rejici, sed Creatori omnium acceptam fore fidem vel conversionem cunctorum" (Here too, where male and female of both clean and unclean animals are commanded to be brought into the ark, God himself now has foreshown what he later showed to Peter, namely that no race of mankind is turned away from the grace of God, but to the Creator of all the faith or the conversion of all will be acceptable).

A completely different understanding of the separate mention of male and female is the tradition that Noah prohibited sex in the ark, a tradition alluded to at Miller's Tale A 3589–91 and known to Peter Comestor (*PL* 198.1083) and Peter of Riga (*Aurora* 1.587–88: "Nominat inde viros, hinc uxores, quasi dicit:/'Non amat amplexus temporis hora mali.'"); see Friedman 1992: 176 n42. See also Kolve 1984:198 and Allen 1949:72.

COMMENTARY SEVEN: ENEAS OF SIENA

The letter **v** after a lemma means "Variants"

2 **Incipit . . . Rufinum.** SM^{1}M^{2}St instead read "Incipit epistola Valerii Maximi ad Rufinum amicum suum ne uxorem ducat." Their text then begins, "Hec est epistola Valerii Maximi oratoris eximii quam scribit ad Ruffinum adolescentem, amicum suum, in qua nititur ipsum Ruffinum retrahere a suo proposito, dissuadet namque ipsi uxorem ne ducat. Et primo premittit . . ." (pick-

ing up at this point the text as in line 1). G has the rubric "Epistola maximi Valerii oratoris incipit feliciter" (cf. BeH^{1}H^2 "Valerius Maximus oratoris primarii epistola") but begins as B.

13v **ulule.** Cf. with the V interlinear gloss that of SH^{1}M^{1}M^{2}St: "illius avis nocticoracis."

15 **luctuose.** WK gloss "lugubriter."

15 **animalibus.** V "avibus" may be correct; more likely, it is either an outright (and obvious) substitution or a simplification based on the abbreviated form "alib3." WK omit the end of this gloss.

19-20 **id est delectacionis.** Only in VW; the other mss. have two glosses that contrast the type of man to which each noun refers. S, for example, glosses *voluptatis* "quod adulatoris proprium est" and *veritatis* "quod proprium est honesti viri"; the first gloss helps set up the various explanations at line 28 and further 52 *olores*, glossed "adulatores" everywhere except in BV.

21v **Dicit Uguitio.** See Hugutio A46.14, though there is no mention of singing early.

26v **gnatones.** With the extra V marginal gloss, cf. the reading of BeH^{1}M^{1}M^{2}St: "Gnato persona est qui introducitur in Terencio et accipitur hic pro adulatore in communi."

28 **delectacione.** So VWK; cf. SGH^{1}H^{2}M^{1}M^2 "dulcedine."

29 **ad quam.** I.e., *suavitatem*; "ad quam anhelas et suspiras" glosses *suspirate*. W follows S and similar mss. in having after 27 *Circen* the gloss "mulierem (illam m. S) quam (ad quam S) anhelas." Cf. also the V reading "diligis mulierem Circen," which makes clear that Circe refers to Rufinus's fiancée.

30 **Circes.** We emend B *Circen* to the correct V nominative "Circes"; cf. the Berlin scribe's knowledge of the rest of the paradigm, 27 *Circen* accusative and 69 *Circes* genitive. But it remains possible that Eneas may have thought *Circen* the nominative; cf. the opening of the gloss in St, "Circen est nomen proprium dee. . . ."

34 **impetum spiritus.** Glossed in SGH^{1}H^{2}M^{1}M^2 "vehementiam" (sc. desiderii) or "vehemens desiderium."

38v **Unde Terencius.** V is here citing *Andria* 95.

41 **advertas.** The second person parallels *nauseas* in the preceding line and is in the form of Valerius's address to Rufinus.

47 **quasi.** Either Eneas is focusing on the literal meaning of *obsideo*: they were "as it were sitting in front of the Capitol," i.e., actually attacking it, or, since *obsideo* can also mean "occupy," he means they had "all but occupied" it.

50 **tamen . . . anseris.** The reading is also paralleled in WK.

52v **delectant.** The word *organizant* in the Valerius text is glossed variously in the manuscripts: besides V's "suadent," cf. WK "canunt," SH^{1}H^{2}St "cantant," M^{1}M^2 "prenunciant." These readings suggest that B *delectant* was originally also a gloss to *organizant*, a word now no longer in the text.

60-63 **Ideo . . . facere.** Though a pejorative meaning for *devovere* is well attested (*DML*, s.v. devovere 7,8), it is not for *deservire* (none in *DML*); however, see Hugutio, whose definition reads "valde vel devote servire, vel offendere" (S99.10).

71 **voraginem.** The gloss here perhaps shows Eneas at his best, in his concentration on Map's moral sense. However, here the moral focus may miss part of Map's wit—which apparently coalesces the Sirens' reef with the whirlpool Charybdis. Not all those who transmitted the commentary appreciated the more usual double focus of the analysis (both mythography and moral sense); cf. the note to 283 below.

73 **eructacionis.** Clearly a lectio difficilior, also in WK and SBeG. Similarly at line 75, V offers the easier reading *immersit*, against B *interemit*.

74 **stetit . . . tempore.** Besides V, also in WK and most S-type texts. In contrast, the obvious gloss "quidam philosophus" is unique to V, although $BeH^1M^1M^2St$ gloss 72 *Enpedoclis* "philosophi."

76 **mausoleum.** Both here, in Valerius (see lines 36-37), and in Jerome's discussion of Artemesia (see lines 141-47), medieval scribes had some doubts about the form: was it to be *mausoleum, mauseolum, mansoleum*, or *manseolum*? Here H^2 insists on the last form in its gloss "mansionem diminutivam" (cf. G, which connects the word with *maneo*, and M^1M^2St, which connects it to *moneo*). St, which regularly dots u, interprets the word as having n.

79 **ad.** This does not reflect an unrecorded variant for Map's *in*, but is included to parallel *ad* in the paraphrase of 78. Such paraphrasing variants occur with considerable frequency.

83 **iusta . . . iniusta.** Although lacking in V, the gloss appears in WK and there are parallels ("iusta . . . obliqua") in the other manuscripts.

83-84 **Si . . . curo.** B is supported in this reading by WK.

93-94 **A matre scilicet Eva.** As the variants show, we conflate B and V to produce this conjecture.

100 **vicia.** The word perhaps is to be interpreted as glossing Map's *scandala*, which should be supplied. The Seneca quoted in V is *Hercules furens* 208-9.

124 **et comburi.** The phrase also occurs in Bo and is implied by the conclusion of the sentence.

131 **flumen Padi.** "The river Po," in memory and explanation of the poetic name "Eridanus" at Metamorphoses 2:324. The passage contains other reminiscences of the Ovidian source; cf. lines 124-27 with Metamorphoses 2:285-89: "Are these the fruits, this the honor you return to me for my fertility and my dutifulness, that I bear the wounds the hooked plow and mattocks inflict and am vexed by them every year, that I provide green leaves and mild foods for the herd, grain for the human race, as well as incense for you?" ("hosne mihi fructus, hunc fertilitatis honorem / officiique refers, quod adunci vulnera aratri / rastrorumque fero totoque exerceor anno, / quod pecori frondes alimentaque

mitia, fruges / humano generi, vobis quoque tura ministro?").

132-33 **cuiusdam.** This empty word is probably the B scribe's effort at avoiding a reading the scribe of V found clear, Thesalie (cf. Seneca, *Phaedra* 296; or Servius, *In Georgicis* 3:2 [3:271]). All S-type manuscripts have a more extensive gloss: "Apollo, quia pastorem quendam morti adiudicaverat, detrusus est per Iovem e consilio deorum in exilium, et factus pastor ad longa tempora pascebat greges regis Admeti" (St adds "cuius memorat Teodolus"; see our note to "Dissuasio" 72, Vol. 1, p. 204). The reference in "pastorem . . . adiucaverat" is baffling; Apollo was made Admetus's shepherd for killing the Cyclopes, as Theodulus knew.

134 **prenunciator.** Probably to be translated "herald," in the sense of someone who prepares the way for another; cf. V's roughly similar gloss "incepit" for the verb at 187 below. But Eneas may have in mind an implicit comparison with the relationship between John the Baptist and Christ, as in John 1.

143v **sciamina.** Simply an apocopated and metathesized form of (e)xamina. A somewhat different problem with Latin x, here consonantal syncope, produces 482 expuma, i.e. ex spuma.

145 **multitudo . . . apum.** Cf. Balbus: "examen dicitur iudicium, discretio, probacio, inquisicio. Examen etiam dicitur apum congregacio et per translacionem hominum."

148 **proverbium.** The purpose of the gloss is to contrast prudential wisdom with serious moral thinking; on that basis, V's coupling of *phylosophicum* with *proverbium* would seem wrong, although it may simply be there to acknowledge that the proverb comes from the *Disticha Catonis*. The import of the whole gloss would then be, "Although 'Videto cui des' is a philosophic proverb, 'Videto cui te des' is a moral idea."

149-51 **quia . . . des.** Unlike V, WK and Bo have the gloss.

154 **Lucrecia.** We emend this scribal confusion (see Variants). Eneas-Paul split the compound subject of *tulerunt* by intruding a gloss and thus created an apparent lack of concord. Some scribe in the tradition behind B saw the plural verb and assumed its subject was the most proximate plural noun, *vexilla* (in fact, accusative); to facilitate this reading, he converted Lucrecia into an accusative object.

154 **Valerius.** At *Facta et dicta* 6.1.1; *libro 4* is an error, though *capitulo de pudicicia* is not.

155 **que . . . reducit.** A touch of Jerome's rhetoric at the end of *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.49 (lines 364-76 of our edition in Vol. 1).

157 **nunquam:** Presumably to be understood in the context of *per . . . obsidionem* rather than literally.

158-59 **Sabinis . . . violenter.** S-type manuscripts have a much more extensive explanation, parallel to Ridewall's: after their Sabine fathers attacked the Romans, "sparsis capillis, oculis lacrimantibus, puelle Sabine Romam exiverunt

et inter medios gladios pugnantium se ceperant (for -unt?), ut tandem bellum dirimerent, id est interciperetur (most copies omit the phrase), cuius meminit Iuvenalis." Most of these mss. cite the Juvenalian source, *Satyra* 6:163-64: "chaster than any Sabine woman, who puts an end to war with her disheveled hair." ("Intactior omni / crinibus effusis bellum dirimente Sabina.")

161 **in.** The manuscript placement before *Mira* does not seem sensible; we return to the form "in acies", attested in "Dissuasio" line 84 and the reading of H^1H^2. The interpretation of Cirane as yet another evil woman (cf. 167) is carried still further in S and its near congeners; there scribal error apparently converted Cirane into Arachne (through the suggestive form Arane). The lengthy gloss in these manuscripts, although communicating basic mythological information (based on Metamorphoses 6:1-145), fails to explain how Arachne was a woman who visited evil on men, only stating rather lamely that she was "multum litigiosa et garrula."

174-75 **secundum veritatem . . . et secundum fabulas.** Although the reading is somewhat awkward, B seems essentially right. If Eneas does intend a distinction between truth and fables, the point can be sharpened by transposing the phrase "Et secundum fabulas": "terrenus; fuit enim rex Cretensis. Et secundum fabulas postea pre . . ." V says something entirely different: that in truth Jove was king of Crete, but in fable the king of heaven (i.e., "secundum fabulas" glosses *rex celorum dictus est*).

177 **mugire.** With the V gloss cf. the gloss of SGH^1M^2, "Europam filiam Agnemenis regis quam decepit specie bovis, de quo ad longum habetur in iio Metamorphosios;" cf. verses 834-75.

182 **et . . . diligebat.** B is shockingly blunt—he pointed to his erection—though the competing variant, V "et asportavit eam," fixes more aptly on the quintessential motif of the tale, the bull's abduction of Europa.

189 **Licia.** Apparently for Ovid's Clytie (*Metamorphoses* 4:206, 234, 256), Phoebus's girlfriend who causes Leucothoe's death only indirectly: out of jealousy she reveals the girl's affair to her vindictive father (cf. especially *Metamorphoses* 4:234-40). B "amica" is probably a scribal reflex of the harder authorial reading, V *amasia*.

197 **lumen . . . tenebre.** Accurately glossed "sapiencia . . . ignorancia" in S and its closer relatives.

203-4 **Vulcanus est ignis.** Eneas-Paul here follow Valerius's euhemerism (see "Dissuasio," lines 184-87), and the association with fire is further developed in lines 214-16 below. Contrast the etymological explanation of line 396 (and see our note).

210-11 **licet . . . ducendam.** Though you haven't married her yet, you are engaged to marry her. **Affiteris** = affideris; see *DML*, s.v. affido, to pledge on oath, betroth.

213 **Matrimonium . . . indissolubile.** The phrase *matrimonii vinculum*

(or *vincula*) is common, as are various statements of its indissolubility. E.g., Bonaventure, *Sermones* 2.38, "In matrimonio corporali est vinculum indissolubile." Contrast the historical information of line 348-49.

219 **nec.** Perhaps one should add the noun *dea*, in order to provide the text glossed by the word "Minerva."

219 **dignata est cubili.** The V gloss "verba Virgilii" refers to *Eclogues* 4.63.

222 **pedes.** The V addition "sicut lorum," as a hobble (twists the feet), is perhaps correct.

223 **habere prudenciam et discrecionem.** Probably from a gloss to either Lev 11:3 or Deut 14:6. Cf. the ordinary gloss for the second of these passages (*PL* 113:464):"qui ungulam findunt, qui discretionem boni et mali habere sciunt" (those who divide the hoof are those who know how to distinguish between good and evil).

225-26 **ceci . . . secuntur.** Follows on the connection of the cloven hoof and prudence in line 223, while harking back to Valerius's early identification of himself, against the here blind *persuasores*, as a prophetic figure.

233 **dedit.** Bo adds the clarifying, but easier, reading *eis*. For the earlier *nolens*, the fuller version of V provides a more explicit and clearer transition (cf. Bo "ipse autem noluit sed").

233-34 **et . . . se.** In the V variant, "robat" should probably be taken as an error for *rogabat*, the reading of Bo. But conceivably, Eneas-Paul intended *roborabat*, simplified by haplography.

236 **iudex.** On the basis of V and W ("Et tunc iste Paris iudex"), we emend the vapid B *videns*. But this remains only a minimal correction, since BW *et tunc* may reflect a reading like that in V.

238 **sapienciam sine delectacione.** We correct B, which says the opposite of what Valerius and Eneas-Paul surely meant, to a sensible, although unsupported, reading. Cf. the V gloss at this point, paralleled in $SH^1H^2M^1M^2$. Another possible emendation would be "non delectacionem sed sapienciam." But conceivably B has collapsed a much more extensive reading, e.g. "non delectare, id est dare delectacionem sine sapiencia, sed prodesse, id est dare sapienciam sine delectacione."

241 **fastidienti.** Accompanied by a rich variety of glosses in most of the manuscripts related to S (which has "inquiete moleste"); but of texts closely related to B only W has a gloss: "tediose."

244-45 **oportet . . . mentis.** The gloss in fact explains 249 *Similes . . . claros*. Here WK gloss "quasi diceret, 'similes oportet esse effectus suis causis,'" a reading agreeing with S and its congeners. Such readings imply that WK are indeed intermediaries between the Italian copies (VB) and those of the German recension.

250 **strumosa.** The VV1 gloss "gomba" (for *gamba* "leg"?) may be an error; cf. the opening of the gloss in GH^1, "Struma tumor vel elevatio est in gula vel

etiam in spatulis . . ." or Hugutio's "Struma est gibbus in pectore . . ." (S334.2).

251 **spatulas.** shoulders (Latham, 1965, s.v. spatha).

252 **tuum:** S and its relatives have the more expansive "tuum qui ornatu gaudet."

260-61 **et amicorum . . . nolle.** "And (since) it is a property of friends to wish and not wish the same thing."

266-67 **bambacillum.** Glossed in SGHI as purple or silk cloth worn by women at the breast as a decoration. Perhaps because of the scribal error converting *cerusam* into *cerulam*, Map's cosmetic sense has been lost in the more general sense of brightly colored (and thus ornamental) silken cloths. These same mss. have *interulam* instead of *cerulam*, which they gloss as a kind of pretty bra before explaining the transference to language: "mulierum camisiam pectoralem, que mammas mulierum stringit subtilissimis et tenuissimis filis contextam. Transsumit tamen hic ad colores verborum et ornatum dictionum." See also Hugutio B86.2-3, under *bombus*.

273 **strictus.** This substitution for Map's *arctus*, surely originating as a gloss, also occurs in the Map-text in V and S.

275 **Virgilius in Bucolicis.** See *Ecloga* 1.66. Note also Eneas's apparent reference to *De bellis Gallicis*; other intruded bits of historical knowledge occur at lines 292-93, 339-40, 348-49, 430-33, and 658 (see the note).

278 **expendit.** "Weighs out, measures." "Trahit" 280 is roughly synonymous. V "exstendit" we take to be scribal, the easier reading.

279 **et precidit filum.** V's clause is surely necessary for the parallelism; moreover, the clause occurs in the only related ms. offering a gloss here, Bo.

280-81 **Unde . . . occat.** Walther, *Spr.* 2879b; *Graecismus* 7.45, quoted also in *Grues*, Trivet, and Lambeth 330; see Trivet 905n.

283 **precidere et finire.** WK have "precidere" only, probably to reduce the apparent anacoluthon involved in a gloss that joins both Map's literal and figurative senses—"precidere" (sc. filum) "et finire" (sc. vitam).

284, 286 **Spurine, domo Calvini.** The details come directly from the cited source, Valerius Maximus (here *Facta et dicta* 8.9.2).

285 **id est prenuncianti.** Although lacking in V, also in WK.

286-88 **Stilus . . . acutum.** From Papias: "Stilus graphium quo in tabulis scribitur; ponitur etiam pro ipsa scriptura, quae ex eo fit, vel aliquid longum et acutum, quia stilos grece longum; inde graphium scriptura eloquium" (p. X6vb).

291 **ei.** This V reading is the reading of Map's text and required by context. *Eis* has developed in the scribal tradition through the attraction of the subsequent forms ending in -s. Eneas has clearly understood "dare penas" to mean "punish" rather than "make amends," and is thus forced to add *non* 291.

300 **scilicet a Iasone.** The gloss clearly refers to *spreta* and in fact is placed next to it in VWK and H^2.

302 **nam . . . naufragos.** WK agree with B against V here (but have *in* for

ad).

316 **id est voluntarie.** Although absent in V, the gloss is probably authorial; it occurs in WK, H^1, and M^2; S and H^2 have the synonymous "sponte," M^1 the combined reading "sponte vel voluntarie."

320–21 **Nam . . . cautum.** WK (along with S and H^1) have instead: "Quasi diceret, 'ille qui corrigitur, viso periculo alieno, corrigit se sine suo dampno.'" With B's proverbial utterance, felix . . . cautum, a hexameter, cf. Walther, *Spr.* 8952. Trivet has it also at line 1069, commenting on the same line of Map's; see our note there.

321 **eorum.** Perhaps misplaced from *exemplaria*, since it weakens the sense; but perhaps an accidental scribal repetition of *eorum* 320. Cf. "aliorum" glossing *exemplaria* in SH^2M^1.

325 **securi.** The gloss in the text essentially paraphrases Papias, "Asylum templum quod Remus et Romulus condiderunt, ad quod quicunque confugeret ab omni noxa liber esset" (p. C1ra). S and its closer relations have a much more extensive conclusion, in the main corresponding to Balbus's explanation (which also cites Papias): "et fecit in hunc finem, ut ocius Romam edificaret. Et dicitur [sc. asylum] ab 'a,' quod est 'sine,' et 'zelon' 'tractus,' quia non erit licitum aliquem trahere de asilo ad iudicium, et est neutri generis. Sed asilus, generis masculini, musca grandis est, que alio nomine dicitur 'hoester,' et dicitur ab 'a,' quod est 'sine,' et 'zilon' 'tractus vel tactus' per contrarium, quia pecudes morsu eius valde tangit. Asilum etiam neutri generis dicitur opitulamen, unde versus, 'Turbat asilus apes, miseris succur[ri]t [S succurat] asilum' [Eberhard, *Graecismus* 12.316]. Huius meminit Iuvenalis in satira 31." The reference is in fact to *Satirae* 8.272–73: "Nevertheless, however far you trace backward your name and however far you rewind (the scroll of your ancestry), you draw forth your family line from an asylum of ill fame." ("et tamen, ut longe repetas longeque revolvas / nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo.") The lines are cited in SGH^1.

329 **post digressionem.** Answers 240 *Disgreditur*, although Eneas overlooks Map's shrewd effort to connect voices of doom in the Capitoline, the heeded goose (above, lines 48–54) and ignored prophet. Eneas essentially places the rhetorical norm of the text, its propositum, precisely in the antimatrimonial logic of *Adversus Jovinianum*, profuseness of exemplification. Cf. the reference to "exemplum vel fabulam" at line 636.

330–31 **ab . . . forum.** From Isidore, *Etymologiae* 18.15.

337 **sciunt.** WK gloss "per experienciam."

339–41 **Iste . . . imperator.** Although WK confirm the reading of B, cf. the reading of Bo, "Iste imperator Valentinus . . . carens, non invenitur . . . imperatorum, quia non fuit imperator, sed princeps exercitus, qui etiam dicebatur imperator a militibus suis in negotio bellorum."

347 **volendo . . . ducere.** The glosses of the S-type copies simply define the final word of the text lemma—"inivisti" (SGH^1H^2), "confederasti" (M^1).

360 **Ispanus.** Cf. 432, where the North-African city Utica is likewise identified as *civitatem Ispanie*. Perhaps Eneas had the idea that North Africa belonged to Spain. However, S and its relatives gloss the ablative Livio Peno "affrico" (SM^1M^2), "affricano" (GH^1), "affricano nativitate" (H^2).

371-73 **per . . . nostram.** S and its family offer a more extensive version of this material, one that also explains the alternation between *iecur* and *cor*: "per cor [sic, *for* iecur?] intelligatur concupiscentia, et quando Ticius amat Iunonem, non amat eam corde vel iecure lacero, hoc est amore sparso, sed unico et cordiali, et eodem modo dumtaxat philosophiam participare poteris" (the heart [liver?] stands for concupiscence, and when Tityos loves Juno, he does not love her with a heart or liver that is torn, that is, with a love that is scattered, but with one that is warm and single, and in the same way [i.e., in your scattered way] you can share our philosophy only to an extent). In Berlin 540, "sic et tu philosophiam nostram" is cryptic; it has to mean "and you (love) our philosophy thus (i.e., with a scattered love)." Ridewall 474-86 makes the same point much more clearly.

376-77 **id est vicissitudines.** With the exception of the V reading (shared by V1) and the absence of any gloss in G, this explanation appears universally.

381 **delicati.** In S-type mss. *deliciata*, glossed "voluptuata."

394 **testiculos fractos.** For *testiculos*, see the textual variants to "Dissuasio" 190-91, which show that *testiculis* is a frequent error for *resticulis*; but *fractos* is probably a gloss to an original *ruptos* that has dropped out.

396 **quia ignis mulcet.** Substantially the etymology offered by Balbus, s.v. *mulciber* and *mulcifer*.

403 **tu contra.** "You, against (the dictates of) philosophy, have chosen that, to have a single wife." Although the clause may be marginally comprehensible as written, the emendation brings it into a clear contrast with the first half of the sentence. We suppose that a form such as *tu*9a may have been interpreted as *tua*3.

409 **Pacuvius.** Arguably B has eyeskipped from the short title lemma for the paragraph to the citation of the textual lemma itself; cf. 419 *Sensit Sulpicius* and the restatement of the text of the "Dissuasio" in 425-26. WK and Bo support such a view by including the introductory explanation, "Ponit aliud exemplum, et directum est contra illos (illud W) qui habent uxores."

415 **des.** Cf. W's gloss, "aliter literalis 'dede mihi,' et est verbum comicum" (i.e., humorously portentous: "give some up, bring yourself to part with some—a shade of meaning we missed in our simple translation "give"). K has only "verbum comicum." B's omission of Map's word, giving only the gloss "des," is perhaps an error.

432 **civitatem Ispanie.** See our note to line 360.

450 **Loicum.** I.e., logicum, a common late medieval spelling; see *DML*, s.v. logos.

450 **Nam.** Yet another occasion where B appears to have simplified by

omission. B's paraphrase appears both to support and invert Map's statement; the first sentence makes good sense only in the context of preceding materials provided by WK: "Aristoteles in libro Topicorum ponit quod 'talia sunt subiecta, qualia permittuntur a predicatis.' Ideo hic male allegat, nam . . ." However, even adding this material does not bring the first and second sentences into accord, unless one assumes that the second sentence offers a neutral reading of Valerius's (ironic) text. See further our note to the "Dissuasio," lines 220–21.

454 **facecia.** The definition provided quite silently reproduces Hugutio; cf. Lambeth 330, 3.50–51.

477 **penitencia.** The V gloss here cites *Consolatio* 3.p 7.1–2.

481 **prima.** The gloss implies that Eneas cited more of Map's text than is reproduced here: *Lucilia suum quem nimis amavit*. B has eyeskipped *(Luc)ilia . . . illa*.

481–83 **id . . . Ponto.** This gloss is derived, not from Virgil, but from Servius *In Georgicis* 2:152 ("Nor does aconite deceive those miserable men who pick it" ["nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis"]): "This herb aconite, it is said, had its origin in Cerberus's slavering, when Hercules drew him from the underworld. And because it grows among rocks and flints, it is called aconite as if it came *a cote* 'from flint.'" ("Haec autem herba [aconita] nata dicitur de spumis Cerberi, quo tempore eum Hercules ab inferis traxit. Quae quia in saxis et cotibus nascitur, aconiton dicitur απο τησ ακονησ, id est a cote" [3:234].) But the "brevis expositio" of the Georgics derived from Servius (3:295) apparently misread the transliterated Greek, *apo tes acones*, as if it were "a Ponti saxoso" or something similar: "Aconita enim herbae quaedam in Ponto sine terra in saxis natae." ("Aconite means certain herbs that grow in the area around the Black Sea and among stones, without soil.")

495 **audax.** W glosses "femina."

499 **exibis.** Perhaps an error, since it would be more in keeping with the decorum of glosses to give a synonym, such as. WKSG "evades"; but perhaps Eneas, with his interest in major issues, did indeed repeat Map's *exibis*, and the WKSG gloss represents the later development in the direction of extensive detail that Eneas's text underwent.

502 **uxor Herculis:** V's Ovidian citation comes from *Heroides* 9:146.

504 **Nexum cemtaurum.** The omission of B *et* follows the more sensible reading of WK. We retain the extra minim in the following noun, on the assumption that the nasals *m* and *n* may have been interchangeable in the word in the scribe's dialect, though ordinarily m replaces n only before a bilabial.

511 **sibi.** I.e., to Hercules.

512 **Et.** B might profit by adding further explanation of the type provided by S and its relations: "Post longa tempora, dimissa Deianara, Hercules petivit Hialem, filiam regis Tesonie, quare Deianara, indignata, misit Herculi interulam, hoc est camisiam sericam. . . ." Possibly B eyeskipped on the two forms of *mittere,*

dimissa and *misit*.

514 **a quodam monte dicebatur.** From Papias: "Tyrinthus mons est, unde Tirynthius Hercules dicitur" (p. Z1rb).

524 **non sponte.** a common corruption of Map's *sponte*, kinder to Deianira. **quem:** WK gloss "Herculem." **interula:** WK gloss "camisia."

526 **non regulatur.** The WK gloss, "non libratur nec regulatur," may well be by Eneas, since it makes some effort at explaining the difficult reading of Map's text.

529-30 **Alcides . . . probus.** The explanation of the name follows the etymology proposed by Hugutio (A142.1): "Alce means 'fortitude or strength or virtue'; from this word and from the word ydos, that is 'beauty,' Hercules is called Alcides, that is strong and beautiful, or he is called that to indicate his descent from Alceus, his grandfather." ("Alce interpretatur 'fortitudo seu virtus'; a quo et ydos, quod est 'forma,' dicitur Herculis Alcides, id est fortis et formosus, vel ab Alceo avo.")

532 **Boecius.** At 4.m7.13-35.

536 **fortissimus.** WK (and S with its fellows) gloss "Hercules."

538 **dampnum.** The reading of WK, the omission of which renders B virtually meaningless.

542 **procuratorem.** An understandable corruption of Map's *precatorem*, perhaps influenced by Theophrastus, *Liber de nuptiis* 32; V *procatorem* makes no sense, though since its gloss *amasium* does, it is probably a simple scribal error for *precatorem*.

543 **perseveret.** B *senserat* adds nothing to the sense, which appears to require a verb with a sense like "keep on." WK evade the problem by omitting the clause altogether.

555 **Terentius.** See *Eunuchus* 585.

563 **Licia.** See the variants to Map's text, line 276. All the glossed manuscripts that we collated have the name as Licia rather than Periccion.

564 **quia . . . consensit.** This etymology of the name Periccion/Periction or, as spelled here, Periseon, without parallel in the dictionaries, apparently is Eneas's gloss of Map's text fama castitatis privilegiata. Greek *perissos* means "remarkable, eminent."

566 **incubis.** Note that Chaucer's Wife at D 880 talks about an incubus as if a woodland fairy; see further Robinson's note. Medieval lore on the subject apparently stems from Augustine, *De Civitate* 15.23, a discussion of Gen 6:1-4 that poohpoohs the notion of demonic cohabitation. But a brief piece of Augustine's discussion (489/6-10) was cribbed by Isidore at *Etymologiae* 8.11.103-4 and consequently, became a commonplace: "Satyrs are called children of Pan in Greek but incubi in Latin; also, the Latins call them impregnators because they couple everywhere with animals. And they are called incubi from incumbere 'lie with,' that is 'debauch.' For such wanton beings often appear to women also and possess

them with violence. The Gauls call such demons Dusii, because they tirelessly carry out this impure act. What people commonly call an incubus, the Romans call a fig Faun." ("Pilosi, qui Graece Panitae, Latine Incubi appellantur, sive Inui ab ineundo passim cum animalibus. Vnde et Incubi dicuntur ab incumbendo, hoc est stuprando. Saepe enim inprobi existunt etiam mulieribus, et earum peragunt concubitum: quos daemones Galli Dusios vocant, quia assidue hanc peragunt inmunditiam. Quem autem vulgo Incubonem vocant, hunc Romani Faunum ficarium dicunt.") "Pilosi" appear in Isa. 13:21, where the glossa (*PL* 113:1252) connects them with "satyri" and "incubones."

580 **esse.** WK add *christiano*, which seems necessary to the sense.

583 **de urtica.** As elsewhere in B, a potentially unique variant in Map's text—*de urtica* for *ex urtica*—proves illusory. Here the commentary simply regularizes the diverse prepositions in the sentence, using the phrases *de petra* and *de saxo* as a standard on which to base parallelism.

587 **Christus.** The V form—*ipse* glossed "Christus"—also occurs in W and M^1 (cf. *ipse* glossed "Deus" in SGH^1H^2). Such variation indicates that B probably errs. However, similar readings appear in the textual tradition of Map's "Dissuasio" itself; cf. the variants at line 289 of the text in Vol. 1.

588 **ovis.** WK have the correct *vermis* ("Dissuasio" 290; see our note to the line), which they gloss "quia nascitur sive natus sine concubitu, incedit sine strepitu, moritur sine reluctu, ita enim Christus." This explanation seems to build on Isidore, *Etymologiae* 12.5.1 and 12.5.19.

588 **aliquam . . . animalia.** WK read "proprietates in Christo repertas."

598 **Illi.** $SGH^1M^1M^2$ emerge from their usual pettiness to offer a textual summary with an Eneas-like smack: "Ponit Valerius nimiam diligenciam atque studium sollicitum gentilium ut abducat Ruffinum a suo proposito."

600 **divina pagina.** WK gloss "sacra scriptura" (and gloss *cuius* "pagine").

611 **veris.** Perhaps an error for *Veneris*, although "wild grapes of spring" would fit the context, and be equally eligible for the subsequent gloss "operibus carnalibus."

614–15 **veste . . . caritatis.** Charity is the standard interpretation of the wedding garment in the parable of the marriage feast , Matt 22.11–12. See, e.g., Honorius Augustodensis, *Speculum ecclesiae* (*PL* 172.1063), "Vestis namque nuptialis est caritas."

616 **fescinninas.** The gloss we print as Eneas's accords with our three preferred dictionaries. But WK gloss "Fescinnine, -arum pluralis, compositus a 'festi cantus.'"

617, 618 **Stillon.** I.e., Stilbon.

617–18 **qui . . . eius.** WK read "quasi stillans bona"; cf. Trivet 1709 and Hugutio S.320.4.

620–21 **quia² . . . uxoratus.** B's gloss recalls directly Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, "dea sapientie." This fact, conjoined with its

interest in continuing the explanation of *uxoratus*, means that the reading is very likely what Eneas wrote. SGH^{1}M^{1}M^{2}, although they share the opening of the gloss, here read, "id est nuncius sapiencie est; namque Mercurius deus eloquencie, et eloquencia nuncia sapiencie."

632 **regulam.** WK gloss "sub castitate."

637 **Octes.** The form in the Bo gloss, *Oechas*, probably suggests that Eneas's form was the more correct *Oet(h)es*.

644 **navis.** The point of the gloss is to suggest that *ratibus* is a synecdoche for "ship"; nearly all copies (including WK) gloss *ratibus* "navibus."

646 **aureum.** WK gloss "de aureo vellere, vide historiam Troyanam," probably a reference to Dares Phrygius, or possibly to Guido delle Colonne; both include the story.

647 **thesaurum.** The V gloss also occurs in WK.

654 **fructus.** The only parallel for the B reading is provided by H^{2}, a ms. mainly of the S sort but often providing readings of the BVWK sort; here WK and H^{1} gloss *ubertatem* "fertilitatem."

658 **discipulus Platonis.** That Theophrastus was the pupil of Aristotle was well-known to the Middle Ages from Aulus Gellius; see our note to *Parvus* 25-26. The phrase here, if not a wild guess, is either just a slip (stemming perhaps from hazy information about all three men), or based on a kind of enthymeme: Plato taught Aristotle and Aristotle taught Theophrastus, therefore Plato taught Theophrastus.

666 **Iuvenalis.** At *Satirae* 1:6.

668 **continue.** I.e., coming so abruptly.

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Abbreviations appear in their alphabetical place.

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Aen. Vergil, *Aeneid*.

AFH. Archivum Franciscanum historicum.

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INDEX OF SOURCES

E = Eneas, G = *Grues*, L = Lambeth, P = *Parvus*, Ri = Ridewall, Re = *Religiosos*, T = Trivet; v = variant

This is an index of authorities mentioned in the commentaries, not of our notes, although occasional reference is made to the notes, and some places where a source is unacknowledged or vaguely specified by the commentator, but identified in the notes, appear in parentheses. Page numbers refer in every case to the edition listed in the bibliography. A few familiar titles are given in English.

Alain of Lille, *De planctu naturae*: 2.157–58, T413 and note; 2.167, T115

Albertanus of Brescia, *Liber consolationis et consilii*, Re 323

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Alulfus Tornacensis, *Expositio novi testamenti*, *PL* 79.1353, (L4.43)

Alvredus *super Boecium* (King Alfred), 4.m3, T278 and note

Ambrose:

Apologia de David, *PL* 14.857, Re394

De Abraham 2.6, L4.17

De institutione virginis, *PL* 16.330, L4.199

De officiis 1.9, T1045; L3.59: see *De paradiso*

De paradiso 1.6, 12.54, (L2.189); 4.24, (L3.59)

Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam, *PL* 15.1562, L4.197

Hexaemeron 5.23, Ri324; 5.44, T386; 5.85, T144

On 1 Cor. 7.25: unfound, L1.42 (see note)

Apocalypsis Goliae 4, T1598

Apuleius, *De deo Socratis* (Ri703)

Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1a2ae.102.6, resp. 1, T809; 2a2ae, qu. 69, art. 1, (Re 683); 2a2ae, qu. 168, art. 3, resp. 3.14, (Re 540)

Aristotle:

Categoriae, p41.5–8, p117.12–15 (L3.47)

Ethica Nicomachea 3.3, L2.74; 10.7.9, Re817

Historia animalium 597a 5–7 (? see note), Re71;

Predicamenta, Re952

Politics? *Ethics*? (Ri558: see note); Re64 (see note)

Auctor *Ecclesiastice historie*, L2.189: see note

Auctor *Universi* (Ri700: see note)

Augustine:

Re342: see note

City of God 1, T633; 1.17–20, (P205); 1.19.57–59, Ri354; 3.14, L3.43; 7, T696; 9.4, T464; 12.22, 28, 14.1, T18; 14.21, 22, L4.144; 17.8, L2.41; 17.20, L2.104; 18.17, T285; 18.17–18, T212; 18.18, T272; 19.1, L4.122; 19.15, L2.242; 19.21, L2.232

Confessions 4.11, G422

Contra Iulianum haereticum 5.38, Ri691

De bono conjugali, *PL* 40.379, P106

De bono viduitatis 6.8, L1.75

De libero arbitrio 3.1.2, L2.76

De sancta virginitate, L.1.60: see note

Enarrationes in Psalmos, Ps 57.5, *PL* 36.679–80, Ri505

Epistolae 78, Re301; 189, (L3.78)

Homiliae super Iohannem 7, Re25

In Iohannis evangelium, *PL* 35.1385, L2.238; 1650, L4.63

Sermones 191.3.4, L4.223

Sermones suppositi 123.2, L4.156; 123.3, L4.182

Super Genesi 9.7.12, L4.109, 113; 11.42, Ri272

Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 1.8, R717; 6.16.6, R114

Averroes, P175: see note

Balbus, *Catholicon*, examen (E145), mulcifer (E396)
Bede:
Homiliae 1.14, P101
In Lucae evangelium expositio, *PL* 92.519, Re434; 622, L4.236
In Marci evangelium expositio, *PL* 92.297, L4.273
Bernard:
Re783: see note
De consideratione, *PL* 182.766, Re959
De laudibus virginis matris, 4.6, L4.287, 291
Epistolae 1.11, Re884
Sermo de obitu S. Huberti, *PL* 183.518, Re1050
Sermones in assumptione BVM, *PL* 183.428, Re1010
Bible
Gen. 1.28, Re400, L3.99; 2.18, L3.100, L4.116; 2.24, L4.124; 3.13, L4.204; 3.16, T4, 542, L3.27; 7.13, Re789; 9.1–7, Re401; 19.15–26, Re789; 19.26, T218
Exodus 15.20, L4.217
Levit. 11.3, T806; 13.4–7, Re875
Num. 1.45–47, 14.22–38, Re792; 22.32, T53; 31.40, Re794
Deut. 17.17, Re404
Josh. 22.10, T618
2 Kings, T552; 12.8, Re449; 13.1–14, Re344
3 Kings 3, Re752; 11–12, L2.35; 11.1–2, L2.144; 11.2–5, L2.151; 18.21, Re373
4 Kings 18.5–34, Re113; 25.1–7, (Ri122)
2 Par. 20.12, Re175
Tob. 4.18, Re510; 4.19, Re703
Esther 3.7, Re985
Job 19.8, L2.256; 32.18–20, Re12; 38.11, P90
Ps. 1.1, Re768; 11.2–3, Re22; 17.27, Re764; 25.5, Re81; 26.1, L2.261; 31.5, Re670; 48.13, 21, Re72; 106.26, Re371; 21.7, T1666; 48.13, 21, T814; 50.7, P60; 57.5,6, Ri 506,512; 74.11, T1793; 88.38, L2.24
Prov. 1.15, Re769; 6.27–29, Re182; 7.26, L2.248; 11.15, Re193; 11.26, Re834; 18.2, Re643; 18.22, L3.145; 22.24, L4.21; 23.28, L2.252; 24.32 (LXX), Re390; 25.21, Re505; 25.31–32, T320; 30.15–16, Re593; 30.30, T437; 31.10, T47, L4.209;
Eccles. 1.15, L4.76; 3.5, T1180; 7.27, L3.67; 9.3, Re345; 10.1, L2.103
Cant. 1.3, T1687; 2.12, Re52; 2.13, L2.100; 7 (for Eccles 7.27: see note), Re459; 7.6, L2.29
Wis. 2.21, L2.75; 4.12, L2.110; 6.23, L2.72; 8.4, L4.285; 10.6, Re790; 10.17, Re999 14.27–28, L2.172; 17.10, L4.13
Ecclus. 4.7, Re522; 6.14, Re40; 9.11, Re350; 11.29, Re881; 12.1, Re479, 512 (see note); 12.2–6, Re481; 12.4–5, Re499; 12.8, L1.1; 13.1, Re186; 26.20, L1.47; 37.7–19, Re611–748 *passim*; 14.22, T56; 25.30, T1; 26.16, L3.150; 51.35, Re997; 27.12, L2.53; 39.18–19, L2.90; 47.15–16, L2.46; 47.21–22, L2.50; 22, L2.82
Isa. 38.12, T926
Jer. 9.4, Re616; 25.12, 15, T317–19; 34.2–6, 39.1–7, 52.4–11, (Ri122)
Dan. 4.33, T211; 13.9, Re965
Hos. 1.2, Re228; 2.20, L4.137; 4.2, L4.49
Mic. 7.5, Re617
2 Macc. 6.7, T1335
3 Esd. 3–4, Re236
Matt. 1.18, P32; 4.7, Re172; 5.8, T1676; 5.29, Re576; 5.30, Re754; 5.44–45, Re502; 6.23, T752; 7.6, Re507; 7.14, T1750, 1820; 18.7, L4.46; 19.9, L3.119; 19.10, L3.80; 19.12, L1.28; 19.19, 22.39, L4.120; 28.9, L4.261
Mark 9.32–34, Re390; 16.7, L4.286; 16.9, L4.273
Luke 1.28, P195, L4.213; 6.30, Re502, 531; 10.40, L4.250; 11.15, L2.163; 11.35, T751; 22.24–27, Re290; 23.27, L4.241; 23.45, (T750); 23.55, L4.236; 24.8–9, L4.253
John 2.1–11, P101; 3.29, L4.130; 6.61, T1739; 7.20, T1012; 8.3, 7, L4.60; 8.34, L2.235
Acts 9.36, L4.245
Rom. 6.16, Re604
1 Cor. 6.18, Re180; 7.2, 6, L1.14; 7.7, L1.32; 7.8, L1.45; 7.9, L3.89, 103, L4.106; 7.25, L1.25; 7.28, L1.68, 81; 7.34, L1.72; 11.11–12, (L4.92)

2 Cor. 2.14-15, L2.86; 12.1, T1377; 12.6, T1379
Gal. 3.1, L2.116; 4.4, P77; 6.10, Re526
Eph. 5.31, L4.124; 5.32, L4.142; 5.33, L4.119
2 Thess. 1.9, T946
1 Tim. 2.12, L4.207; 2.14, L4.204; 4.1-3, P98; 5.14, L1.13
Heb. 11.32-33, Re385
James 1.5, Re751
2 Peter 2.19, L2.230
1 John 2.16, T1456
3 John 9, T49
Rev. 5.5, T1665

Boethius:
Consolation of Philosophy 2.p1.47, T1818; 3.p5.35-36, (L3.125); 3.p7.1, 3, Ri203; 3.p7.1-2, E477v; 3.m7.1-2, T343; 4.p3.21, Ri111; 4.p3.48-60, T300; 4.p3.58-60, Re158; 4.m3, see Alvredus above; 4.m3.35-39, T347; 4.m7.13-17, 19, Ri774-88; 4.m7.13-35, E532; 4.m7.34-35, P301
De trinitate 4.5, T1356
Breviarium, Re922: see note

Calcidius, *Commentary on Plato's* Timaeus p199.1, p263.21, Ri704

Cassiodorus, *Epistolae*, unfound, (L3.138)

Chrysostom, *Commentarius in S. Matthaeum evangelistam*, hom. 78.1, L1.52

Cicero:
De amicitia 2.10, (T170); 25.93, T172
De divinatione 1.8.14, G18
De inventione 1.15, L4.22
Paradoxa Stoicorum 34, (L3.8)
Tusculan Disputations 5.3.8, G251

Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae* 2 praef. 47, G364; 2.29-48, T1510; 2.338-42, G321

Dares Phrygius, *De bello Troiano*, E646v; 1.1-9, T1758

Diascorides, *Aggregationes de simplicibus*, (T1196)

Dionysius, *De caelesti hierarchia* 4.2.3, Re905: see note

Disticha Catonis, "in principio" T625 and note; monostich 21, Re 465-545; 1.1 T1324

Eberhard, *Graecismus* 7.45, T908, E280; 7.45-46, G274; 12.316, T1032; 19.107, T1161

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britannie* 2.11-14, (Re138); 3.9, T392

Giraldus Cambrensis, *De mirabilibus Hiberniae* 5.101-6, T207, 210

Glosa super illud Luce, L4.241, 253: see notes

Glossa interlinearis, (L2.54)

Glossa ordinaria, *PL* 113.1178 (on Wis. 14.28), L2.175: see note; 1211 (on Ecclus. 25.30), T2; 1219 (on Ecclus. 37.8), Re629; 1253 (on Isa. 13.22), T108; 114.85 (on Matt. 4.7), Re173; 537 (on 1 Cor. 11), T62; on 1 Cor. 7.6, L1.20, unfound; 621 (on 2 Thess. 1.9), T948

Gratian, *Decretum* 2.33.3, (Re569); 33.17c, T6

Gregory:
Moralia super Iob 3.16.29, L2.198; 4.36.71, L2.236; 5.3, L1.1; 12.42.47, L4.14; 13.17.20, L4.51; 13.24.38, L2.197; 14.29.34, L4.66; 14.34.41, L2.258; 14.53.65, L2.84; 18.50.5, 13, L2.71; 24.8.17, L2.95
Regula pastoralis, L4.43: see Alulfus; 3.27, (L4.104)

Gregory on Luke 11.15, L163: see note

Haymo of Halberstadt. *Enarratio in divi Pauli epistolas*, *PL* 117.544 (on 1 Cor. 7.6), L1.19, L3.90; 544 (on 1 Cor. 7.7), L1.33; 547 (on 1 Cor. 7.28), L1.70; 679 (on Gal. 3.1), L2.119

Helinandus of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, *PL* 212.935-36, Re145

Homer, "historia," T842 (see note)

"Homo qui loquitur amico suo" (lost commentary on "Dissuasio"), P6

Horace:
Ars poetica 394-96, G341; 464-66, G108
Epistles 1.2.23-25, G56; 1.17.36, T1406

Hugh of Folieto, *De claustro animae,* L4.27, unfound

Hugh of St-Cher, *Postillae* on Ecclus. 7.27, L3.68; on Ecclus. 37.11, (Re737)

Hugutio, *Derivationes* A.5.12 (augur), (G15); A46.14 (luscinia), E21v; A142.1 (Alcides), (E529); A.307.1-2 (arguere), T1645; B.2

(Babel), G61; C.137.5 (cerusa), T873; F.1.29 (fescenninae), (Ri858), T1720; F.1.32 (fascinno), G125; F.1.44 (facecia), L3.50, (E454); F.49.3 (forum), G304 (see note); I.55.12 (interula), (T1468); L.91.3 (livor), L3.143; M.89.31 (Mercurius), (T1709); M.143.11 (Mulcifer), T1258; P.10.21 (parasitus), (G41); P.22.5-8 (parento), T535; S.18.21 (salebra), T1754; S.53.16-17 (satiri), T758; S.320.4, (T1709); T56.1,2 (thesaurus), (L2.31); U.42.9 (uxorius), T1255; Z.6 (zabulus), (R276)

Iorach (Iuba II), T399 (see note)

Isidore, *Etymologies* 1.36.2, T127; 4.9.8, G64; 3.47.1, L2.10; 3.50.1, L2.6; 3.71.1, L2.2; 5.11, T1085; 6.2.18, L2.178; 8.7.6, Ri91, T191; 8.9.5, T196, 275; 8.9.14, T937; 8.11.4, T696; 8.11.24, Ri268; 8.11.34-36, T713; 8.11.39, T795; 8.11.93, T910; 9.2.115-16, T1136; 9.7.27, L3.97; 9.7.29, L3.1, 115; 9.7.30, L3.37; 11.1.25, T1159; 11.3.21, G225, T762; 11.3.30-31, G98, Ri222, T448; 11.3.31, Ri226; 11.3.36, T427; 11.4.1, T196; 12.4.12, G280, T955; 12.4.13, T1004; 12.4.32, G287, T964; 12.7.14, G2; 12.7.14-15, 38, T102; 12.7.18, G82, Ri187; 12.7.18-19, G83, T395; 12.7.22, G130, Ri321; 12.7.37, G16, Ri69, T141; 12.7.38, G8, Ri25; 12.7.39, G10, Ri31, T111; 12.7.51-52, T375; 12.7.52, G72; 12.7.69, (Ri74), T159; 13.11.2, G328; 13.11.3-6, T1203; 13.11.5, T1237; 14.6.32, Ri252; 14.8.14, Ri246; 15.2.27, Ri556, T1086; 18.15, (E330); 18.34, T785, 787; 18.46, G46; 19.17.15, T869; 19.17.17, L2.56; 19.17.23, T872

Itinerarium Clementis, *PG* 1.1434-35, T695

Jerome:

Re509: see note; in quodam sermone, L4.173: see note

Adversus Jovinianum P26; 1.42, Ri841-46; 1.47, T1854; 1.48, G306, T1300; 1.49, (L3.130)

Commentaria in epistolam ad Ephesios, *PL* 26.536, (L4.120)

Commentaria in evangelium Matthaei, *PL* 26.135, L3.84

Commentaria in Ezechielem, *PL* 25.419, Re387

Commentaria in Matthaeum, *PL* 26.215, L4.248

Commentarius in Ecclesiasten, *PL* 23.1021, Re392

Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum, *PL* 23.372, (L4.101)

Dialogus adversus Pelagianos PL 23.520, Ri880

Epistolae 48, P115, L1.83; 53, T1167; unfound, L1.38: see note; 79, L2.252

Vita sancti Pauli primi heremitae, *PL* 23.20, Re204; 23.23, G228

John of Garland:

Integumenta Ovidii 203-4, Ri604; 413-14, (G198)

Opus synonymorum, *PL* 150.1590, (G386), Ri629-38

Josephus, quoted by Comestor, (L2.158)

Juvenal, *Satires* 1.6, T1852, E667; 6.164, Ri328; 6.641, G294

Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.8-13, Ri338; 1.58, Ri355

Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1.128, T1315; 2.390-91, Ri693; 4.609-53, T1548; 9.356-67, T1518; 9.737-39, T966

Martial, *Epigrams*, P1; 13.77, T401; 14.215.1, T189

Macrobius:

Commentarii in somnium Scipionis 1.20.3, L2.13

Saturnalia, Re162: see note

Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis Mercurii et* Philologiae, Ri861, T1707; Re476: see note

Martin of Troppau, *Chronicles* p403, 8-11, G143; p403, 29-31, G77; p460, Re794

Orosius:

History against the Pagans 4.6-23, (Ri576)

Opus apologeticum contra Pelagium, Re430: see note

Ovid:

Ars amatoria 1.42, T1503; 1.469-78, 483-86, T1606; 1.65-66, Re907; 3.476, T1582

Epistolae ex Ponto 1.2.39-40, G317; 3.1.107, Ri366

Fasti 1.216, Ri530; 3.167, T632
Heroides 9.46, E502v
Metamorphoses 1.147, Ri738; 1.750–2.400, (T574); 2.297, (Ri815); 2.311–31, 381–400, Ri314; 2.538–39, Ri168; 3.415, Ri529; 4.171–89, G223, Ri426, 660; 4.190–255, Ri413; 4.457–58, Ri609, T1147; 4.611, Ri834; 5.549–50, G13, Ri32, T113; 6.113, Ri831; 6.175, (Ri815); 7.396–97, Ri546; 7.409–19, Ri729; 8.1–151, Ri378; 8.92–94, Ri380; 9.101–238, Ri762, T1469; 9.172, Ri741; 9.182–98, Ri770, T1511; 10.298–502, Ri383; 14.242–307, Ri105, T198
Remedium amoris 99–100, G193

Papias, *Vocabularium*, A5ra (Admetus), T590; C1ra (asylum), (E325); D7rb (cerusa), T872; D7va (Cesar), T891; D8va (chimera), T428; M4vb (Livia), T1431; M5va (loripes), T767; Q4ra (parento), T530; R4vb (prestigium), T1845; R6vb (Philomena), T143; U1ra (satiri), T757; U2rb (Scilla), T661; X3vb (sodes), T1030; X6vb (stilus), (E286); X8vb (struma), T857; Z1rb (Thirincus), T1466, (E514)
Persius, *Satires* 1.62, Ri51
Peter Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, (G42)
Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica PL* 198.1080, Re421; 1112, Ri551; 1275, Ri791; 1370, L2.159; 1426, Ri131; 1452, Re147; 1474, G163; 1688–89, (Re99)
Peter Lombard:
Collectanea in epistolas Pauli, *PL* 192.20, (L2.97)
Sentences, *PL* 192.195–98, Re314
Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermones*, 74, (L4.267)
Plato, *Timaeus* 31.22–25, L2.15
Pliny, *Natural History* 10.26.51, Ri173
Prudentius, *Hymnus ante somnum*, 125–28, Re1025
Pseudo-Alexander, *Letter to Aristotle*, p44.5–7, T745
Pseudo-Aristotle, *De proprietatibus elementorum* 2.1, (L2.18)
Pseudo-Augustine:
De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae, *PL* 35.2154, (P177)
De singularitate clericorum, PL 4.839, 844, Re354
Pseudo-Bede, *De libro psalmorum*, *PL* 93.581, (L4.134)
Pseudo-Bernard, *Formula honestae vitae, PL* 184.1163, Re779; 1170, Re775
Pseudo-Chrysostom:
Homilia in decollationem praecursoris et baptistae Joannis, PG 59.485–90, Re318
Homilia L in decollatione beati Iohannis Baptistae, PL 95.1508–14, Re317
Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum, *PG* 56.503, L3.80; 631–32, P27–94, 176; 619–20, L1.90, 97; 802, L3.120
Pseudo-Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.13.19, T1602, 1734; 4.14.20, T126, 1022; 4.14.21, T1024; 4.26.36, T1642; 4.27.37, T880
Pseudo-Jerome:
Commentarius in evangelium secundum Marcum, PL 30.641, L4.281
Expositio evangeliorum, PL 30.567, Re838
Pseudo-Seneca (Martin of Braga), *De moribus, PL* 72.29B, Re644

Rabanus Maurus:
Commentarius in Ecclesiasten, *PL* 113.1220, Re700
Commentaria in librum Sapientiae, *PL* 109.686, L2.124
Res gestae Alexandri, (Re112)

"Sciendum quod tres fuerunt Valerii" (commentary on "Dissuasio"; see P5–13 note), P12
Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* 2.69, Re429
Seneca:
Controversiae 6.8, T295
De beneficiis 1.2.1, Re506; 6.31, (Re108–12); 7.22 (inexact), G345
De constantia 2.2, T1320
De remediis fortuitorum 16.5, T1392 and note
Epistolae morales (Ad Lucilium) 3.2, Re607; 4.3, T1655; 7.6, Re765; 7.7, Re764; 11.108, T1308; 42, L4.78; 74, (L4.85); 82.13–14, P126
Hercules furens 222–48, (Ri775)

Medea, T1838
Rhetorica 10 (not Seneca), L3.8: see note
Unfound, see Ri621 note
Severianus in sermone de Pascha, L4.267: see note
Sidonius, *Epistolae* 2.1.2, L4.32
Solinus, *De mirabilibus mundi* 10, Ri21

Terence:
Andria 95, E38v
Eunuchus 2.2.16-20, G35; 2.2.20-21, T177; 3.5.37, E555
Theodolus, *Ecloga* 93-96, G120; 141-44, G208; 173-76, G367; 253-56, G380; 269-72, G296; 272-72, Ri538; 277-80, G184
Theophilus, L4.136: see note
Theophrastus, *Aureolus*, T1507, 1831; P25, 174
Thomas of Cantimpré, *Liber de natura rerum* 4.3.1-3, T960; 5.45, (G130), (T611); 5.88, T161; 8.93, T323
Nicholas Trivet, "Mulier que primatum habeat" (our commentary 3), P8; 1432-33, Re970

Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, P1, L1.10; 1.1, P305; T38; 4.7.ext. 1, Re45; 6.1.1, E154; 8.7. ext. 5, T1680; 8.9.2, E285; 9.1. ext.1, T723
Vergil (E482: see note):
Aeneid 1.27, G248; 1.432-33, T1659; 6.288, Ri195; 8.184-275, T1549; 8.184-305, Ri811
Eclogues 1.66, E275; 3.103, T610, L2.121
Georgics 3.113-14, T791
Versus (not in Walther) G49, 93, 385, 386; (Ri629, 634, 638); T661
Vita sancti Basilii 4.63, (Re396)
Vitae patrum, *PL* 73.810, T1018, Re885; 857, Re773; 874, Re571; 949, Re333; *PL* 74.167-68, Re249

Walther, *Sprichwörter* 519, T526, L2.250; 895, T1179; 3428, Ri593; 8952, T1069, E3211; 14273a, L4.140; 16532, T493; 31449a, (Re380)
Walther, *Versanfänge* 2580, Ri145; 4473, Ri198, T446; 8864, (G347); 11741, T493; 12215, (L2.134); 16310a, (L2.98); 18039, Re979: see note; 43874b, Re380
William of St. Thierry, *Vita et res gestae sancti Bernardi*, *PL* 185.230-31, (T1054), (Ri203)